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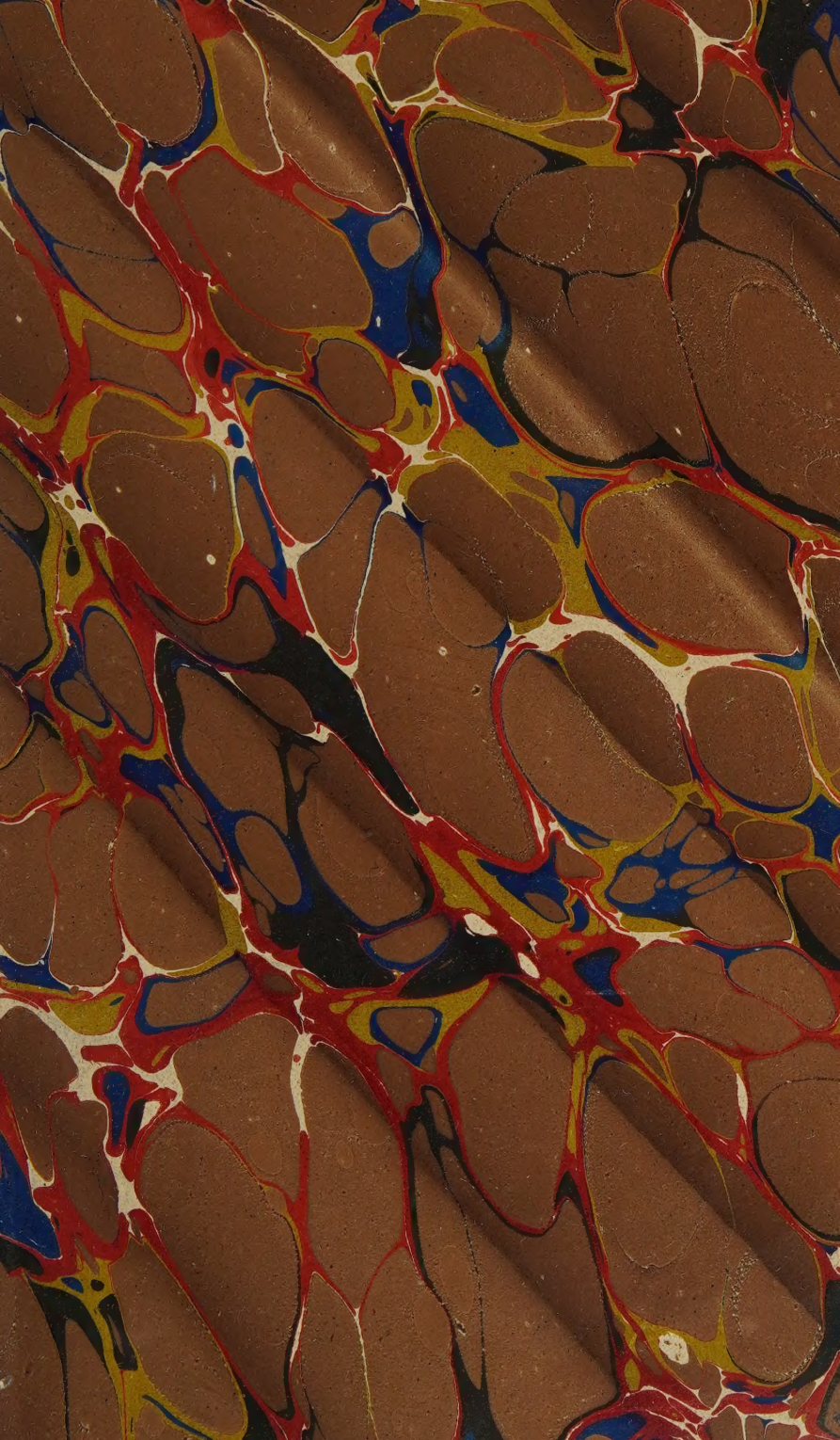
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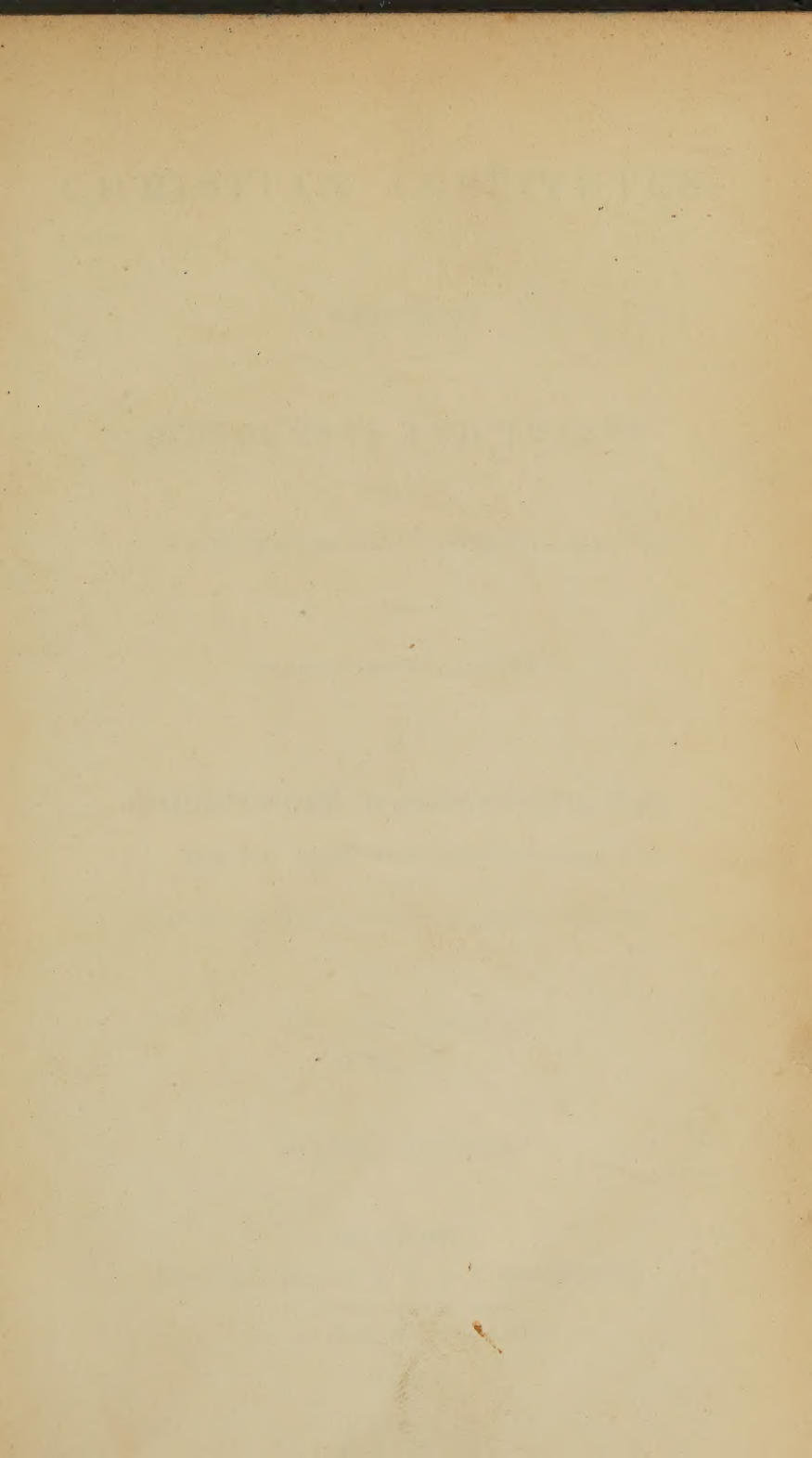
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CHRISTIAN INSTITUTES:

A SERIES OF

DISCOURSES AND TRACTS

SELECTED, ARRANGED SYSTEMATICALLY,

AND

ILLUSTRATED WITH NOTES,

BY

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IN FOUR VOLUMES.

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POLEMICAL THEOLOGY:

BEING

DISCOURSES AND TRACTS

IN

VINDICATION OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

PRINCIPALLY AGAINST

ROMAN CATHOLICS, PURITANS, & NON-CONFORMISTS;

FROM THE

WRITINGS OF DR. SOUTH, SIR EDWIN SANDYS,

FRANCIS MASON, RICHARD HOOKER, AND DR. ISAAC BARROW; AND

OF BISHOPS JEWELL, TAYLOR, SANDERSON, &c.

“It is a special part of our wisdom to know what is our health by our diseases; and to learn truth from the erroneous, and duty from them that swerve into extremes.”—RICHARD BAXTER.

“For myself, I had a desire, I may truly say, almost from my very childhood, to understand, as much as was possible for me, the bottom of our religion; and particularly as it stood in relation both to the PAPISTS and, as they were then styled, PURITANS; to inform myself rightly wherein consisted the true differences between them and the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, together with the grounds of those differences. It pleased God in his goodness to afford me some opportunities suitable to that my desire.”—BISHOP SANDERSON.

“The way to find out the truth is by others’ mistakings. For, if I had to go to such a place, and one had gone before me on the right hand, and he was out; another had gone on the left hand, and he was out; this would direct me to keep the middle way, which, peradventure, would bring me to the place I desired to go.”—SELDEN.

I.

SATAN HIMSELF TRANSFORMED INTO AN ANGEL OF LIGHT.

PREACHED BEFORE THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
ON AN ACT SUNDAY^a.

“And no marvel; for Satan himself is transformed into an angel of light.”—2 CORINTHIANS, xi. 14.

HE who has arrived to that pitch of infidelity as to deny that there is a devil, gives a shrewd proof that he is deluded by him; and so by this very denial does unawares infer the thing which he would deny. There have indeed been some in all ages, sects, and religions, who have promoted the devil's interests by arguing against his being. For that which men generally most desire, is to go on in their sin without control; and it cannot be more their desire, than the devil accounts it his interest, that they should do so. But when they are told withal, that he who tempts to sin now, is to execute God's wrath for our sin hereafter, the belief of a spirit, appointed to so terrible an office, standing so directly between them and their sins, they can never proceed smoothly in them, till such a belief be first taken out of the way; and, therefore, no wonder if men argue against the thing they hate; and, for the freer enjoyment of their lusts, do all they can to baffle and throw off a persuasion, which does but *torment them before their time*: this undoubtedly being the true,

^a From Dr. Robert South's Sermons, vol. iii. p. 450—95. edit. 1823, Oxford.

if not only ground of all the disputes men raise against demons, or evil spirits, that their guilt has made it their concern that there should be none.

Nevertheless, on the other side, it must be considered, that the proving of spirits and immaterial substances from the common discourses of the world upon this subject, has not hitherto proved so successful as might be wished. For that there are such finite, incorporeal beings, as we call spirits, I take to be a point of that moment, that the belief of it ought to be established upon much surer proofs^a than such as are commonly taken from visions, and apparitions, and the reports which use to go of them: it having never hitherto been held for solid reasoning, to argue from what seems to what exists; or, in other words, from appearances to things; especially since it has been found so frequent, for the working of a strong fancy and a weak judgment to pass with many for apparitions. Nor yet can I think the same sufficiently proved from several strange effects, chances, and alterations, which (as historians tell us) having sometimes happened in the world, and carrying in them the marks of a rational efficiency (but manifestly above all human power,) have therefore by some been ascribed to spirits, as the proper and immediate causes thereof. For such a conclusion, I conceive, cannot be certainly drawn from thence, unless we were able to comprehend the full force and activity of all corporeal substances, especially the celestial; so as to assign the utmost term which their activity can reach to, and beyond which it cannot go; which, I suppose, no sober reasoner or true philosopher will pretend to.

And therefore in the present case, allowing the forementioned common arguments all the advantage of probability they can justly lay claim to; yet if we would have a certain proof of the existence of finite spirits, good or bad, we ought, no doubt, to fetch it from that infallible word of revelation, held forth to us in the Scriptures; and so employ faith to piece up the shortness and defects of science; which, as nothing but faith can do, so that man must by no means pretend to faith, who will not sell his assent under a demonstration; nor indeed to so much as prudence, who will be convinced by nothing but experience, when perhaps the experiment may prove his destruction. He who believes that

^a He alludes probably to *Glanville's "Sadducismus Triumphatus"*; or, a full and plain evidence concerning Witches and Apparitions." 8vo. 1681.

there is a devil, puts himself into the ready way to escape him. But as for those modern Sadducees, who will believe neither angel nor spirit, because they cannot see them; and with whom *invisible* and *incredible* pass for terms perfectly equipollent; they would do wisely to consider, that as the fowler would certainly spoil his own game, should he not, as much as possible, keep out of sight; so the devil never plants his snares so skilfully and successfully, as when he conceals his person; nor tempts so dangerously, as when he can persuade men that there is no tempter.

But I fear I have argued too far upon this point already; since it may seem something inartificial for the sermon to prove what the text had supposed. But since the infidelity of the present age has made the proof of that necessary, which former ages took for granted, I hope the usefulness of this subject will atone for what may seem less regular in the prosecution. It must therefore be allowed (and that not only from the foregoing probable arguments, but much more from an infallible and divine testimony,) that there is a devil, a Satan, and a tempter. And we have him here presented to us under such a strange kind of mask or vizard, that we cannot see him for light; and then surely he must needs walk undiscovered, who can make that, which discovers all things else, his disguise. But the wonder ought to abate, if we consider, that there is a light which dazzles and deludes, as well as one which informs and directs; and that it is the former of these which Satan *clothes himself with, as with a garment*. A light so far resembling that of the stars, that it still *rules by night*, and has always darkness both for its occasion and companion. The badge of truth is unity, and the property of falsehood variety; and accordingly the devil appears all things, as he has occasion; the priest, the casuist, the reformer, the reconciler; and in a word, any thing but himself. He can change his voice, his dress, and the whole scene of his fallacies; and by a dexterous management of the fraud, present you with an Esau under the form of a Jacob; for the old serpent can shift his skin, as often as he has a turn to serve by his doing so. For it is a short and easy transition from darkness to light even as near as the confines of night and day. So that this active spirit can quickly pass from one to the other, and equally carry on a work of darkness in both. We read of a *dæmonium meridianum*, though the sun, we know, is then highest, and the light greatest. The

psalmist, in Psalm xci. 6, tells us not only of a *pestilence which walks in darkness*, but also of a *destruction which wasteth at noon-day*; and consequently that he who is the great manager both of the one and the other, is as much a devil when he shines as Lucifer, as when he destroys as Satan.

Now the devil, I conceive, is represented to us thus transformed in the text, not so much in respect of what he is in his person, as in his practice upon men; for none ever dissembles or conceals himself, but he has a design upon another. And therefore, to prosecute the sense of the words by as full a representation of his frauds as I am able to give, I shall discourse of him in this method.

1st. I shall endeavour to show the way of his operation upon the soul, in conveying his fallacies into the minds of men.

2ndly. I shall show the grand instances in which he has played an angel of light, in the several ages of the Church successively. And

3rdly, and lastly, Give caution against some principles, by which he is like to repeat the same cheat upon the world, if not prevented in time to come.

And first, for the influence he has upon the soul.

To lay open here all the ways whereby this spiritual engineer works upon us, to trace the serpent in all his windings and turnings, is a thing, I believe, as much above a mere human understanding, as that is below an angelical; but so far as the ducture of common reason, Scripture, and experience will direct our enquiries, we shall find that there are three ways by which he powerfully reaches and operates upon the minds of men. As,

1. By moving, stirring, and sometimes altering the humours and dispositions of the body. That the soul in all its operations is strangely affected by and held down to the particular crasis and constitution of the corporeal part is undubitable. And that the devil can model and frame the temperament of it to his own purpose, the woman whom Satan is said to have bound for so many years, Luke xiii. 16, is a convincing instance. Now this expert anatomist, who has examined and looked into all the secret recesses, caverns, and little fibres both of body and soul, (as I may so express the matter,) knows that there is no grace but has its counterfeit in some passion; and no passion of the mind, but moves upon the wheel of some humour of the body. So that it is easy for him to refine, and as it were, sanctify the fire and fury

of a choleric humour into zeal, and raise the operations of melancholy to the semblance of a mortified demureness and humiliation. On which case of supposed sorrow for sin, but real disturbance from some other cause, it is not to be questioned, but many repair to the divine, whose best casuist were an apothecary; and endeavour to cure and carry off their despair with a promise, or, perhaps, a prophecy, which might be better done with a purge. Poor self-deluding souls! often misapplying the blood of Christ under these circumstances, in which a little effusion of their own would more effectually work the cure; and Luke as physician give them a much speedier relief, than Luke as an evangelist.

2. The devil can act upon the soul, by suggesting the ideas and spiritual pictures of things (as they may be not unfitly called) to the imagination. For this is the grand repository of all the ideas and representations which the mind of man can work either upon or by. So that Satan, our skilful artist, can as easily slide his injections into the fancy, as present a deluding image to the eye. From whence it is, that poor deluded women (followers of conventicles, or rather of such as meet them there), talk much of sudden joys, and raptures, and secret whispers of the Spirit, with a great deal more of such cant; in all which this grand impostor is still at his old work, and, whether he speaks in the gentle, charming voice of a comforter, or roars in the terrible thunders of damnation, is, and ever was, *a liar from the beginning*, and will be so to the end. Again, some, perhaps have had a text, of something a peculiar significancy, cast into their fancy; as that for instance in Jerem. xlviii. 10, "Cursed be he that keepeth back his sword from shedding blood;" whereupon they presently thought themselves commissioned, by an extraordinary call from heaven, to cut and slay all such as fought for the crown and the Church, in the late infamous rebellion¹. Likewise it is very credible, that the same spirit can in discourse suggest smart sentences and strictures of wit, far surpassing the invention of the speaker; for, otherwise, whence can it be that persons known to be deplorably dull in other things, can yet be witty upon a subject obscene or profane? And no doubt, what the Papists falsely and ridiculously said of Luther, may with great

¹ Such persons, principles, and practices, can want nothing to enable them to overthrow any government, but to be countenanced by it.

truth be said of many leading heretics, that the devil furnished them with arguments. For where the cause is his, he will never be wanting to give it a helping hand, but will be still with the heretic in his study, guiding his pen, and assisting his invention with many a lucky turn of thought and sophistical reasoning. So that upon the whole matter, the devil himself may perhaps, more properly pass for the heretic, and Arius or Socinus only for the amanuensis. For he is able to present images of words and sentences to the imagination, in as clear and perspicuous an order, as the most faithful and methodical memory. And why should the common word be, that the devil stands at the liar's elbow, if he were not to be his prompter? But,

3. The devil can work upon the soul, by an actual ingress into and personal possession of the man, so as to move and act him; and like a kind of vicarious soul, use his body, and the several faculties and members thereof, as instruments of the several operations which he exerts by them. Upon which account, persons so possessed were heretofore called *πνευματόφοροι*, and *ἐνεργούμενοι*. And if any one here should doubt, that a spirit can move and impel a body, since without quantity and dimensions on both sides, there can be no contact, and since without contact some think all impulsions impossible, this maxim, if too far insisted upon, would bear as hard upon the soul itself, as to its moving the body, (allowing it to be a spiritual immaterial substance; which, I hope, in a Christian auditory, needs not to be proved.) And now, the premises thus supposed, how easy must it be for this spirit to cast any person possessed by him into a kind of prophetic extasy, and, with other amazing extravagancies, to utter, through him, certain sentences and opinions, and in the utterance thereof to intermix some things pious and good, to take off the suspicion, and qualify the poison of the bad? For so the sybils used to wait, till, at a certain time, the demons entered into them, and gave answers by them, suspending the natural actings of their souls, and using their bodily organs of speech, with strange prodigious convulsions, and certain circumstances of raving and unseemly horror attending them; as Virgil elegantly describes the Cumæan sibyl, in his 6th *Æneid*.

“ — Subitò non vultus, non color unus,
Non comptæ mansere comæ; sed pectus anhelum,
Et rabie fera corda tument; majorque videri
Nec mortale sonans,” &c.

Of which words, the Quakers amongst us (as little as they deal in Latin), have yet been the best and fullest interpreters, by being the liveliest instances of the thing described in them of any that I know. And so likewise in the case of the person possessed¹. Certainly he could never have prevailed over so many men, had he not had something in him stronger than man. But what needs there any further arguing, or how is it possible for that man to question whether the devil can enter into and take possession of men, who shall read how often our Saviour cast him out?

These, I say, are the physical ways of operation which the devil can employ, so as to insinuate thereby his impostures in a clever, unsuspected manner: which three general ways doubtless may be improved by so experienced a craftsman into myriads of particulars. But I shall confine myself to his dealings with the Church, and that only within the times of Christianity; and so pass to the second general head proposed.

2. Which was to show the grand instances in which the devil, under this mask of light, has imposed upon the Christian world. And here we must premise this general observation, as the basis of all the ensuing particulars; viz., that it has been the devil's constant method to accommodate his impostures to the most received and prevailing notions, and the peculiar proper improvements of each particular age. And, accordingly, let us take a survey of the several periods of them. As,

1. The grand ruling principle of the first ages^a of the Church, then chiefly consisting of the Gentile converts, was an extraordinarily zealous devotion and concern for the honour and worship of one only God, having been so newly converted from the worship of many; which great truth, since the devil could neither seasonably nor successfully oppose then, he saw it his interest to swim with the stream, which he could not stem, and, by a dexterous turn of hand, to make use of one truth to supplant another. Accordingly, having met with a fit instrument for his purpose, he sets up in Arianism, and with a bold stroke strikes at no lower an article than the godhead of the Son of God, and so manages this mighty and universal hatred of polytheism, to the rejection of a Trinity of divine coequal Persons, as no ways consistent with the unity of the divine essence. The blasphemy of which opinion

¹ Acts xix. 16.

^a See *Hooker's* Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift: also his *Ecclesiastical Polity*, book v. chap. 3. Also *Chillingworth's* Second Sermon.

needed, no doubt, a more than ordinary artist to give it the best gloss and colour he could, and, therefore, was not to be introduced and ushered into the world, but by very plausible and seemingly pious pleas.

As for instance, that the ascribing of a Deity or divine nature to Christ, was not so much a removal of polytheism as a change. That for Christ to decry the Pagan gods, and yet assume the Godhead to Himself, was, instead of being their reformer, to be their rival; and that by thus transferring divine worship to his own person, He did not so much destroy idolatry as monopolize it. Moreover, that Christ Himself professes his Father to be greater than He; and, therefore, that either He Himself is not God, or, if so, that the Deity then includes not the highest degree of perfection. For if Christ was God, and upon that account comprehended in Him all perfections, how could the Father be greater? which relation yet must imply a degree of perfection above that of the Son: and if it should be here replied, that the Father is greater in respect of a personal excellency, but not of a natural, such as reply so should do well to consider how it can be, that where essence includes all perfection, personality can add any further. Besides, that the granting Christ to be the Son of God will not, therefore, infer Him to be God; for the son of a king is but his father's subject; and, consequently, to assert any more concerning Christ, seems to be only Paganism refined, and idolatry in a better dress.

These, I say, were the Arian objections against the Deity of our Saviour; all of them extremely sophistical and slight, and such as the heathen philosophers had urged all along against the Christian religion, for near three hundred years before Arius was born; and we shall find them grounded only upon their not distinguishing between perfection absolute and relative, and their absurd arguing from finite and created beings to a Being infinite and uncreate,—as might easily be shown in each of the foregoing particulars, would the time allotted for this exercise permit. So that it was a most true and proper remark, that if we take from heretics disputing against any article of the Christian faith, what is common to them with the heathens disputing against the whole body of Christianity, they will have little or nothing left them which is new, or can be called peculiarly their own. Nevertheless, such plausible stuff, backed with power, and managed by the devil, drew over most of the Christian Churches,

for a considerable time, to Arianism ; and so, by a very preposterous way of worship, made them sacrifice the Son to the honour of the Father. But,

2. As the Arian ages had chiefly set themselves to run down, or rather quite take away our Saviour's divinity, so the following ages, by an ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνθροπικῆς, a kind of contrary stretch, were no less intent upon paying a boundless and exorbitant devotion to every thing belonging to his humanity ; and in a very particular and more than ordinary manner, to those who had eminently done and suffered (especially to the degree of martyrdom) for his person and religion. And this was the course all along taken by the Papal heresy, from the very first that it got footing in the Church ; touching which, let none think it strange, that I make an immediate step from the times of Arianism to those of Popery, as if there ought to be a greater interval put between them. For though it must be confessed, that Arianism received its mortal wound by the first council of Nice, pretty early in the fourth century, yet these following heresies of Macedonianism, Nestorianism, Eutychianism, Monothelism, &c. (which, as different as they were amongst themselves, were yet, in truth, but so many shoots out of the old Arian stock), continued much longer, and reached considerably beyond the sixth century ; about the end whereof, and the beginning of the seventh, Popery began to work and show itself by degrees (Gregory the Great, who lived till the year of our Lord 604, being, not without cause, reckoned the last of the good Popes of Rome, and the first of the bad) ; so that in truth there was no vacancy, or intermediate chasm of time, between the Arian poison ceasing and the Popish ferment beginning to infest the Church. Well, then, the Deity of Christ having been thus irrefragably proved, and Arianism, with its appendant heresies, at length drawing off the stage, and another predominant principle coming on, it was now time for the grand deceiver to change his hand, being to work upon quite different materials, as well as with quite different instruments ; and so to turn that vast honour and zeal, which, as we observed, the world bore to Christ's human nature, to the perverting, depraving and undermining of Christianity itself. For from hence men came to give that inordinate veneration to the sacrament of Christ's body and blood ; and for the defence thereof, invented that monster of absurdities, transubstantiation. After which, with great industry, they got

together and kept all relicks, which any way represented his memory, as pieces of the cross, and pictures of his body, till at length they even adored them ; and, to justify their so doing, they cast their practice into a doctrine, that the crucifix was to be adored with relative divine worship ;—more than which, by the way, the heathens themselves never gave to their idols, but worshipped them only so far as they were representations, or rather significations of those effects and benefits, for which they adored the Deity—the great cause and original of them. But this superstition stopped not here, but extended itself likewise to Christ's friends and followers, the saints ; those especially who, as I noted before, had sealed their profession with their blood ; the memory of whom they celebrated with solemn invocations of them at their sepulchres, making offerings to them there, and bowing and falling prostrate at the very mention of their names, till at length their reverential respect grew into downright adoration. And thus, by degrees, Paganism came to be christened into a new form and name, by their setting up their *divi*, or begodded tutelar saints, and prosecuting their apotheosis with divine worship. And lest in this they might seem to intrench upon the honour of Christ, by treating his saints and servants upon equal terms with Himself, they made their very zeal for his honour a plea for their making these saints their intercessors with Him ; alleging, forsooth, their own unfitness and utter unworthiness to approach Him by a direct address, without such a mediation : as subjects do then most acceptably petition their earthly prince, when their suits are handed to him by some particular and beloved favourite : a shrewd argument no doubt, if God and man proceeded by the same methods. But to go on ; since religion would be but a very lame and imperfect institution, should not points of faith be seconded with suitable rules of practice ; here-upon mortification and austerity of life were, in show at least, equally advanced, and Satan began to play the white devil, by prohibiting, upon pretence of higher sacerdotal purity, the marriage of the clergy, (though at the same time reckoned by themselves a sacrament,) forbidding also certain sorts of meat, and enjoining others ; as likewise imposing hair-shirts, whips, scourges, with many more such corporal severities ; for the recommending of all which to men's use, they taught them that these practices were satisfactory for sin and meritorious of heaven. And lest this might seem to derogate from Christ's satisfaction, (as it cer-

tainly did,) they distinguished sins into mortal and venial ^a. And whereas they held, that these venial sins could not deserve eternal death; and withal, that many men die before they have completed their repentance: for them they invented a certain place in the other world, for the temporal, penal expiation of such sins, to wit, purgatory. And since the pains of this were not to be eternal, but that a deliverance and redemption of the souls held therein might be procured, and that by the merit of the good works of others, to help out those who had none of their own, they came from hence to assert works of supererogation, as they called them; which good works, and the merit of them, not being always actually employed for the benefit of any, (and as if the world abounded more with good works than bad,) they are said to be reserved in the treasury of the Church, to be disposed of (as there should be occasion) to such as were able and willing to ransom their suffering friends with silver and gold, (the very best of metals, and always held by them a valuable price for souls,) and this produced indulgences; the most useful and profitable part of the whole Romish religion.

By all which particulars put together, you may see the curious contexture and concatenation of the several mysteries and intrigues of Popery; and how artificially one is linked to and locked within the other, in this chain of darkness made to hold and keep poor souls *to the judgment of the great day*; and (if God be not so merciful as to save them in spite of their religion) to condemn them in it too. And now these tenets being advantaged by the suitableness of them to man's natural disposition, (which, in matters of belief, is too prone to credulity and superstition, and in matters of practice to an arrogant opinion of merit, every man being too apt to think that a good action obliges God, and satisfies for an ill one;) these tenets, I say, were upon these terms easily imbibed by the vulgar in those dark times of ignorance; which ignorance also was carefully cherished and kept up, by maintaining the sufficiency of an implicit faith, and securing the Scriptures under the double lock of an unknown language and a bad translation. Besides all which, that they might not in the last place want a sure shelter and strong hold to defend them, in case this terrible book of the Scriptures should come to

^a —putida illa distinctio peccati *mortalis* et *venialis*, quo velut fermento totam Theologiæ moralis massam fœde corruperunt. Sanderson, De Jure Juramenti Obligatione, Prælect. iii § 15.

be unsealed and let loose upon them, they had two other refuges to fly to; to wit, that of unwritten traditions, without which they held the Scriptures imperfect; and of an infallible judge, without which they affirmed them to be obscure; two qualifications which must unavoidably render the Scriptures an incompetent rule of faith. And thus the nail is driven home, and rivetted too: and upon their being hereby made judges in their own cause, they do and must stand incorrigible; forasmuch as all conviction upon these terms is utterly impossible. And thus we have seen what a lofty Babel has been raised by this grand architect of mischief and confusion, the Devil; a Babel, with the top of it reaching to heaven, and the foundation of it laid in hell. And we have seen likewise the materials with which, and the arts by which, this stupendous structure was reared: and since neither old nor new Babel was built in a day, we have given some account also how this master-builder has all along suited his tools and engines to the proper genius and condition of each several age; sometimes working in the light, and sometimes in the dark; sometimes above ground, and sometimes under it; but in all, like a Romish priest, still under disguise.

And here, I think, it may be further worth our considering, that since the aspects and influences in heaven (which are some of the chief instruments whereby Providence governs this lower world) must needs work considerably upon the tempers, humours, and constitutions of men, under their several positions and revolutions; it cannot but follow, that the same must work very powerfully about the affairs of religion also, so far as the tempers and dispositions of men are apt to mingle and strike in with them. And accordingly, as I have observed, that Satan played his papal game chiefly in the times of ignorance, and sowed his tares while the world was asleep; *cum Augustinus haberetur inexpugnabilis dialecticus, quod legisset categorias Aristotelis. Cum qui Græcè sciret, suspectus; qui autem Hebraicè, planè magicus putaretur*; when the words *hæreticum devita*^a were looked upon as sufficient to warrant the taking away the life of an heretic: so on the other side, when this mist of ignorance began to clear up, and polite learning to recover, and get footing again in the world, by the great

^a “The old monk, who read the text thus, *Hæreticum de vita*, i. e. *de vita tolle*, was beholden to the Latin translation for that gloss; for sure he was not guilty of much Greek.” Bishop Barlow’s Cases of Conscience, p. 66. See also Erasmus, in Knight’s Life of Colet, p. 175. edit. 1823.

abilities and industry of Erasmus, Melancthon, Politian, Budæus, Calvin, and several others, men generally then began to smell out the cheat ; and after a long growing suspicion of the imposture they had been held under, came at length to a resolution quite to throw it off. But then again, lest so sudden and mighty a stream of light, breaking in upon the prince of darkness, might wholly overbear and baffle all his projects, he also began wisely to light up his candle too, in the new sect and society of Ignatius Loyola ; a sect composed of the best wits and ablest heads, the most learned and industrious that could be got, to list themselves to serve the Pope under him. And by this course he quickly brought his myrmidons to fight the Protestants at their own weapons^a, and for parts and literature to vie with the Reformation. For he saw well enough that it was learning which must do his business, when ignorance was grown out of fashion : and that when such multitudes were resolved to have their eyes open, it was time for him to look about him too. Accordingly, Satan, who loves to compass his ends and amuse the world by contrary methods, (like the evil spirit in the gospel, sometimes casting the person possessed by him into the fire, and sometimes into the water,) having, as we have noted, long imposed upon Christendom by Popery, and at length finding a new light sprung in upon a great part of it, and mightily chasing away that darkness before it, he thought it his interest to trump up a new scene of things ; and so, correspondently to the two main parts of religion, speculative and practical, he fell upon two contrary, but equally destructive extremes, Socinianism and enthusiasm. Thus, like a subtle disputant, casting his argument into such a dilemma, as should be sure to gain him his point, and gall his enemy one way or other. And,

I. For the first extreme, Socinianism. Faustus Socinus seems to have been a person so qualified by Providence with a competent stock of parts and measure of reason (for the man was no miracle either in divinity or philosophy,) to show, how wofully such an one (being left to himself) might blunder, and fall short of the right notions of religion, even in the plainest and most important points of it. He was, indeed, so bred and principled by his uncle Lelius, that Satan thought him a fit instrument for the advancement of the light of reason above that of revelation,

^a See the interesting account given of “the policies of Papacy,” in Sir Edwin Sandys’s *Europæ Speculum*, p. 81—114. edit. 1673.

by making (as he notoriously did) the former the sole judge of the latter. Socinus's main design (or pretence at least) was to bring all the mysteries of Christianity to a full accommodation with the general notions of man's reason; and so far the design was no doubt fair and laudable enough, had it kept within the bounds of a sober prosecution; for that which is contrary to reason cannot be true in religion; nor can God contradict that in the book of his revealed word, which He had writ before in the book of nature; so much, I say, is certain, and cannot be denied. Nevertheless, a little reason will prove also, that many things may seem contrary to reason which yet really are not so; and where this seeming contrariety is, the question will be, whether revelation ought to control reason, or reason prescribe to revelation, which, indeed, is the very hinge upon which the whole Socinian controversy turns.

But to proceed, and show that even Socinianism itself, by a kind of antiperistasis, took its rise from Popery, as the occasion or accidental cause of it, it is to be observed, that those nice, bold, and unjustifiable notions, which many of the schoolmen had advanced concerning the divine essence and persons, (things which the mind of man can form to itself no express idea, nor consequently any clear comprehensive knowledge of,) caused in Socinus such a high loathing of and aversion to that whole scheme of Christian theology which then obtained in the world, that, breaking through all, he utterly denied the divine nature of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and so exploded the whole doctrine of the Trinity, as no part or article of the Christian religion; frequently alleging also, that the urging the necessity of believing notions so contrary (as he pretended) to the discourses and maxims of natural reason mightily scandalized^a and kept off the Jews, Turks, and rational infidels from embracing Christianity. And this consideration he laid no small stress upon.

But in answer to it; by his favour, the contrariety of the notions here excepted against to the maxims of natural reason (as confidently as it has been all along supposed by him) was never yet proved; and as for the offence taken at it by Jews and Turks, he might have remembered that the doctrines preached by St. Paul himself found no better acceptance, as

^a Compare *Leslie's* "Short and easy Method with the Jews;" also *Horsley's* "Tracts in Controversy with Priestley."

being to the Jews a stumbling-block and to the Greeks foolishness ; but neither by him who preached it, nor by those who received it, at all the less valued for its being so ; and certainly the Christian Church would make but an ill bargain to barter away any one article of her faith to gain either Turk or Jew : and I shrewdly guess, that the Jews themselves understood bargaining too well to part with their Moses for a Socinian Christ. But further, as touching this heresy : the time when it was vented in the world is no less observable than the instruments by whom ; Satan suiting the work he had to do to the peculiar qualification of the age which he was to do it in : for as the schoolmen, who were the greatest and most zealous promoters of the papal interest, sacrificing both reason and religion to the support of it, were in the highest vogue for some ages before ; so the age wherein it began to decline and go downwards had entertained a general contempt of, and aversion to, that sort of learning, as may appear out of Sir Thomas More's defence of Erasmus, and other critics, against Dorpius, a great patron and admirer of school-divinity. And as for Socinus himself, the Polonian who wrote his life testifies, "*illum scholasticam theologiam nunquam attigisse.*" Thus, therefore, was he qualified, it seems, to baffle the learned part of the world ; and having made his first adventure in denying Christ's divinity, and bringing it much lower than ever Arius did, the denial of his satisfaction unavoidably followed ; no mere creature being able, in a strict sense, to merit of God, and much less to satisfy for sin : so that we see here how Satan, under the plausible plea of reason, introduced a doctrine into the world which has shook every article of our faith ; and in the full compass of it grasps in the most considerable heresies that ever were, especially those two topping ones of Photinianism and Pelagianism. And whosoever shall, by a true and impartial logic, spin it out into its utmost consequences, shall find that it naturally tends to, and inevitably ends in, the destruction of all religion ; and that where Socinianism has laid the premises, atheism cannot be kept out of the conclusion. But now, that even reason itself is but pretended only, and not really shown in the doctrines of Socinus, give me leave to demonstrate in one or two instances, instead of many more that might be assigned.

1. That this doctrine asserts Christ to be a mere creature, and yet ascribes to Him divine worship, and that both as to adoration and invocation ; and this upon absolute and indispen-

sable necessity¹. So that whereas Socinus says, that the Jews and Turks are so scandalized at our asserting Christ's deity; I am sure that, by a peculiar and better grounded aversion, they are more scandalized at idolatry; and if Socinus will advance this proposition, that Jesus Christ is not by nature God, let Jews, Turks, and all infidels of common sense alone to make the assumption, that then He is not to be worshipped with divine worship. Christianus Francken shamefully baffled Socinus upon this head. And it is impossible for him, or any of his tribe, to maintain it. But,

2. This doctrine asserts also, that God cannot certainly fore-know future contingents, as Socinus positively concludes in the eleventh chapter of his *Prelections*¹; where, in answering, or

¹ See Socinus in his catechism, discoursing of those who allow not of the adoration and invocation of Christ. "Quid censens," says he, "de iis, qui ista Christo non tribuunt?" To which he answers; "Censeo illos non esse Christianos, quippe qui revera Christum non habeant: et Jesum esse Christum licet fortasse apertè verbis non audeant, re tamen ipsâ omnino negent." And elsewhere: "Præstat Trinitarium esse, quem asserere Christum non esse adorandum."

¹ "Cum igitur nulla ratio, nullus sacrarum literarum locus sit, ex quo apertè colligi possit, Deum omnia, quæ fiunt, scivisse, antequam fierent, concludendum est minimè asserendam esse à nobis istam Dei præscientiam," &c. *Socinus*, *Prælectionum* capite 12mo.

In stating of which point the heretic, indeed, grants, that where God has peremptorily purposed or decreed to do a thing, He infallibly knows that the thing so decreed shall certainly come to pass, and accordingly may as infallibly foretel it. A great matter, no doubt. But, by his favour, what is this to God's foretelling of sinful actions, together with many passages of great moment depending thereupon (all of them declared by the prophets many ages before the event of them)? For these things, as bad as they are, have their events, as well as the best that happen; and yet cannot be ascribed to God, as the cause or producer of them. Whereupon, since such events, according to Socinus, proceed wholly from the free-will of the immediate agents, he denies God to have any certain prescience of them; for that he will not so much as allow them to be in the number of things in their nature knowable, nor consequently to fall within the object of omniscience itself; which, though it extends to all that is knowable, yet reaches not beyond it. In answer to which I grant, that such future contingents as depend wholly upon the free turn of man's will are not antecedently knowable to a finite understanding; but that they are simply and absolutely in the very nature of them not knowable, this I utterly deny; and on the contrary affirm, that to an infinite understanding they are both knowable, and actually known too. And the reason of this difference is, because an infinite understanding never looks upon a future contingent, but it looks beyond it too,

rather eluding such scriptures as declare the contrary, he all along, with a bold impiety, degrades the divine knowledge into mere conjecture, and no more; and so ranges the all-knowing God with the heathen oracles, soothsayers, and astrologers, not allowing Him any pre-eminence above them, but only a better faculty at guessing than they had. So that hereby the heretic is either for giving us a deity without infinite perfection, or an infinite perfection without a power of infallible prediction, or an infallibility of prediction without any certain knowledge of the thing foretold: which, amongst other wretched consequences, must needs render God such a governor of the world, as, in those many important affairs of it, depending upon the free motions of man's will, shall not be able to tell certainly what shall come to pass in it, so much as one day before it actually happens. He may indeed, as I show before, shrewdly guess at events, (and so may a wise man too,) but further than guessing he cannot go. All which are such monstrous assertions, and so scandalously contumelious to the divine nature and attributes, and yet so inevitably resulting from the position first laid down by him, that nothing can equal the profaneness of them, but the absurdities.

As for several others of the Socinian errors, to wit, about the nature of the sacraments, the divine covenants, the ministry, and the Church, with sundry other parts of divinity, I purposely omit them; and mention only these two, as being in themselves not grosser errors in divinity, than inconsistencies in philosophy. So that upon this turn at least we may worthily use that remark of Grotius, in his book concerning the satisfaction of Christ; "*Mirum esse, toties à Socino ostentari rectam rationem, ostendimusquam.*" But to show compendiously how he stabs, not only the Christian, but also all religions, by one assertion; we must know, that the chief corner-stone laid by him in this supposed rational (and by some so much adored) doctrine, is his affirming,

that is to say, by one single act of knowledge God sees it, both in the instant of nature before its production, and in the instant of nature after it; which is the true account of this matter, as being founded in the comprehensiveness of God's knowledge, taking in past, present, and future, by one single view. "*Scientia Dei ad omnia præsentialiter se habet.*" And how difficult soever, if at all possible, it may be for human reason to form to itself a clear notion of the immanent acts of God; yet all that is or can be excepted against the account now given by us, will be found but mere cavil, and not worth an answer.

that by the light of natural reason no man can know that there is a God ; as you may see in the second chapter of his aforementioned Prelections. For the proof of which, amongst other places of Scripture, he wrests and abuses that in Hebrews xi. 6, where the apostle tells us, *that he who comes to God must believe that He is*. Mark it, says Socinus ; it is here said only, that he must believe this, not that he must know, or scientifically assent to it. But by his favour, as this is not here said, so it is as true that it is not here denied. And this new teacher of the world should, one would think, have known, that the words *πίστις* and *πιστεύω*, *belief* and *believe*, are not always used in a strict philosophical sense, for an *assent upon testimony*, in contradistinction to an *assent upon grounds of science* ; but generally, and at large, for any firm assent, whether upon one account or the other. I say, as this is certain from the use of the word in common speech, so there is nothing to prove, that the apostle in this sixth verse of the aforementioned chapter uses it otherwise than in this general, popular, and more enlarged sense. Nevertheless, admitting, but not granting, that he took the word in this text in the strict philosophical sense of it, for an assent upon testimony, must this therefore exclude all assent upon scientific grounds ? Whereas, it is certain, that the same thing may be the object both of our knowledge and belief ; and that we may assent to the same proposition, upon the discourses of reason, drawn from the nature of the things contained in that proposition ; and withal, upon the affirmation of one, whom, for his knowledge and veracity, we know worthy to be believed. No true philosopher, I am sure, (which Socinus never was,) either will or can deny this.

But on the contrary, and in opposition to these new notions, I shall proceed further, and venture to affirm, that to believe that there is a God, only because God says so, is a mere *petitio principii*^a, and manifestly circular and ridiculous ; as supposing, and

^a With this and the preceding paragraph, compare the following observations from *Barrow*.

“ The word *πιστεύειν* is used in Scripture according to this general notion ; that is, so as to signify indifferently all kind of persuasion, having regard to the particular ground hereof. Thomas would not *believe* that our Saviour was risen, except he perceived *visible* marks, distinguishing his person from others. He did so, and then believes. Whereupon our Saviour says, “ Thou believest because thou hast seen : blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed.” (John xx. 29.) We see then that faith may be grounded

taking for granted, the very thing which as yet is under inquiry, and ought to be proved. For the being of a God is the thing here to be proved ; and the testimony of God, whereby it is to be proved, must presuppose, or rather imply the antecedent being of Him whose testimony it is. Supposing therefore, that the first revelation made to man of the being of God, (for it is of that only we now speak,) was by an express, audible declaration of Himself to be God ; yet this bare affirmation could not of itself, and in the way of a testimony, oblige a man to believe or assent to the thing affirmed, while he was yet ignorant who or what He was from whom it proceeded. For surely, in order of nature, I must know that it is God who says a thing, before I can believe it true, because God says it. Otherwise, suppose some angel had affirmed himself to be God, as the devil in effect did, when he challenged to himself the dominion and disposal of all the kingdoms of the world, and required divine worship of our Saviour thereupon ; none certainly will pretend that such a declaration could oblige our assent. But when God affirmed or declared Himself to be God, in the first age or ages of the world, no doubt this declaration was made in such a transcendent and supernatural way, and in circumstances so wonderfully glorious and extraordinary, that he or they to whom it was made, and Adam in particular, could not but perceive that the person making it was a being much above the condition of a creature, and consequently God. And such an acknowledgment of, or assent to, the being of a God, was really an act of knowledge, as inferring the cause from the effect ; and that too, such an effect as could issue from nothing but such upon sense. And, “ If I do not the works of my Father,” says our Saviour, “ believe me not : but if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works.” (John x. 37.) Our Saviour requires them not to rely upon his bare *testimony* concerning Himself, but to consider *rationaly* the quality of his works ; and upon that to ground their faith : which kind of persuasion seems grounded rather upon principles of reason, than any authority.” “ And I argue further,

“ That the belief that ‘ there is a God ’ cannot be grounded only upon authority. *Human* authority cannot alone suffice to prove so great a point ; and *divine* authority does presuppose it. For, how can we believe that God does this or that ; that He has revealed his mind to us ; that He teaches us so or so, before we believe that He is ? The belief of the subject must precede the belief of any *attribute* or action belonging to it : the belief therefore of God’s *existence* is properly grounded upon *other* arguments beside *authority*.” Barrow, vol. v. p. 229, 30. edit. 1818.

a cause. For which reason, the assent given in this case could not be founded upon bare testimony, nor be formally an act of belief, but an act properly and strictly scientific. From all which I conclude, that it is absurd and irrational to suppose that we can believe the being of a God upon the bare affirming this of Himself, unless we have some precedent or concomitant knowledge, that the person so affirming it is God. And this utterly overthrows the assertion of Socinus; that the being of a God is knowable only by faith, or belief. An assertion much fitter to undermine than establish the belief of a Deity upon the true grounds of it; but it was perhaps for this very purpose that he intended it.

And thus much for the first extreme mentioned, by which Satan has poisoned the principles and theoretic part of religion; though the poison will be found of that spreading malignity as to influence the practice too. And so we come to the

Second extreme mentioned; under which, as an angel of light, he more directly strikes at the practice of religion; and that is enthusiasm. A thing not more detestable in its effects, than plausible in its occasion. For men being enraged at the magisterial imposing of traditions upon them, as a rule of faith equal to the written word, and being commanded withal to submit their reason to the cheat of an infallible interpreter, they too naturally struck off to this extreme, to slight and lay aside the judgment of all antiquity, and so to adhere only to the bare letter of the Scripture; and then, both to secure and authorize their errors, they made their own reason, or rather humour, (first surnaming it the Spirit,) the infallible, unappealable judge of all that was delivered in the written word. And now upon these terms, what could keep a man so disposed from coming over to Socinianism; since the prime art and engine made use of by Socinus himself, for the venting of all his abominations, was a professed defiance of the judgment of all antiquity in matters of religion? And what likewise could hinder a man (if his temper inclined that way), from taking up in Anabaptism, when he could neither find any clear precept for infant baptism, nor express instance of it in the Scripture; but only probable inferences from thence, and remote consequences; all of them perhaps too little, without the universal tradition of the Church, to found the necessity and perpetuity of such a practice upon? Especially having been encountered

by such specious objections^a, as have been too often produced against it. And thus we see, how both the two forementioned extremes commence upon one and the same principle; to wit, the laying aside the judgment of antiquity both in matters of faith, and in all expositions of Scripture: but Socinianism being, as was observed, an heresy much too fine for the gross and thick genius of vulgar capacities, the devil found it requisite sometimes to change his engine, and, amongst such as these, to set up his standard in Familism, or enthusiasm. A monster, from whose teeming womb have issued some of the vilest, the foulest, and most absurd practices and opinions, that the nature of man (as corrupt as it is) was ever poisoned and polluted with. For these enthusiasts having first brought all to the naked letter^b of Scripture, and then confined that letter wholly to the exposition of the Spirit, (as they called it,) they proceed further, and advance this *mystery of iniquity* to its highest ἀκμή, by asserting the immediate indwelling of the said Spirit in their persons; so that by his impulse and authority they may, like Abraham, Phinehas, or Ehud, be carried out to actions, otherwise, and in other men, indeed unlawful, but in themselves sufficiently warranted by the Spirit's dispensing with his own laws in their behalf, and much more with the laws of men; besides that, according to the same doctrine, he only who has this Spirit can be a competent judge of what is

^a One of the examples here referred to is probably the singular case of the famous Chapter of Bishop Taylor in his *Liberty of Prophesying*. "There," (says Wall) "he draws up so elaborate a system of arguments against Infant Baptism, and sets them forth to the utmost by such advantage of style, that he is judged to have said more for the Antipædobaptists than they were ever before able to say for themselves. And Dr. Hammond says, 'It is the most diligent collection and the most exact scheme of the arguments against Infant Baptism that he had ever met with!' . . . Afterward, Bishop Taylor himself, having premised that he was sorry if any one had been so weak as to be misled by such mean objections, and that he accounted it great charity and condescension in Dr. Hammond to bestow an answer on them, wrote also his own answers to his own objections, and inserted them in a later edition of the said treatise . . . notwithstanding all which, it is a common thing with the Antipædobaptists to cite the passages in that treatise of the *Liberty of Prophesying* that make for them, as if they had been spoken by the author from his own judgment, and had never been answered by him." *Hist. of Infant Baptism*, Part ii. chap. ii. § 6. See also *Heber's Life of Bishop Taylor*, p. 28, 9. Edit. 1822.

^b Compare *Hooker's Preface*, chap. viii. given below in this collection, No. xii.

suggested to him by it. A principle of that diabolical malignity, that it sets men beyond all reach of the magistrate, and frets asunder the very nerves of all government and society. For it owns an impulse lawful, and yet unaccountable ; whereby they are empowered to shake off laws, invade the rights and properties of all about them, and, if they please, to judge, sentence, and put to death kings ; *because the spiritual man, forsooth, judgeth all things, but himself is judged of none.* And these were the persons who would needs set up for the new lights of this last age ; blazing comets, always portending, or rather causing wars and confusions both in Church and State ; first setting all on fire, and then shining by the flames they raised. But light, as we have seen, being so often made the devil's livery, no wonder if his servants affect to be seen in it.

And now, after this short view of Popery and Enthusiasm, I hope I shall not incur the suspicion of any bias to the former, if (as bad as it is) I prefer it to the latter, and allow it the poor commendation of being the less evil of the two. I confess, that under both, the great enemy of truth strikes at our Church and State ; and that whether he acts by the fanatic *illuminati* or by Vaux's lantern, the mischief projected by him is the same ; there being in both a light (and something else) within, for the blowing up of churches and kingdoms too. Nevertheless, if we consider and compare these two extremes together, we shall find enthusiasm the more untractable, furious, and pernicious of the two, and that in a double respect :

1. That the evils of Popery are really the same in enthusiasm. And,

2. That the little good which is in Popery is not in this.

And, first ; that the evils of both are equal, may appear upon these two accounts.

1. That the enthusiasts challenge the same infallibility which the Papal Church does, but are more intolerable in their claim ; for Popery places it only in one person, the pretended head of the Church, the Pope ; but enthusiasm claims it, as belonging to every Christian amongst them, every particular member of their Church. So that upon a full estimate of the matter, the Papacy is only enthusiasm contracted, and enthusiasm the Papacy diffused ; the evil is the same in both, with the advantage of multiplication in the latter. But,

2. Both of them equally take men off from the Scriptures.

and supplant their authority. For as one does it by traditions, making them equal to the written word ; so the other does it by pretending the immediate guidance of the Spirit, without the rule of the said word. For see with what contempt the Father of the Familists, Henry Nicholas, casts off the use and authority of it. See also the Quakers, (who may pass for the very elixir, the *ultimum quod sic*, and hitherto the highest form of enthusiasts amongst us). See, I say, how they recur only to the light within them ; a broad hint to men of sense and experience, how they intend to dispose of the Scriptures, when the angel of this light within them shall think fit to screw them up to a higher dispensation ; for then, no doubt, they will judge it convenient to bury this dead letter out of their sight. But,

2. As for the other proposition mentioned by us, viz. that the little good which is in Popery is not in enthusiasm ; this will appear upon these grounds :

1. Upon a political account. The design of the Popish religion is, in the several parts and circumstances of it, to reach and accommodate itself as much as possible, to all the humours and dispositions of men : and I know no argument like this universal compliance, to prove it Catholic by. So that a learned person ¹, in his *Europæ Speculum* ^a, or survey of the religions of the Western Church, pronounces Popery, upon a strict view of the artificial, wonderful composure of the whole frame of it, the greatest piece of practical wit that was ever yet set on foot in the world. For to show how in a depraved sense it *becomes all things to all men* ; is any one of a pious, strict, and severely disposed mind ? There are those retirements, austerities, and mortifications in this religion, which will both employ and gratify such a disposition. Or is he, on the other side, of a loose, jolly temper ? Why, there is that sufficiency placed in the *opus operatum*, and the external acts of religion, pieced out with suitable supplies from the bank of merit, which shall make the whole practice of it easy and agreeable. And lastly, if a man has lost his estate, broke his credit, missed of his preferments, failed in his projects, or the like, he may fairly and creditably take sanctuary in some monastery or convent, and so pretend piously to leave the world, as soon as he finds that the world is leaving him.

¹ Sir Edwin Sandys.

^a See the passage given below, the next article but one in this collection.

And as for the doctrinal part of the Christian religion, Escobar, with his fellow casuists, has so pared off all the roughness of that, and suited the strictest precepts to the largest and loosest consciences, that it will be a much harder matter to prove a man a sinner, than to condemn him for his being so ; so carefully and powerfully do these men step in between sin and sorrow ; so that if conscience should at any time become troublesome, and guilt begin to lift up its voice and grow clamorous, it is but to go and disgorge all in confession, and then absolution issuing of course, eases the mind, and takes off all that anguish and despair, which (should it lie pent up, without vent) might overwhelm, or, as Ovid expresses it, even choke or strangle a man, and either send him to a halter, or prove itself instead of one.

And thus these spiritual sinks receive and divert all those ill humours of desperate, discontented persons, which the world will never want, and which, in all probability, would otherwise discharge and spend themselves upon the State. For he who is malecontent and desperate, will assuredly either let fall his spirit, and consume himself, or keep it up and so (as occasion serves) wreak his spite upon the public ; for spite will be always working, and either find or make itself an object to work upon. Cain was the only person I have read of, who sought to divert his discontent by building cities ; but the reason was, because then there were none for him to pull down. These, I say, are some of the benefits and benign influences which the Papal constitution bestows upon the outward and civil concerns of such as fall within its communion.

But, on the contrary, where the quicksilver, or rather gunpowder of enthusiasm (for the fifth of November must not claim it all) has once insinuated itself into the veins and bowels of a kingdom, it presently rallies together all the distempers, all the humours, all the popular heats and discontents, till it kicks down crowns and sceptres,—tramples upon thrones, much like those boisterous vapours shut up within the caverns of the earth, which no sooner inspire it into a quaking fit (as I may express it), but it overturns houses and towns, swallows up whole cities, and, in a word, writes its history in ruins and desolations, or in something more terrible than all, called a *further reformation*. But,

2. Popery is likewise preferable to enthusiasm, in respect of the nature, quality, and complexion of the subjects in which it dwells.

The Popish religion has not been of that poisonous influence but it has brought up men of accomplished learning and morals, of a sublime wit, and all other excellent parts and endowments, which human nature can recommend itself by ; whereas enthusiasm, on the contrary, seldom or never falls upon such dispositions, but commonly takes up its abode in the gloomy regions of melancholy, of an ill habit of body, and a worse of mind ; so that the spirit of darkness, brooding upon the ill humours of the one and the distractions of the other, commonly hatches this monster. For, to look back upon some of the most noted ring-leaders and promoters of our late disorders in Church and State, were they not such as were first under some disorder themselves ? persons for the most part cracked either in fortune or in brain, acted by preternatural heats and ferments, and so mistaking that for devotion, which was only distemper, and for a good conscience, which too often proved little else but a bad constitution. And in such cases, certainly, we may well collect the malignity of that principle, which never dwells but in such venomous tempers, and rationally conclude that the leprosy must needs have seized the inhabitants, where the infection sticks so close to the walls.

3. Popery is likewise much more tolerable than enthusiasm, upon a religious account. The great basis and foundation upon which the whole body of Christianity rests, is the divinity of Christ's person, the history of his nativity, life, and death, his actions and sufferings, and his resurrection and ascension concluding all. But though the Popish Church has presumed to make several bold additions to, and some detractions from, the old system of our faith, yet it always acknowledged and held sacred the foregoing articles, without ever venturing to make any breach upon them. Whereas, on the contrary, Familism and Quakerism, the two grand and most thriving branches of enthusiasm, have reduced the whole Gospel to allegories and figures ; and turned the history of what Christ actually and personally did and suffered, into mystical and moral significations of some virtues to be wrought within us, or some actions to be wrought by us. And this in truth does, and must directly strike at the very vitals of our religion, and without more ado will (if not prevented) effectually send Christianity packing out of the world. Popery, indeed, has forced some bad consequences from good principles, but this destroys the very principles themselves.

Add to this, that the corruptions in a Church are not of so

destructive an influence as schisms and divisions from it, the constant effects of enthusiasm. It being much in the body spiritual as in the natural; where that which severs and dissolves the continuity of parts tends more to the destruction of the whole than that which corrupts them. You may cure a throat when it is sore, but not when it is cut.

And so I have done with this parallel; after which, give me leave to recapitulate to you, in short, some of Satan's principal and most specious abuses of religion, hitherto discoursed of by us. As first, how he made use of the Church's abhorrence of polytheism, for the introducing of Arianism, in the denial of our Saviour's divinity; and next, how, upon the declension and fall of that heresy, he took occasion from the zealous adoration of Christ's person, to bring in a superstitious worship of the Virgin Mary, his mother, and of his picture in crucifixes, and the like; and so at length appeared, in Popery, a sort of religion making men in nothing more zealous than in worshipping such things. And lastly how, when this also was shaken off, with the tales and legends that chiefly supported it, and the bare Scripture with the guidance of the Spirit made the sole rule of faith, without the help of a pretended infallible judge, he then, in the greater and more refined wits, turned Socinian, and in the vulgar played the enthusiast. And thus, having pursued the impostor through all his labyrinths, pulled off his vizard, and turned his inside outwards, that we may now, by reflecting upon what is past, the better fence against his methods for the future; I shall here proceed to the third and last general head proposed, and under it very briefly set down some certain principles, by which he is likely enough to play over his old game again, and, if not counterworked, to trump up the same religious cheats upon the world, with more advantage than before. And these are eminently three.

1. The stating of the doctrine of faith and free grace, so as to make them undermine the necessity of a good life.—God's mercy is indeed the crown and beauty of all his attributes, and his grace the emanation of his mercy; and whosoever goes about in the least to derogate from it, may he (for me) find no share in it. But, after all, has not the devil endeavoured to supplant the Gospel in a considerable part of it, by the very plea of grace; while some place an irreconcilable opposition between the efficacy of that and all freedom of man's will, and thereby make

those things inconsistent, which the admirable wisdom of God had made so fairly subordinate? But notwithstanding such fancies, we shall find that religion, in the true nature of it, consists of action as well as notion; of good works as well as faith; and that he believes to very little purpose, whose life is not the better for his belief.

But to state (as some do) the nature of justifying faith in this, that he who is confident his sins are forgiven him, is by that act of confidence completely justified, and beyond the danger of a final apostasy, so that all sins must for ever after be surnamed infirmities; what is this but to give a man a licence to sin boldly, and safely too, and so to write a perpetual divorce between faith and good works? The Church of England owns and maintains free grace as much as any. But still let God be free of it, and not men; who, when he gives it, never makes a bare *crede quod habes* the only title to it, or character of it.

Antinomianism, as both experience and the nature of the thing has sufficiently taught us, seldom ends but in Familism. And the sum and substance of that doctrine is, that it makes men justified from eternity, and faith not to be the instrument, but only the evidence of our justification, as no more than barely declaring to the conscience of the believer what is already done and transacted in heaven. Now let us see whether the former definition of faith can stand upon any other or better bottom than this of antinomianism. For if the faith which justifies me be a firm belief and persuasion that my sins are remitted, it must follow, that my sins are remitted antecedently to that act of belief; forasmuch as the object must needs precede the act; assent or belief being such an act as does not produce, but presuppose its object. But if my sins are not actually remitted before I believe, how can I truly believe they are so? unless the believing of a false proposition can make it true; which would be a piece of logic as new as this divinity. Bellarmine indeed fixes this upon the doctrine of all the Protestant Churches, and much triumphs in the charge, but falsely and invidiously, and like a Jesuit, as (in spite of the character some have given him for learning and candour) he still shows himself upon this subject. For all the reformed Churches (especially the Church of England) disclaim it as a paradox in reason, a pest in morality, an assertion so grossly absurd and contradictory, that not so much as the least shadow of an argument can be brought for it, unless *credo, quia impossibile est*, may

pass for one, which it will hardly ever do, but in the case of transubstantiation.

2. A second principle, by which in all likelihood the devil may and will (as opportunity serves) impose upon the Church, is by opposing *the power of godliness* irreconcilably to all forms ^a. And what is this, but in another instance to confront subordinates, and to destroy the body, because the soul can subsist without it? But thus to sequester the divine worship from all external assistances, that by this means, forsooth, it may become wholly mental, and all spirit, is, no doubt, a notable fetch of the devil, who, we know, is all spirit himself, but nevertheless a devil for being so. On the contrary, we have rather cause to fear, that, in the strength of this pretence, the worship of Christ may be treated as Christ himself once was; that is, first be stripped, and then crucified. For would you know what the devil drives at in all this seemingly seraphic plea? Why, first he pleads, that a set service or liturgy for divine worship is superstition and formality; and then, that Churches and a ministry are so too; and lastly, that the very letter of the Scripture is but a mere form, (if so much,) and accordingly to be laid aside, as in Familism and Quakerism we have shown it actually is. But then again, some other short-sighted schismatics were for proceeding upon that doughty principle, that nothing ought to be allowed in the Church or worship of God, but what is expressly enjoined in his written word: and accordingly in the strength thereof having run down several of the constitutions of the Church of England, as forms and rules uncommanded in the Scriptures, they soon had the same principle every whit as strongly, and more justly, retorted upon themselves by some of the brotherhood of another class, who (their interest leading them to carry the argument much further) inferred from thence, that tithes were to be taken away too. But this, you will say, was a pinching, ill-natured inference; and therefore the Presbyterians themselves (who it seems could find matter, as well as form, in the revenue, though none in the service of the Church) not only granted, but stiffly contended also, that tithes were by all means to be continued and retained in the house of God; especially since they were so thoroughly convinced, that without them they could not keep their own. Now that certainly must needs be a very unkind and ungrateful principle, which starves the persons who maintain it; and a very weak one too,

^a See Bishop *Butler's* Charge, above, vol. iii. No. XIX. in this collection.

which affords no consequences but what make for its own confutation. It must be confessed, that *the power of godliness*, so much and so often boasted of by some amongst us, has been a very plausible well-sounding word; and many a foul act has been committed under the splendid cover of it. But it is now high time to redeem truth from the slavery and cheat of words; and certainly that can never be imagined to be *the spirit or power of godliness*, which teaches either to rob or desert the Church, and shows itself in nothing but sacrilege and separation: it being, no doubt, a very odd and strange sort of *zeal for God's house*, which *eats it up*; and a fire much likelier to come from hell than heaven, which consumes the altar itself. But,

3. The third and last principle, which I shall mention, whereby Satan has so much disturbed and abused the world, and may (for aught appears to the contrary) do so again, is the ascribing such a kingdom to Christ, as shall oppose and interfere with the kingdoms and governments of the world.—Christ is indeed our king, and it is our honour and happiness to be his subjects; but where a zealous rebellion destroys monarchy, it renders his greatest prerogative, which is to be *King of kings*, impossible. There cannot, one would think, be a better design, or a more unexceptionable pretence, than to advance the sceptre of Christ in promoting the due authority of his Church: and yet even upon this the devil can forge such blessed maxims and conclusions as these.

1. That since Christ has two kingdoms^a in the world, one his

^a “For the advancement of the glory of the bishop of Rome, they will needs have Christ to have been here upon earth a temporal king; affirming, that upon his nativity all the kings of the world lost their regal power and authority, all their kingdoms being devolved unto Him; and that they could no longer possess them by any right, interest, or title, until they had again *resumed* them from Him *as He was man*, and forsaken their ancient tenures, whereby they held them of Him, *as He was God*. Insomuch, as some of them say in effect, that neither Augustus Cæsar, nor Tiberius, his successor, were lawful emperors from the time of Christ's birth, for above the space of thirty years, until our Saviour had required the Jews to pay tribute to Cæsar; as if in so doing, Tiberius had again received thereby his former right to the empire; and that thereupon he was from that time forward to hold it of Christ, *as He was man*. . . . These said persons are possessed with some imaginations, that as all emperors and kings, forsooth, held their kingdoms from Christ, as He then was, and still is man; *so ought they now in these days to hold them of the Pope*, in that, if men might safely believe them, our Saviour Christ did, (as they say,) after his ascension, bestow all such worldly dominion on St. Peter, and consequently upon his successors, the bishops of

providential over all things, as He is God ; the other his mediatorial, belonging to Him as head of his Church, with a full subordination of the former to this latter, during this world ; men are apt to reckon of kings as his vicegerents only in the administration of the former of these, but Church-officers as his deputies for governing the latter ; and consequently, that the sceptre ought to submit to the keys, and Christ's providential kingdom to come under his mediatorial : a principle which the Pope and some others (should opportunity serve) know how to make no small use of.

2. That these ecclesiastical deputies of Christ, by virtue of a power immediately derived from Him, may meet together, and consult about Church affairs, when and where they shall think fit, in any part or place of their prince's dominions without his consent, and, if they shall judge it requisite, excommunicate him too. And then Buchanan tells the world, " that he who is thrown out of the Church by excommunication, is not worthy to live." And he might, if he had pleased, have told us also, in what soil such doctrines root deepest and thrive best.

3. That these ecclesiastical deputies of Christ have the sole cognizance and decisive power in all spiritual causes, and in all civil also, *in ordine ad spiritualia*.

4. That a minister of Christ uttering any thing, though sedition or treason, in the execution of his ministerial office, and in the pulpit, is not to be accountable for it to any civil court, but only to the tribunal of Christ ; to wit, the Church, (or, in other words, to those who call themselves so ;) forasmuch as *the spirit of the prophets*, they tell us, is to be *subject to*, and judged by, *only the prophets*.

5. That when religion is in danger, (of which they themselves are to be the sole judges,) they may engage in an oath or confederacy against the standing laws of the country which they are actually of and belong to, and then plead, that they cannot in conscience turn to the obedience required by those laws, because of the obligation of the said oath.

And now, if this be the grand charter, and these the funda-

Rome ; and that now all worldly principalities are theirs and must be held of them, as they were before of Christ after his Incarnation, by as many kings and princes as desire to hold their kingdoms by any right title. *Overall's Convocation Book*, 112—4. See also, p. 140, 1.

mental laws of Christ's kingdom, and the execution thereof be committed wholly to a sort of ecclesiastics, (and those made such by none but themselves,) it will in good earnest behove kings and princes to turn their thrones into stools of repentance; for, upon these terms, I know not where else they can expect to sit safe. As for the late troubles and confusions caused in these poor kingdoms by the same rebellious ferment, and carried on much more by black-coats than by red, we shall find that they all moved by the spring of a few specious, abused words: such as *the Spirit, Christian liberty, the power of godliness, the sceptre and kingdom of Jesus Christ*, and the like. Touching which, it will be found no such strange or new thing for Satan to teach rebellion, as well as to manage a temptation, in Scripture phrase. He can trepan a Jephthah into a vow and solemn oath, and then bind him, under fear of perjury, to perform it by an horrid and inhuman murder. And, in a word, by a bold and shameless pretence of God's cause, he can baffle and break through any of his commands.

And thus, at length, I have upon the matter dispatched what I had to say upon this text and subject; a subject of such vast importance, that it would be but to upbraid any hearer, to enforce it by any further argument than itself. For can we have a higher concern at stake, than our happiness in both worlds, or a subtler gamester to win it from us, than he who understands his game so perfectly well, that though he stakes nothing, yet never plays for less than all, in any of his temptations? Which being our case, should not he who is so wise as to see the danger he is in, be so wise also as not to cast the least pleasing look or glance upon any of his insidious offers? especially in their first addresses, when they paint and flatter most; considering that nothing ever flatters, but what is false; nor paints, but what, without it, would appear exceeding ugly. There cannot certainly be a greater and a juster reproach to an intelligent being, than to barter away glory and immortality for baubles and fancies, to lose Paradise for an apple, to damn one's soul to please one's palate, and, in a word, to be tempted with such proposals as the proposer himself shall extremely scorn and laugh at us for accepting. For what is all this but the height of mockery as well as misery, the very *sting of death*, and like being murdered (as the best of kings was) by a disguised executioner^a? For such an

^a "A man in a visor performed the office of executioner; another, in a
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one the tempter ever was and will be ; never accosting us with a smile, but he designs us a stab ; nor, on the other hand, ever frightening those whom he would destroy. Such a course, he well knows, will not do his work ; but that if he would attempt and ruin a man effectually, silence and suddenness are his surest ways ; and he must take heed of giving an alarm, where he intends a surprise. No ; we may be sure that he understands the arts of tempting too well not to know, that the less he appears, the more he is like to do ; and that the tempter himself is no temptation. He is indeed an old, thoroughpaced, experienced sophister, and has ways to make the very natures and properties of things equivocate. He can, if need be, shroud a glutton in a fast, and a miser in a feast ; and though the very nature of swine hurries them into the foulest dirt and mire, yet to serve a turn, we read, he can make them run as violently into the water.

Still his way is to amuse the world with shows and shadows, surface and outside ; and thereby to make good that old maxim in philosophy, that in all that occurs to the eye, it is not substance, but only colour and figure, which we see. This has been his practice from the beginning, from the very infancy and nonage of the world to this day ; but whatsoever it was then in those early times, shall we, whose lot has cast us upon these latter ages, and thereby set us upon their shoulders, giving us all the advantages of warning, and observations made to our hands, all the benefits of example, and the assurances of a long and various experience ; shall we, I say, after all this, suffer ourselves to be fooled with the wretched, thin, transparent artifices of modern dissimulation ? with eyes turned up in prayer to God, but swelling with spite and envy towards men ? with a purity above mortal pitch, professed (or rather proclaimed) in words, without so much as common honesty seen in actions ? with reformation so loudly and speciously pretended, but nothing but sacrilege and rapine practised ?

This was the just and true character of the blessed times of forty-one ; and one would think it a great pity, that the same cheat should pass upon the same nation twice. For nothing but

like disguise, held up to the spectators the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, *this is the head of a traitor !*" *Hume's Hist. of England.* Charles I.

the utter subversion of Church and State was driven at by Satan and his instruments, in what was then done ; and lies, oaths, and armies (raised in the strength of both) were the means by which they effected it. In short, the nation was to be blindfolded, in order to its being buffeted ; and Samson to have his eyes put out, before he could be made fool enough to kill himself for company. All grant, that the acts of the understanding should, in order of nature, lead and go before the acts of the will ; and, accordingly, Satan is always so much a philosopher as to know, that there is no debauching the one, but by first deluding the other.

It is, indeed, no small degree of impudence, (as common as it is,) for men to dare to own pretences contrary to what they actually and visibly practise ; and yet, to show how much “the world” is made for “the world,” (as the saying is,) this has been the constant course of it, with an unfailing success attending it. For as long as knaves will pretend, and fools believe, (as it is seldom but they keep pace with one another,) the devil’s interest is sure to be served by both. And, therefore, if, after all this long scene of fallacy and imposture, (so infinitely dishonourable to our very nature,) we would effectually obviate the same for the future, let us, in God’s name, and in the first place, resolve once with ourselves to act as rational creatures ; that is to say, let us carry an open, steady, and impartial eye upon what men do, in spite of any thing which they shall or can say. And, in the next place, let us, as Christians, encounter our grand enemy the tempter with these two best of weapons put into our hands by the great Captain of our salvation, watchfulness and prayer ; and if, by these blessed means, God shall discover and lay open to us his delusions, we may thank ourselves if we fall by his temptations.

To which God, the great Fountain and Father of light, who alone can scatter all those mists and defeat those stratagems which the prince of darkness has hitherto blinded and abused the world by, be rendered and ascribed, as is most due, all praise, might, majesty, and dominion, both now and for evermore. Amen.

II.

JACOBO, DEI GRATIA, MAGNÆ BRITANNIÆ, &c. REGI, FIDEI
DEFENSORI, ISAACI CASAUBONI EPISTOLA DEDICATORIA,
EXERCITATIONIBUS SUIS IN PRIMAM BARONII ANNALIUM
PARTEM PRÆFIXA ^a.

CONSPECTUS.

- I. Veritatis hostes duo præcipui, novandi studium, et falsæ antiquitatis adversus veram prava defensio.
 - II. Sæculo post Christum sexto et deinceps, sinceritas religionis magnoperè labefacta. Necessitas reformationis.
 - III. Ecclesiæ reformatio.
 - IV. Beneficia quæ per illam instaurationem in Ecclesiam, maximè Anglicanam, redundârunt.
 - V. Impedimenta reformationis idoneæ in aliis regionibus.—Inveterata consuetudo.—Principum nonnullorum persuasio religionis reformationem ad suum munus nihil pertinere.—Præcipuè autem novitatis studium (unde hæresium et sectarum multitudo), et falsæ antiquitatis patrociniū.
 - VI. Centuriæ Magdeburgicæ. Cæsaris Baronii Annales Ecclesiastici.
 - VII. Casauboniani operis consilium.—Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ felicitas.
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I. Quod omnium optimè tua majestas novit, rex serenissime et potentissime, veritatis à Deo hominibus manifestatæ ea natura est, id fatum, ut quum vinci ab hostibus suis nequeat, carere

^a Of the argument and design of this celebrated dedication Casaubon himself has given us the following account in a letter to an anonymous friend: “Scripsi epistolam ad regem, sermonibus quibusdam ejus majestatis invitatus, in quâ tracto illam quæstionem, *an fuerit opus reformatione?* Ego fuisse opus contendo; et quia illam non præstabat, *qui ait se habere ‘plentudinem potestatis,’* pertendo factum esse divinitus, ut quidam existerent, qui illam inchoarent. Non laudo præcisè hanc aut illam reformationem: illos

tamen hostibus non queat. Scripturæ sacræ, et omnium seculorum experientia, cujus testis historia, dubitare nos eâ de re non sinunt. In illis audimus Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum de se dicentem, “Ego sum via, veritas, et vita;” ut verendum non sit, ne aliquando victa veritas ad extremum deficiat aut intereat; quæ Dei viventis Filium, Deum verum, habeat auctorem, assertorem, vindicem. At rursus in oraculis divinis legimus Jesum Christum nominari à Spiritu Sancto, ore Simeonis Prophetæ, “Signum cui contradicitur,” positum εἰς πῶσιν καὶ ἀνάστασιν, ut propter illum et per illum, alii in ruinam præcipitent, alii de morte transeant ad vitam. Quò etiam pertinet Pauli Apostoli divina disputatio, docentis è Veteris Testamenti Prophetiis, Christum esse “lapidem offensionis, petram scandali.” Sed et Apostolorum Princeps Petrus sollicitè fideles admonet, ut ab insidiis Satanæ caveant sibi; illum enim ut leonem rugientem imminere, cupidum pios deglutiendi, et universæ Ecclesiæ Dei perdendæ; quod salvâ coelestis veritatis sinceritate ab illo fieri non potest. Jam et historiæ omnes de Ecclesiâ Christianâ (quæ est sedes, σῦλος, καὶ ἐδραῖωμα veritatis,) scriptæ, Prophetarum vaticiniis planè concinunt, fidemque illorum ex eventu comprobant, admirabili varietate casuum refertæ, quos experiri Ecclesiæ contigit, quum à primâ illius institutione, neque externi, neque interni hostes ullo unquam tempore ipsi defuerint, qui ad illam perdendam, et vel nomen ipsius, si fieri potuisset, de memoriâ hominum delendum, nullam vim, nullum dolum, nullas denique artes sine-rent inexpertas. Sed enim veritas, φελλὸς ὡς ἀβάπτιστος, omnes adversarum tempestatum fluctus decumanos eluctata, etsi interdum latitans, et minus aliquando in oculos aliud agentium mortalium incurrens; semper tamen victrix, ad hæc secula duravit; duratura sine dubio, ad seculorum usque finem, et de omnibus suis inimicis plenissimum tandem et gloriosissimum triumphum reportatura.

Porrò ex omni illâ prope infinitâ hostium copiâ, qui sub signis merentes principis hujus mundi, bellum veritati ἄσπονδον atque implacabile indixerunt, haud equidem scio, an infestiores ei sint

graviter accuso qui negant ullâ opus esse; quique in antiquitate modicâ acquiescentes veram omnibus machinis eunt extinctum. . . . Baronium et in hac, et in Prolegomenis ad Lectorem, ita descripsi, ut neque falsas ei laudes tribuerem, neque veris detraherem.” Epist. 941. p. 554. edit. 1709.

ulli alii, quam sunt duo hominum genera, qui diversis, imò in speciem contrariis, illam modis aggredientes, et cursum ipsius omni conatu impediētes, detrimentum ingens Ecclesiæ persæpe attulerunt. Eos intelligo, rex serenissime et sapientissime, qui aut opinione sui inflati *καινοφωνίας*, doctrinasque novas inducere; aut studio capti præpostero defendendæ antiquitatis non veræ, ipsam veritatem, quâ nihil antiquius, oppugnare totis viribus sunt conati. Sive annalium replicare memoriam, tua majestas voluerit, sive ad hæc nostra tempora oculos referre, inveniet profectò, non gladios, non equuleos, non flammæ, non ungulas, non craticulas, non *θηριομαχίας*, aliave ulla priscae crudelitatis instrumenta, Ecclesiæ tantum unquam nocuisse, quantum ei nocuerunt, hinc novarum opinionum auctores, illinc præposteri antiquitatis *ψευδωνύμου* defensores. Quæ duo hominum genera, quum videantur inter se opposita, penitùs dissidere, atque adedò affectibus, ut plurimum, ducantur contrariis; si quis tamen propius rem spectet, in *effectu* consentire^a, utrorumque conatibus eodem recidentibus, facillè intelliget. Nam quid est antiquitas non vera, nisi latens sub larvâ novitas? aut quæ vetustas contra veritatem stare potest; quum sit extra omne dubium, id verius esse, quod prius; id prius, quod à principio? Itaque hæreses non minus arguit novitas, quàm revincit veritas.

Primis statim nascentis Christianismi temporibus, quantus amor novitatis, hominum mentes, velut afflatas quodam pestilenti sidere, et invaserit et insederit; quis pruritus *φιλοκαινίας*, multorum ingenia titillaverit; quæ licentia sit passim vagata fingendi fabulas ineptissimas, et horrendarum opinionum portenta; quàm multæ denique hæreses ex arvo Ecclesiæ fructificaverint, degeneres veritatis, grano et mendacio sylvestres; testes sunt Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Carpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Marcion, Montanus, et similia his alia Satanæ principia; quorum stultissima et foedissima somnia hostes fidei fidelibus adscribebant, eoque nomine apud imperitos et veritatis ignaros sanctissimum pietatis Christianæ nomen infamabant. Quippe cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit; Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat; sectas novas parit, et statim multiplicat; perniciosissimum denique ex eâ ipsâ re scandalum generat; quod Ecclesiæ, etsi immerenti, in opprobrium vertens, paleas levis

^a See above, vol. iii. p. 31-2, and n.

fidei ex arcâ Christi facit avolare, positos verò extra Ecclesiam in suâ perfidiâ indurat, et ruentes propriâ sponte in ipsum perniciem barathrum, magis magisque impellit: quod primis illis Christianismi seculis usu venisse, et historia vetus, et pii Patres innumeris suorum scriptorum locis nos docent.

Nec minus tamen Ecclesiæ Dei priscis temporibus obfuerunt, Paganorum hominum clamores assidui et importuni, religionis suæ et cærimoniarum à majoribus acceptarum antiquitatem stultè jactantium, doctrinæ verò evangelicæ novitatem pari stultitiâ objicientium. “Quanto venerabilius ac melius,” dicebat Cœcilius orator paganus apud Minutium Felicem, “antistites veritatis majorum excipere disciplinam, religiones traditas colere; Deos, quos à parentibus ante imbutus es timere, quàm cognôsse familiarius, adorare; nec de numinibus ferre sententiam, sed prioribus credere?” Simillimè Symmachus scribens ad Valentinianum, Theodosium, et Arcadium Augustos, “Si longa ætas,” inquit, “auctoritatem religionibus faciat, servanda est tot seculis fides et sequendi sunt nobis parentes, qui secuti sunt feliciter suos. Sera et contumeliosa est emendatio senectutis.” Non est facile dictu, quantum olim piis hominibus fuerit laboris exantlandum, ut hunc errorem cæcutientium paganorum animis penitùs insitum, illis eximerent. Declarant id satis superque tot apologiæ, aliaque ipsorum scripta longe doctissima, in eum maximè finem elucubrata, ut demonstrarent, eam religionem quæ à Deo Opt. Max. esset instituta, alias omnes tempore antevertere; neque ipsam post cæteras natam videri debere; sed ex eâ cunctas per pravam æmulationem fuisse derivatas.—Tandem igitur, etsi ægrè id quidem, et non nisi post aliquot secula, vinci nescia, vicit veritas: falsa antiquitas veræ concessit; gentium aniles superstitiones evanuerunt; et per totum orbem terrarum salutaris nuncii vox, invito diabolo, est audita.

II. Enimvero antiquus ille humani generis hostis, etsi in suis ministris sæpe vincitur, ipse tamen animo non vincitur; neque mentem mutat, sed propositi sui semper tenax, cum hac non successit aliâ aggreditur viâ: januâ exclusus, per posticum subrepit: tunc maximè Ecclesiæ Dei metuendus, cùm res illi humanæ rident et blandiuntur successus. Non potuerat Satan impedire, quominus cœlestis veritas ad omnes Europæ, Asiæ, Africae provincias perveniret: mutatâ igitur consiliorum ratione, id agere cœpit, ne populi quos respexerat oriens ex alto, sementem quam ipse Christus seminaverat, quantâ par erat diligentiam custodirent:

deinde nimium securis pastoribus Ecclesiarum illudens, bonæ tritici sementi, zizania, ut erat à Domino prædictum, clam per nocturnas insidias induxit.—Quid multa? ira Dei tandem est accensa, et cœlo delapsa veritas, hostibus domitis, à domesticis suis neglecta, alibi penitus est amissa, alibi vix lacinia est retenta.—Ne de Africæ aut Asiæ Ecclesiis dicam, quæ vel extinctæ sunt dudum, vel quum essent quondam florentissimæ, nunc sunt afflictissimæ; in nostrâ hac Europâ quid acciderit, quantopere sit labe factata sinceritas veræ religionis, quibus quantisque novitatibus astu diaboli sit corrupta, ne illi quidem possunt ignorare, qui magno redemptum velint, id ab omnibus ignorari.—Uni Deo debitus cultus, creaturis variè et multifariam est communicatus. Cerimoniae, sub quarum onere jam inde à temporibus Beati Augustini gemebat Ecclesia, mirum in modum sunt multiplicatae: quumque dixerit Dominus, se in spiritu et veritate fore colendum; quam ob causam apostoli et prima ætas res externas ad Dei cultum adhibuerunt paucissimas; à contrario sic ad externa hominum mentes sunt traductæ, ut in iis plerique mortalium religionis proram et puppim, et salutis suæ ancoram ponerent. Inde illa sacrarum reliquiarum ultra legitimum modum veneratio; ipsa quidem etiam prius usurpata, sed aliter^a, alióque fine, et parcius. Inde illa in præsidio sanctorum posita fiducia, et tam sollicita eorum invocatio. Inde ille quem hodiè videmus, cultus imaginum et adoratio: quæ novitas initio cùm induceretur, orientem et occidentem inter se commisit, et aliquamdiu etiam collisit. Inde alii numero infiniti *ἑτεροπερισσοθησκείας*, ut vocem Epiphanii usurpem, et novarum superstitionum novi ritus. Quarum innovationum tot et tantarum, ne aliquid suboleret populis Christianis, inauditâ prius Satanæ fraude, divina eloquia non solum laicis, sed etiam cleri maximæ parti sunt adempta: eoque tandem perventum est furoris, ut grex Christi, Testamentum Christi, pastoris illius sui boni, neque domi curaret, vel auderet legere, neque publicè lectum alienâ linguâ, posset intelligere. Accessit tot malis cumulus ingens, dominatio terribilis unius, in Ecclesiam pretioso sanguine Christi liberatam, ab aliquammultis seculis introducta. Sedes enim Romana, quæ prima inter Patriarchales quondam satis habebat censeri; Domina Ecclesiarum esse atque agnosci dudum est cùm voluit. Et Romanus Pontifex, postquam potestatem suam in rebus spiritualibus ad ultimum fastigium perdux-

^a See Chemnitii Examen Concilii Tridentini; part. iv. sect. 3.

erat, pertæsus fortunæ suæ, quasi nihil dum egisset, ad Temporalem Dominationem^a animi mentem convertit. Cui ubi semel inhiare cœpit, nunquam ex eo prius conquievit, quàm in illud culmen sublime terrenæ potentiæ vidit se evectum, unde postea imperatores, reges et principes, longe infra se positos, superbè despicere, et quoties luberet, aut rebus ipsius expediret, pedibus posset conculcare.—Has pœnas longè gravissimas, Ecclesiarum in Europâ principes populiq̃ue dederunt, non diligenter vindicatæ veritatis adversus Satanæ molitiones. Lux evangelica versa est in tenebras; veræ pietatis aurea simplicitas, in superstitiones Libycæ arenæ instar numero carentes; libertas Christiana in horrendam servitutem; Ecclesiæ jura omnia, cum ipsis imperatorum ac regum coronis, unius monarchæ tiaræ sunt subjecta; qui dandi et aufe-
rendi imperia regnaque, instituendi et destituendi mundi potestates, jus sibi uni et soli vindicat. Sileo nunc^b alias calamitates

^a Of what deep interest these extravagant, and almost incredible claims of the Pope to temporal dominion, were held to be at the time of this dedication, cannot be better understood than by an extract from Bishop Andrews:

“In omnibus nostri temporis controversiis, primas tenent illæ de Ecclesiâ. In his de Ecclesiâ, nihil magis quæritur, quam de summo Pontifice: in hac de Pontifice, nihil magis quam de potestate quam vindicat. In hac ipsâ denique potestate, maximè jam incumbit rei Christianæ, quæ est de rebus regum temporalibus. Hic jam apex controversiarum est, quarum ex omni antiquitate collectus impetus in nostram ætatem redundavit.” Responsio ad Apolog. Cardinalis Bellarmini contra Regis Jacobi Præfationem monitoriam. Signat. b. 2. 1610.

For the doctrine itself, one of the most amazing and appalling of all the awful chapters in the mystery of iniquity, the opponents are very numerous, such as King James himself, Bishops Andrews and Carleton, Dr. Richard Crackanthorpe, &c. and, it is hoped, that a sufficient view of it, for our purpose, will be found in the extracts below, from Sir Edwin Sandys, Bishop Overall, and Dr. Isaac Barrow, with the accompanying notes.

Barrow indeed, in his masterly and stupendous Treatise, has declined entering upon the specific confutation of the claim of temporal supremacy, confining his discourse, as he says (vol. vi. 33.) to the Pope’s authority in ecclesiastical affairs, which being overthrown, the other as superstructed upon it, must necessarily fall. Scanty as the Pope’s temporal power now may be, still the principles on which his claims of that description upon foreign states were founded, are of a nature which has not ceased to exert its influence on Christendom, in every age.

^b The reader perhaps will not be displeased to see another rapid sketch of these same periods of the Church by the same masterly hand:

“Post seculum sextum quam sit paullatim unà cum temporum conditione immutata prior forma theologiæ, nemo potest veteris memoriæ peritus igno-

omnis generis, et dirissima bella, quibus toties concussa est Europa, dum passim neglecta, et in profundum demersa latet veritas.

III. Sed ô vim illius admirandam ! ô consiliorum Dei abyssum altam ! Quo maximè tempore artes coelesti veritati contrariæ regnum in Europâ obtinebant, cœpit illa vim suam exerere. Post

rare. Magni viri, quales priora secula viderant, aut nulli aut admodum rari apparent. Scripturæ minus diligenter tractantur, minus simpliciter exponuntur. Res externæ, miracula, imagines, reliquiæ, sanctorum cultus, ac tandem unius Papæ dominatio et monarchia prioris religionis institutis succedunt. Igitur qualis fuit istorum temporum theologia, talis et historia. Nam et in historicis monumentis miracula, ut plurimum utramque paginam, conficiebant, vel à sanctis, vel ab imaginibus, vel à reliquiis edita : atque ut supremum Ecclesiæ monarcham theologi agnoscebant, ita multi historiam scribere professi, Romanorum Pontificum successiones, Anti-paparam schismata aut novas artes à Papis excogitatas firmandæ potentiæ suæ, literis mandare : id verò erat historiam scribere Ecclesiasticam. Soleo dubitare, debemne illa secula *καίρους τεραταλογίας* an *ἀγνοίας* nominare : fuit sanè illorum temporum et imperitia meliorum literarum magna, et miraculorum benigna copia ; verorum sine dubio multorum, sed et falsorum nihilo pauciorum.

“Secuta est tandem, Dei immortalis nunquam tacendo beneficio, literarum *παλιγγενεσία* ; quam ratio temporum excepit adeò varia adeòque è contrariis mixta, ut non facilè scias gratulari superiori seculo et huic nostro jure meliore queas, an vicem dolere. Postquam e densissimis tenebris lux literarum emerserat, omnes artes, omnes scientiæ et disciplinæ, ipsa imprimis sacra theologia, brevi tempore ita sunt exultæ, ornatae, auctæ, ut eo nomine florentissimo cuique priorum seculorum, quod proximè est elapsum videatur posse anteponi. Sed hanc felicitatem infelicitas nihilo minor ex dissensione in causâ religionis est comitata. Quâ ex re natæ sunt inter populos Europæ discordiæ implacabiles, odia plusquam Vatiniana, bella dirissima, et nullum non malorum genus. Inde illa nomina prius nunquam hoc sensu audita, Pontificiorum et Protestantium. Inde studia partium, non solum in vitâ hominum, sed etiam in scriptis palam dominantia. Inde unius et ejusdem religionis Christianæ duplex et multum diversa theologia ; in maximi quidem momenti capitibus doctrinæ, arcano providentiæ divinæ beneficio, ut plurimum, consentiens ; in aliis dissidens, et in mutuam perniciem conjurata.—Quod de theologiâ hodiernâ diximus, de Historiâ Ecclesiasticâ dictum puta ; nam et hodie non minus quam olim, utriusque idem est fatum. Ergo etiam in historiam studia partium penetrârunt ; et veritas, quam homines Pagani, solius naturæ ducti instinctu, pronuntiârunt, unicam esse legem historiæ, victa studiis partium, aut si mavis rationibus utilitatis, in rerum antiquarum narrationibus, pro affectibus narrantis, aut expressa, aut suppressa, aut aliquo manganio corrupta reperitur. Quare quum hodiernis de religione controversiis, quæstio de antiquitate interveniat, videas alios, quibus nihil est antiquum, nisi quod ipsi pro suo arbitrio prius judicaverint orthodoxum ; alios contra, omnia velle esse antiqua, quæ ipsis placent ; vel si ante pauca secula, vel si heri aut nudiustertius fuerint inventa.” Prolegomena in Exercitationes in C. Baronii Annales Ecclesiasticos.

longam siquidem malorum inenarrabilium tolerantiam, post diuturnos gemitus, quos doloris justı magnitudo piis exprimebat, post expectatam per tot secula reformationem in capite et membris, toties promissam, nunquam præstitam; reperti sunt ad ultimum, qui patientiam rumperent, et ad veritatem ex intimo pectore anhelantibus duces se præberent. Nihil jam dico, quales illi viri fuerint, quid spectarint, quid egerint: hoc dicam, quod negari omnino haud potest, ex ipso rerum eventu, luce meridianâ clarius constare divinitus fuisse illos excitatos ^a, si nihil aliud, certè ad hoc unum efficiendum; ut qui supremum in Ecclesia dominium, et plenitudinem potestatis sibi vindicabant, tandem, si pote, evigilarent, in sese descenderent, deque religionis Christianæ variis corruptelis, quas longa dies invexerat, et de querimoniis omnium totâ Europâ principum ac populorum serio inciperent cogitare.

Quod si ea tum mens fuisset Romano Pontifici, ut sui admonitus officii, vinci se pateretur quâ expressis, quâ tacitis precibus Imperatoris, regum, principum, tot nationum, ipsius adeo Ecclesiæ,

^a The reader's attention is requested at this point to a sketch by Sir *Edwin Sandys*.

“But little was it then feared, what since has followed. Little was it imagined that the time should come, when the world awakened by the cries of a Friar, should look about so broadly, and search so narrowly all the plaits and hidden corners of the Papacy; what their scopes, and what their practices.—Neither was it then foreseen, that the world, entering into those considerations, would think that they had reason which called for a reformation; and that it was not a fatal calamity of this age, but a *supernatural blessing of God from above*,—after the kindling of many precursory lights of knowledge, and furnishing other instruments to do service therein,—to direct a *mere accident of scandal* on their part, namely, the indiscreet proclaiming and sale of their *pardons*, as the wisest and worthiest of their own historiographers reporteth it,—to the provoking of certain men of more zeal and courage, than policy or skill in conducting their actions; who, without any such premeditated intent, yea and drawn into the lists, and held in them against their will, by the violent pressing and insulting of their adversaries; having been forced to sift thoroughly the Romish *doctrine* and *practice*, have discovered therein those errors and abuses, which it was high time should be purged and swept out of the Church. And that the establishing of this reformation, how imperfect soever, to be done by so weak and simple means, yea by casual and cross means,—against the force of so puissant and politic an adversary, is that *miracle* which in these times we are to look for;—wherein it pleases God, whose *goodness* all times do speak out, to renown his high *wisdom* in guiding this untoward world by *ordinary* courses, as in fore times his *power*, by admiring therein his often *extraordinary* wonders.” *Europæ Speculum*, pp. 135-8

neque toties spes illorum esset elusa, qui aliquam saltem tolerabilem ab eo reformationem exigebant et sibi spondebant; certum est, non fuisse res religionis in nervum, ut evenit, erupturas. Non esset facta hæc, necessaria illa quidem, sed nihilominus lamentabilis Ecclesiarum in Europâ, scissura: singulæ nationes privatim sibi consulere, et operi manus admovere, cessante Româ, non fuissent coactæ: instauratæ religionis primitivæ, et mundatæ domus Dei, ad alios non esset gloria translata: postremò populi Christiani, quorum hodie alii reformationem adhuc præstolantur; alii se saltem aliquam adeptos lætantur; divisi in sese et in funestas factiones distracti, integrum jam ferme seculum Imperatoris Turcarum negotium non agerent, neque ad celerem suam ruinam, cum æterno nominis Christiani dedecore, (Deus omen avertat!) suis ipsimet sibi manibus, proh dolor! viam munirent.—Nunc quum admonitiones, preces, supplicationesque omnes omnium intolerabili plane supercilio à Romano pontifice semper sint spretæ; quum in eos qui vel solum legitimæ reformationis nomen auderent usurpare, flammâ et ferro semper ubique ipso auctore sit sævitum; quid per Deum immortalem, illi facerent, quos veritas à densissimis tenebris emergens, ceu novus aliquis sol, pulchritudine suâ et majestate admirabili ceperat, et ad sui amorem ac desiderium non aliquibus igniculis, sed flagrantissimâ veræ pietatis flammâ incenderat? Planè vim et efficaciam illius Deæ ignorant, qui admiratores ejus et cultores, inter vivicomburia, et omnes suppliciorum ideas potuisse inveniri solent mirari. Utinam potius agnoscerent, opus reformationis, quo nullum neque majus neque nobilius inceptum à multis seculis fuit inchoatum, non sine numine fuisse susceptum. Unde enim nisi à Deo, tantus ille zelus tot hominum, tot populorum, quo repentè correpti, posthabitis rebus omnibus humanis, spreto omni metu, cultum divinum miris modis depravatam, ad pristinam formam revocare, pro suâ quisque virili, sunt conati?

IV. At non assecuti sunt omni fortasse ex parte, auctores reformationis, quod totâ mente, totâ voluntate optabant.—Esto: nam omnia magna opera, quæ per homines Deus fecit, suos progressus admodum aliquando lentos reperiuntur habuisse: verùm illud certè sunt consecuti, sicut illorum unus Cardinali Sadoletto respondens scribebat, “ut à Pontificis Romani tyrannide se vindicaret, et paullo meliorem Ecclesiæ formam apud se constituerent.” Non potest parvum hoc videri, nisi iis, qui ignorant (etsi quis hoc potest ignorare?) quot reges magni, aut principes latè dominantes,

superioribus seculis crudelissimè atque ignominiosissimè à Papis habiti, postea imperiis suis dejecti, et ad malorum extrema ex alto suarum dignitatum fastigio detrusi, ac cervices demum suas Papæ subjicere et calcandas præbere coacti, diem illum videre avidissimè desiderârunt, qui ipsos et populos ipsorum à tam dirâ servitute liberaret.—Frustra: quia nondum è tenebris revocatæ veritatis lux Europæ affulserat: de quâ dixit Dominus, “et cognoscetis veritatem, et veritas liberabit vos.” Scit hoc omnium optimè, Jacobe Rex maxime, propriâ experienciâ edocta majestas tua. Sciunt et tuorum regnorum omnes ordines, populi que universi, immortales Deo Æterno gratias et habere et agere obstricti, nisi hominum ingratisimi volunt censeri, quod divinæ hujus promissionis fidem in sese sint experti, et quotidie experiantur. Tu, quod pleno jure hodie regnas, quod non es fidelis^a, id est, vile mancipium Papæ, quod feudatarius illius non audis, neque precario regnum obtines, tanquam procurator hæreditatis alienæ; quod tibi cum reverendo tuo Clero convenit, neque aut tu ab illo tibi metuis, aut ille à te sibi; quod curam instituendorum pastorum dividis cum tuis Episcopis, et partem tibi debitam^b, quæ ad temporalia spectat, intrepidè tibi vindicas, partem alteram curæ,

^a “*Fidelitas*, in the Latinity of the middle and later ages, is used in a sense precisely equivalent to that of our English word *fealty*. . . . The researches of our antiquarians have placed this meaning of the term beyond dispute.” *Phelan’s and O’Sullivan’s Digest of Evidence on the State of Ireland*, taken before Select Committees of the two Houses of Parliament. Part ii. p. 7. 1826. 8vo.

Again,

“It is known to every reader of Blackstone, that during the dark ages, the Popes claimed to be the *feudal* lords of all Christendom. In addition to the other exactions which they grounded on this claim, they required *oaths of fealty*, not only from the higher classes of ecclesiastics, but from princes, kings, and the emperor himself. The episcopal oath is still used, and is probably the most perfect relic of the feudal system now in the world.” *Ibid.* 9.

Time was when the crown of England was content to hold the kingdom of Ireland as a fief of the See of Rome: and the effects of submitting to hold under such a tenure and title, if they be dormant, are very far from being extinct, even at the present day. Of this we have sufficient proof in part ii. chap. 2. of *Phelan’s, &c. Digest*; and elsewhere in the same volumes.

^b See Art. 37 of the Church of England.—The extent and limits of the claims of the crown of England in causes ecclesiastical were stated, at this time, with great deliberation and exactness by Bishop *Andrews* in his famous book against Cardinal *Bellarmino*. The passage may be considered as of a semi-official character, and so of a special authority on this grand question: (see Letters from and to Sir *Dudley Carleton*, during his Embassy in Hol-

quæ spiritualia attingit, ipsis relinquis; hæc omnia quæ verum te regem probant, et sine quibus regis quidem imaginarium nomen obtinere potuisti, rem ipsam et vim nominis non potuisti, hæc inquam, omnia, agnitæ cœlesti veritati tua majestas, pro eo ac

land, p. 223. edit. 3. 4to. 1780) and therefore, though long, it deserves to be given at large.

“Atque ut semel defungar totâ hac de *Primatu Regio* quæstione, simul ut constet Primatus apud nos quæ jura sint, quid illius nomine intelligendum veniat; atque ita cesset vestra dehinc, cesset aliorum calunnia de vestro et à vobis conficto, non nostro et à nobis agnito Primatu; paucis sic accipe sententiam nostram.

“Primò, sub Primatûs nomine Papatum novum rex non invehit in Ecclesiam. Sic enim statuit, ut non Aaroni Pontifici (Exod. xxxii. 4.), ita nec Jerobaamo Regi (1 Reg. xxi. 2. 8.), jus ullum esse, conflatum à se vitulum populo proponendi ut adoret; id est non vel fidei novos articulos, vel cultus divini novas formulas procudendi.

“Neque verò id agit rex, ne patitur quidem, ut sibi potestas sit, vel *incensum adolendi* cum Oziâ (2 Chron. xxvi. 16.), vel *arcam attrahendi* cum Ozâ (2 Sam. vi. 6.); quod vos toties tam odiosè inculcatis.

“Vestrum illud, (quod ad Primatum Pontificium propriè pertinere dicitis,) *docendi munus*, vel *dubia legis explicandi*, non assumit; non vel *conciones* habendi, vel *rei sacræ præeundi*, vel *sacramenta* celebrandi; non vel *personas* sacrandi, vel *res*; non vel *clavium* jus, vel *censuræ*: verbo dicam, nihil ille sibi, nihil nos illi fas putamus attingere, quæ ad *sacerdotale* munus spectant, seu potestatem *ordinis* consequuntur. Omnino vestra hæc calunnia est, in odium conficta et regis, et nostrûm: regis, quod ille sibi hæc arroget; nostrûm, quod nos illi ista tribuamus. Procul hæc habet rex: procul a se abdicat.

“Atqui, in iis quæ *exterioris* politiæ sunt, ut præcipiat, suo sibi jure vindicat; nosque adeo illi lubentes meritò deferimus. Religionis enim curam rem *regiam* esse, non modo pontificiam, et in *regiis* primam; quamque ille non solum foris ab externâ vi, sed et domi ab incuriâ hominum asserere teneatur. Vos quidem ipsi, si vis instet ulla, rem regiam clamatis: Ille verò, si collapsa sit disciplina, non minus regiam.

“Nam, cum lege ipsâ Dei (Deut. xvii. 18. Josh. i. 8.), custos sit et vindex non *secundæ* modo tabulæ, sed et *primæ*; *primæ* quoque ad se curam pertinere putat, et primam *primæ*. Et cum *omnis anima* ei subijci jubetur (Rom. xiii. 1.), *animæ* etiam consultum vult; magis autem id, atque prius, quam *corpori*.

“Vis illa dicam *sigillatim* quæ sint? Quodcunque in rebus religionis reges Israel fecerunt, nec sine laude fecerunt, id ut ei faciendi jus sit ac potestas. Leges auctoritate regiâ ferendi, ne *blasphemetur Deus*, (non negabitis, fecit Rex Babel, Dan. iii. 29.); ut jejuniis placetur Deus (fecit Rex Ninive, Jonah iii. 7.); ut *festo honoretur*, (fecit Esther cum Purim, Machabeus cum Encænâ promulgaret, Esther ix. 26. 1 Mac. iv. 56. 59.) Denique iis omnibus de rebus, de quibus in *Codice*, in *Authenticis*, in *Capitularibus*, a Constantino, Theodosio, Justiniano, Carolo Magno leges latæ leguntur.

“Tum

debet, fert accepta. Tu regnum Dei quæsivisti: illa et spem ejus tibi fecit, rationemque certam illius consequendi ostendit: et hoc amplius, ista omnia tibi adjecit.

“Tum, delegandi qui de lege sic latâ *judicent*, (quod Josaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 8.) Tum subditos, ne sic latam violent juramento obstringendi (quod et Asa et Josias, 2 Chron. xv. 14. et xxxiv. 52.)

“Quod si qui in leges ita latas committant, etsi religionis ea causa sit, sive pseudo-prophetæ crimen est (Deut. xiii. 10.), sive idololatræ (Deut. xiii. 15.), sive blasphemii (Levit. xxiv. 23.), sive sacra polluentis (Num. xv. 35.), in eos auctoritate regiâ animadvertendi.

“*Conventus* auctoritate suâ *indicandi*; etiam de arcâ reducendâ, et figendâ loco suo, (quod fecit David, 1 Chron. xiii. 3.) etiam de populo ad Dei cultum revocando, (quod Josaphat, 2 Chron. xix. 4.) etiam de templo dedicando (quod Salomon, 1 Reg. viii. 64.); collapsio instaurando (quod Joas, 2 Chron. xxiv. 4.); polluto purificando, (quod Ezekias, 2 Chron. xxix. 5.)

“Quamquam verò non frustra sibi præceptum putet à Deo, ut describat sibi legis exemplar, secum habeat, semper legat sedulò, dies noctesque meditetur (Deut. xvii. 19. Jos. i. 8.), condiscat inde cultum Dei vel ad ipsas usque cæremonias; nec hoc illi dictum, ut totus ab alieno ore pendeat, ipse qua à se nihil planè dijudicet: in his tamen os Eleazari, (Numb. xxvii. 21.) non invitatus consulit; et requiret legem ab iis, quorum labia scientiam custodiunt. (Mal. ii. 7.) Adhibebit in sacris legibus ferendis, quos adhibere par est, quosque ratio suadet rerum illarum consultissimos, deque iis optimè respondere posse. Et in iis quæ ab Deum pertinent, Amariam sacerdotem, (2 Chron. xix. 11.) non Zabadiam ducem jubebit præsidere.

“Quoad *personas*; omnibus omnium ordinum *jus dicendi*; qui sit (dicam stylo Scripturæ), caput tribus Levi, (1 Sam. xv. 17.) non minus quam cæterarum; nec minus clericorum, quam laicorum rex. Contra Abiathar si quis superbierit, decreto suo compescendi (Deut. xvii. 12.); etiam Abiathar ipsum, si ita meritis, pontificatu abdicandi (1 Reg. ii. 27.)

“Quoad *res*. *Excelsa diruendi*, id est, peregrinum cultum abolendi; nec modò vitulum aureum ab Aarone conflatum (quod Moses, Exod. xxxii. 20.); sed et serpentem æneum, à Mose erectum, confringendi (quod Ezechias, 2 Reg. xviii. 4.); et, sive in idololatriam abeat vitulus aureus, sive in superstitionem serpens æneus, utrumque comminuendi.

“Nam de rebus quæ *ad decorem domus Dei* spectant, (quæ dici solent *Adiaphora*) statuendi (quod Joas, 2 Chron. xxiv. 12.); et quæ materia schismatis esse assolent, fuitiles et inutiles quæstiones auctoritate suâ compescendi, (quod Constantinus, *Socrat.* lib. i. 7.); ne vos quidem ipsi negatis jus esse.

“Postremo; si de *Christianis* exemplum malitis, id postulat, ut *episcopus* sit τῶν ἐκρὸς, (quod Constantinus;) ut *rector religionis*, (quod non modò Carolus Magnus, sed et Ludovicus Pius).

“Hæc *primatus* apud nos jura sunt, ex jure divino: reliqua chimæra vestra sunt; quibuscum, quasi cum umbrâ vestrâ σκιμαχίαν, si libet, quantum libet, institute. Nos illa non feriunt; lectori, perinde ut affectus erit, vel stomachum vel risum movent.” *Tortura Torti*, p. 380—2, 4to. 1609.

O amicum principibus numen, et omni studio ab illis atque sollicitudine colendum ! Ubi nunc illa tempora, cùm è tuis majoribus, gloriosissimæ memoriæ regibus, unus superstitione ^a cæcâ ductus, zelum habens, sed non secundum scientiam, ultro, nullâ re cogente, regnum suum Gregorio Tertio ^b Romano Pontifici fecit vectigale ? aut cùm rex alter ^c, propter adversa casuum in desperationem adductus, Innocentio Tertio, à quo exagitatus fuerat, cedere jure regnorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ ; et partibus villici Romani Pontificis cogitur esse contentus ? O temporum cæcitatem horrendam ! O Petri successorem, factis suis Petrum egregiè referentem ! Ingemuerunt tanto casui tanti principis, tam tristi, tam fœdo, non solum barones proceresque illius, et quantum fuit subditorum ; sed etiam regum ac principum totâ Europâ prudentissimus quisque atque optimus : suntque aded relatæ in literas ad perpetuam memoriam voces, quas ad tam immanis exempli nuntium, eorum nonnulli ediderunt ; testes justissimæ ipsorum indignationis simul et stuporis. Sed ipsius regis illius infelicis vox extat apud Scriptores illorum temporum, dignissima quam mente altâ principes omnes recondant ; “ Postquam, ut dixi, Deo reconciliatus, me ac mea regna, proh dolor ! Romanæ subjeci Ecclesiæ, nulla mihi prospera, sed contraria omnia advenerunt.”

Quid dicam de præsentî cleri tui et universi populi, si cum illis temporibus hæc comparentur, beatissimâ conditione ? Non jam, ut olim, Episcopi electi trans Alpes currere, et suam confirmationem vi pecuniæ ingenti à papâ redimere necesse habent. Non amplius Pallii jus auri pondere magno est illis emendum. Romam accurrere singulis trienniis ^d, aut quoties liberet Romano Pontifici, hoc est, quoties nummos Anglicanos sitiret, nulla nunc illos cogit necessitas. Non jam illa cura, ut quondam, Angliæ tuæ Episcopos sollicitat, ut beneficia optimæ notæ Italicis hominibus conferant ^e ; “ in quibus beneficiis ” (verba sunt Matthæi Parisiensis) “ nec jura, nec pauperum sustentatio, nec hospitalitas

^a Henry II. A.D. 1172.

^b For Gregorio we must read Alexandro.

^c King John.

^d The allusion here is to a clause in the oath to the Pope taken by the bishops at their consecration. See the oath at large, given below in the first extract from *Barrow* on the Pope's supremacy, No. IV.

^e See Ecclesiastical Biography, Vol. I. p. 29. 345. (i. 135—6 ; 191—4 ; 481. edit. 3.)

nec divini verbi prædicatio, nec Ecclesiarum utilis ornatus, nec animarum cura, nec in Ecclesiis divina fiunt obsequia, proüt decet, et moris est patrii; sed in ædificiis suis parietes cum tectis corruunt, et penitus lacerantur.” Non metuit hoc tempore Dominus Archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, ne papales bullæ ad se afferantur, quæ ipsi nuncient, “se suspensum à beneficiorum collatione, donec trecentis Romanis in primis beneficiis vacantibus, fuerit provisum;” sicut accidit anno Dom. 1239. Edmundo Archiepiscopo, missis bullis à Gregorio IX. idque ex pacto, quod inierat Papa cum civibus Romanis, parum illi tunc cupientibus. Controversiæ Ecclesiasticæ in Angliâ exortæ, è vetustissimo canone, cujus etiam B. Cyprianus meminit, in Angliâ terminantur. Exactores Denarii Petri, item aliarum contributionum; visitatores, procuratores, et firmarii Romani; venditores indulgentiarum pro modo opum; dispensatores votorum, et legitimationis; institores ad suscipiendos ordines; Causini fœneratores, Romæ degentes, sed qui omnia in Angliâ agebant, ferebant, dum Papæ congregabant pecunias; bullarum delatores ad novas extorsiones; ingeniosi musculatores (sic historia dominat) qualis aliquando Petrus Rubeus^a fuit, et sæpissime alii, emungendæ pro Papâ pecuniæ artifices solertissimi; et similes his aliæ sexcentæ nocendi artes, inenarrabili erga tuos Anglos, rex serenissime, beneficio veritatis, nomina hic sunt jam inaudita, et prorsus, absque superiorum seculorum monumentis, essent hodiè incognita. Sed ne Legatus quidem à latere ullus amplius rapinas per Angliam exercet quod plurimi olim fecerunt; nonnulli tantâ cum auri fame, ut de illorum uno, Ottone à Gregorio IX. misso, legatur, ipsum, postquam toto triennio, detestandis artibus pecuniam undique corrasisset, tandem cum discederet, non tantum pecuniæ in toto hoc regno reliquisse, quantum ipse partim jam miserat Romam, partim abiens auferebat. Et sunt tamen ista præ aliis malis levia, quæ tuorum regnorum populi à Curiâ Romanâ per aliquot secula continua esse passi, ab illorum temporum consentientibus historicis narrantur. Verè enim “hortus deliciarum Papis fuit tum Anglia, et puteus inexhaustus,” sicut venustè aliquando Innocentium IV. legimus illam nominasse.

Taceo impræsentiarum vera animi bona admissæ reformationi imputanda quæ pluris tua Majestas, pro suâ pietate, facit, quam omnia terræ universæ regna: unius Dei sine sociis aut collegis, sinceram adorationem: beatæ Virginis et sanctorum, sine super-

^a A. D. 1240. See *Fox's Acts*, 345, 371. Edit. 1641.

stitutione, venerationem : pacem conscientiae apud Deum, per fidem in merita et mortem Christi : non ut cessent fideles à bonis operibus, apage hanc insaniam ! sed ut postquam omnia fecerit aliquis, servum se inutilem agnoscat, neque ex suis meritis sumat unquam fiduciam, oculos in cœlum attollendi : consolationem innarrabilem ex assiduâ lectione et jugi meditatione Scripturarum : non ut illas ex proprio sensu fidelis interpretetur ; sed ut iis quæ habent perspicua (habent autem, si credimus Patribus, omnia ad salutem necessaria) et consentientibus primorum ecclesiae doctorum expositionibus, animum sibi muniat adversus tot falsas opiniones, quæ pro antiquis fidei articulis hodiè incautis obtruduntur : sacrosanctæ eucharistiæ ex institutione ac jussione Domini, secundum mille annorum atque amplius continuam in Ecclesiâ praxim, sub utrâque specie perceptionem : confirmatum denique animum adversus illa quondam terribilia excommunicationum fulmina ; quæ sæpe in innocentes principes Papæ olim, ex humanis caussis potius quam divinis, quod nemo ignorat, vibrârunt : ut cum universos hujus regni populos sub diro (ita credi jubent Papæ, et tunc credebatur) anathemate, integros sex annos, menses tres, et dies xiv. Innocentius III. olim tenuit : qui, si vel unum diem tot innocentes animas eo in statu detinuisset, rationem facti à charitate pastoris alienissimi Christo Pastori pastorum nunquam esset probaturus ; siquidem papalium excommunicationum ea vis est, quæ Romæ jactatur.

V. Hujusmodi admiranda bona sunt, tam futuræ vitæ, quam presentis, experiendo Majestati tuæ comperta, quæ poterant principes populique omnes Europæ sibi polliceri, et Deo cœptis ad eò sanctis aspirante, consequi, si collapsæ pietatis primævæ instaurationem, quam votis communibus tamdiu omnes optaverant, sæpe etiam poposcerant, communi item operâ procurare consensissent. — Sed nunquam ita bene cum humano genere est actum, ut inoffenso pede magna et laudabilia incepta procederent. Nimirum inter cætera mortalitatis incommoda, istud etiam venit censendum, quod ad præclara, alta et salutaria quæque, rarus aut lentus, etiam inter prudentes intervenit consensus : ad minus honesta, ne dicam perniciosa, ultro et concordēs populi accurrunt. Inde est, quod reformationis opus arduum et planè heroicum multi principum, ceu negotium, in quo nihil sibi neque meteretur neque sereretur, neglectui habuerunt ; plures totis se viribus illi opposuerunt ; pauci quidam inusitatâ animi magnitudine capesserunt. Multos dulce venenum consuetudinis, quæ et ipsa inter inimicos veritatis

nomen sæpe profitetur suum, (propterea B. Chrysostomo tyrannus nominata) à tam præclarâ cogitatione avertit. Qui si Tertulianum in consilium adhibuissent, aliter profectò sensissent. Verè enim illi dictum, “ Dominus noster Christus *veritatem* se non *consuetudinem* cognominavit.” Sed et S. Bernardus ad Eugenium suum rectè et ex vero; “ Quid non evertat *consuetudo*? quid non assiduitate duretur? quid non usui cedat? primum tibi importabile videtur aliquid; processu temporis si assuescas, iudicabis non adeò grave; paulo post et leve senties; paulo post nec senties; paulo post etiam delectabit. Ita paulatim in cordis duritiam itur, et ex illa in aversionem, id est, ἀποστασίαν.” Quod igitur multorum acquiescit animus in tot superstitionibus, et cultu Dei tantopere depravato, vis consuetudinis hoc facit. Quod non pauci hodièque principes Romanæ tyrannidis terribile jugum patienter ferunt, multi ne sensum quidem illius habent, id quoque vis consuetudinis facit. Ita evenit illis fortuna, quâ nulla deterior, miseros esse, neque suam miseriam sentire.

Multis quoque principibus et rebuspublicis in eâ deliberatione fuit fraudi, quod persuasum haberent, religionis reformationem ad suam curam nihil quicquam pertinere. Non enim cogitabant, id sibi ab iis consilii dari, quos non verus zelus Domus Dei, sed utilitatis ratio ducebat. Quantum enim civilium omnium potestatum interest, in meliorem formam Ecclesiam Dei restitui; tantum Papæ et omnium, quorum fortunæ à Papâ sunt aptæ et pendent, interest, nihil moveri. A Julio Cæsare pristinae libertatis restitutionem petere aut expectare, postquam ille semel rempublicam evertit et occupavit, stultum et ridiculum fuisset.—Rectè quidem illud dicitur, non esse principum aut civilium magistratum, leges novas de cultu Dei conscientis ferre, aut propria sacerdotum obire munia: sed utinam considerare principes vellent, aliud esse sacerdotem agere, ex umbone Scripturas interpretari, Sacramenta administrare, in nomine Christi ligare et solvere: aliud auctoritate sua prospicere, ut quæ sunt sacerdotis agat sacerdos, atque id ritè, ut est à Deo jussus. Has partes in Ecclesiâ Dei jam inde à principio pii principes sibi semper vindicârunt. Quorum exemplum tu hodiè, rex serenissime, piè insequeris ac sapienter: quicquid blaterent non magis tui quam ipsius veritatis hostes conjurati. Nova, infanda, execranda theologia ista est, quæ docet curam subditorum pertinere ad principem, tantum quatenus homines^a sunt, non quatenus Christiani. Ejus contrarium tua

^a See above, vol. iii. p. 65, Burke, and note. Also see *Pott's Rights of*

Majestas in quodam suorum scriptorum, è sacris literis ita doctè et solidè probavit, ut pudorem ea disputatio aliter dietitantibus debuerit incutere. Religionis aut neglectæ aut restitutæ decus dedecusve, divina eloquia regibus non adscriberent, si ad illorum officium ejus rei cura non pertineret : neque Spiritus Sancti testimonio Rex Joas laudaretur, quod sacras oblationes in usus non legitimos absumi quum videret, quæstorem suum sacerdotibus imposuerit, cui rationes tenerentur illi reddere, qui ordinariam administrationem à Deo acceperant. Constantinus Magnus, Theodosius, Justinianus, et omnes pii imperatores, negotiis religionis quàm diligenter se immiscuerint, quis ignorat ? Hispanorum Historiæ Regem commemorant Reccaredum Wisigothum, qui miseratione divinâ factus orthodoxus de Arriano, veram fidem in regno suo circa annum Domini nostri DLXXXIX. curavit recipiendam. Ipse igitur synodum cogere, ipse interesse, ipse tridui jejunium episcopis indicare, ipse confessionem scribere, et firmandam synodo exhibere. Idem fuit et majorum tuorum veterum Angliæ regum^b ante exortum doctrinæ Hildebrandinæ, constans et perpetuum judicium. Adgarum Regem, qui circa annum Christi CMLIX. habenas regni suscepit, celebrant historiæ Anglicanæ, non solum ut principem pium, sed etiam de conservandâ pietate sollicitum. Is rex, in oratione quâdam ad Ecclesiarum et monasteriorum patres, hæc verba inter cætera habuit ; “ Sed et meæ sollicitudinis est Ecclesiarum Ministris, gregibus monachorum, choris virginum, et necessaria procurare, et paci eorum et quieti consulere ; de quorum omnium moribus spectat ad nos examen :” ut referunt Albertus Riewalensis, in epistolâ ad illustrem Normannorum ducem, postmodo regem ; et Guilielmus Rishanger in Chronico ; nam Parsonius Jesuita cum (da veniam

Sovereignty in Christian States, p. 29—61, 1821, 8vo. The Work of King James commended in the following sentence is the “Apology for the Oath of Allegiance,” Works, 247—86.

^b See the learned and very valuable work of Sir Roger Twisden, entitled *An Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism*, as it stands separated from the Roman, 1675, 4to. In that work it is shown abundantly, upon unquestionable evidence and argument, that the crown of England, even in the worst times, never ceased to protest against the usurpations and the tyranny of the Papacy, and that in all others it perpetually asserted and exercised the right, with the advice of the clergy, to redress, reform, and regulate all things pertaining to the Church and Clergy of England ; without, or against, the interposition of any foreign power, spiritual or temporal.

obiter hoc notanti,) “nos” mutavit in “vos,” magna ea perfidia fuit, et conscelerati in suos principes odii certum argumentum : “nos” enim habent omnes antiquæ membranæ, quas probitate et doctrinâ vir insignis Robertus Cotton mihi nuper ostendit. Extat etiam Synodus Provincialis Regis ejusdem jussu coacta, quam Dunstanus celeberrimæ tunc famæ Episcopus describens, Adgarum in procæmio dilaudat, “ut regali officio eâ in re functum, veluti pastorum pastorem.”

Sed ex omnibus machinis, quas inimicus ille humani generis, ad impediendam religionis Christianæ instaurationem admovit, atque etiamnum admovet, duæ illæ sunt præcipuæ et hodiè efficacissimæ, quas olim ad convellendam Christianismi institutionem fuisse admotas, paullo ante dicebamus ; amor, videlicet, novarum opinionum, et præpostera falsæ antiquitatis adversus veram defensio.—Ad primos tumultus propter ecclesiæ reformationem excitatos, examina scelestissimorum hæreticorum repenti emersisse, qui piorum quietem sollicitarent, et eorum existimationem apud τοὺς ἑξωθεν macularent, ultro confitemur et dolemus. Sed qui eo nomine auctores veræ reformationis, aut ecclesias ab illis institutas, quarum extant confessiones, in unius corporis harmoniam^a redactæ, in invidiam vocant, ii parum Christiano animo (ne dicam aliquid gravius) artes veterum paganorum imitantur, et ipsorum calumnias adversus doctrinam Christi non sine offensione Dei maximâ, revocant ex Orco. Quin potius cogitent, dispositiones divinas, et decreta constare semper sibi, æterno fixa clavo. Placuit semel æternæ providentiæ peculiarem sibi populum hoc genere tentationum exercere. Si nascens ecclesia et deinceps omnium seculorum, huic ærumnæ fuit obnoxia, cur hodierna, è superiorum temporum tenebris exurgens, et veluti renascens, postularet ab eâdem conditione se esse immunem ? quo jure ? quo privilegio ? Tunc aliquid dicerent adversarii protestantium, si ex eorum corpore nemo extitisset, qui sectas nuper exortas vel in Germaniâ, vel in Poloniâ, vel ubivis locorum serio confutaret. Nunc quum in novos hæreticos nemo acrius memoriâ nostrâ involârit, quam sit factum à viris nostrarum partium primariis ; quæ, obsecro, hæc iniquitas est, reformationi ex iis sectis invi-

^a Harmonia Confessionum Fidei orthodoxarum et reformatarum Ecclesiarum, &c. Genève, 1581. 4to. Also, Corpus et Syntagma Confessionum Fidei, &c. Genève, 1612 and 1654. 4to. Also, Jo. Christ. G. Augusti Corpus Librorum Symbolicorum, qui in ecclesia Reformatorum auctoritatem publicam obtinuerunt, Elberfeldi, 1827, 8vo.

diam commovere, quas ut radicitus extirparent, et auctores et assertores reformationis tantum gravissimorum laborum sustinuerunt?—Memini, rex *θεοσεβέστατε*, quum ante biennium parvus quidam liber^a horrendarum hæreseon plenus ab hæreticis nescio quibus Polonis Racoviæ esset editus, et quidem augusto nomini tuo inscriptus, posteaquam in tuas manus is libellus devenit, et tua Majestas pauca in eo inspexit, quanta cum detestatione et scriptum Satanicum, et ejus auctores, certissimam Satanæ progeniem, sis execratus: severè in illos animadversurus, si tui juris et potestatis fuissent. Arianum^b in suâ perfidiâ obstinatissimum, qui in vinculis diu detentus revocari ad sanam mentem, nullâ ratione potuerat, flammis ultricibus tua Majestas, impatiens injuriæ factæ Domino nostro Jesu Christo, Deo *ἀκτίστῳ*, jussit tradi. Novis opinionibus^c in vicinis regionibus super naturâ Dei nuper exortis, quo studio, quâ instantiâ tua Majestas sese opposuerit, testis est universa jam Europa. Necdum tamen scio, quæ est iniquitas hominum, an poterit impetrari à Catholicis Romanis, ut Ecclesiam tuorum regnorum, et alias quæ cum eâ idem sentiunt, in eandem criminationem non involvant, cum pessimis quibusque memoriæ nostræ hæreticis, Anabaptistis, Libertinis, Swenchfeldianis, Valentinianis, Arianis novis, Semiarianis, Tritheitis, et Socinianis. Sed quicquid vel hæretici moliantur, vel hostes reformationis calumnientur, nunquam tamen neque hi neque illi efficiant, ut fides Catholica et orthodoxa, quam sectantur Protestantes, (quantum quidem ipsis à Dei verbo cognitum est,) apud Deum *τὸν καρδιογνώστην*, cum perditissimorum hominum deliriis, in eâdem sint caussâ.

Quod si, præter scandalum tot sectarum, ne inter præcipuos quidem reformationis duces per omnia potuit convenire, cur adedò

^a This is the Racovian Catechism, Catechesis Ecclesiarum Polonicarum, &c. first printed in the year 1609, and dedicated to King James. The dedication, as might be reasonably expected, did not appear in subsequent editions.

^b Bartholomew Leggatt, 1612. *Fuller's Church History*, book x. 2 *Howell's State Trials*, 727, &c.

^c The allusion is to the two works of Conrad Vorstius, *Tractatus Theologicus de Deo*, 1610; and *Exegesis Apologetica*, 1611; the discussions respecting which led the way to the controversies and the fearful conflicts between the Remonstrants and Contra-remonstrants in the United Provinces, and so to the Quinquarticular Controversy in England, &c. &c. See King James's Works, fol. 1616. 349—89. Also, *Casauboni Epist.* 742 and 770.

miremur? homines utique erant; via quam insistebant, et in quâ verum cupidè quærebant, angusta: solet autem iter angustum rixas transeuntium concitare, quum illa diffusa et patens via, elogio scripturarum damnata, ne populos quidem collidat. Quid? nonne in seculorum omnium historiâ ecclesiasticâ simile potest observari? nonne Basilius Magnus et Gregorius Nazianzenus ut alios taceam, ejusmodi querelis et epistolas et alia sua scripta complêrunt? Et tamen adhuc illis temporibus, stabat suum jus, et in Ecclesiâ summa auctoritas conciliis universalibus: quæ etsi cogi semper non poterant, semper tamen fas fuit piis hominibus spe saltem consolari sese ejus remedii, quod solum ad componendas controversias et hæreses auctoritate Ecclesiæ debellandas, cùm scripturæ docuerunt, tum prisci patres agnoverunt atque usurparunt. Nunc verò quàm mutata est, bone Deus? ratio temporum! Dominus et monarcha Ecclesiæ esse creditur solus Papa: errare in fide solus non posse: supra omnes mundi potestates, et ipsa universalia concilia solus eminere. Quò igitur hodiè concilia^a, nisi ad inanem speciem? Solus ergo imputet sibi Papa, quod medendi Ecclesiæ malis aut veteribus aut recentibus, quæ illam mirè deformant, distrahunt, et lacerant, neque ratio neque spes ulla in terris hodiè piis hominibus sit relicta.

Sed enim præscriptum est videlicet jamdudum adversus omnes novatorum reformationes; neque aliud jam restat nisi ut antiquitas contra novitatem vindicetur. Ita enim hodiè pontificiæ monarchiæ, et religionis ab aliquot seculis depravatæ acerrimi patroni dictitant: qui à se dissident, turbulentos esse novatores, teterrimos hæreticos. Sunt sanè hæretici, si novatores: omnis enim hæresis novatio est circa fidem. Sed quâ fronte hæc criminatio in reformationis auctores aut assertores hodiè confertur? qui à centum ferè jam annis hoc unum clamant, “Reddite populis Christianis primam fidem; reddite primitivæ Ecclesiæ ritus, desinite nuper inventa, aut certè post semel traditam fidei regulam, pro credendis necessariò, et quidem sub anathemate, gregibus magni pastoris obtrudere, et VINCITE.” Qui in reformatione instituendâ hanc sibi legem dixerunt, ne ullâ in re scientes prudentes à verâ antiquitate aberrarent; hoc est, ne extra scripturas,

^a “The Popes have now for three centuries governed the Church without the impediment of a council.” *Phelan's* and *O'Sullivan's* Digest. Part ii. 104. Again: “Councils, which might have had somewhat of the air of parliamentary estates, have been discontinued since the Reformation.” *Ibid.* 125.

quibus nihil habet Ecclesia Dei antiquius, fidei regulam quærent: qui totis ingenii viribus eò collimârunt, ut fides quam instaurabant, illa ipsa esset fides, cujus auctor solus Christus, apostoli præcones, vetus Ecclesia propagatrix, prisci illius doctores, defensores. Ea est fides, ad quam Paulus Corinthios revocabat, ut labefactatam inter illos doctrinam de sacrâ Eucharistiâ, in integrum restitueret; “Ego,” inquit, “accepi à Domino, quod et tradidi vobis.” Ea est fides, ad quam idem apostolus etiam Galatas revocabat, tantâ contentione affirmans, aliud nullum esse Evangelium, nisi illud, quod ipse eis prædicaverat: nihil dubitans Spiritu Dei plenus, etiam de cœlo vehientibus angelis anathema dicere, si aliquid aliud doctrinæ fidei adjicerent, *παρ’ ὃ παρελάβετε*, præter illa quæ ab ipso Galatæ acceperant. Ea est fides, ad quam alter apostolus S. Judas omnes omnium Ecclesiarum fideles revocabat; cum pullulantibus inter ipsos jam hæresibus, hortatur pios *ἐπαγωνίζεσθαι τῇ ᾧπαξ παραδοθείσῃ πίστει τοῖς ἁγίοις* “ut fortiter decertent pro fide,” quâ autem fide? “eâ quæ semel tradita fuit sanctis.” O divina verba, numero illa quidem paucissima, sed sensu uberrima! quæ vel si sola essent in Scripturis, rectè expensa, hodiernas de fide controversias tollere, et Ecclesiis pacem reddere, si mens plerisque mortalium non esset læva, sint idonea.—Volumus scire, quæ sit vera fides? Ea est auctore Judâ Apostolo “*QUÆ SEMEL FUIT TRADITA.*” Volumus fidei regulam tenere, “quæ,” ut olim dicebat Tertullianus, “una omnino est, sola immobilis et irreformabilis?” sequamur Judam, et illo docente discamus, illam demum esse veram regulam fidei, “*QUÆ SEMEL FUIT TRADITA.*” Volumus hodiè scire, quum tot jactentur fides, Pontificis Rom. Lutheri, Calvini, et cujus non? quæ sit omnium certissima, quam defendere, sit veram antiquitatem defendere; quam oppugnare, sit meram novitatem inducere? confugiamus ad sacram ancoram, et discamus à Judâ apostolo, illam demum esse veram fidei antiquitatem, “*QUÆ SEMEL FUIT TRADITA.*” Hoc et Tertullianus volebat; cum in libro de Velandis Virginibus scribebat, “Veritati nemo præscribere potest, non spatium temporum, non patrocina personarum, non privilegia regionum:” de eâ enim veritate sentiebat, quam Judas appellat, “Fidem traditam SEMEL:” de quâ etiam magnus ille Scriptor in libro de Præscriptionibus dicebat, “Principalitas” (ea est vera antiquitas) “veritati, posteritas mendacitati deputanda: id enim esse dominicum, et verum, quod sit prius traditum, id autem extraneum et falsum, quod sit posterius immissum:” rectissimèque

idem docet, parabolam Christi seminantis et diaboli postea sterilis fœni adulterium superinducens, doctrinarum distinctionem figurasse, id est, veram antiquitatem asseruisse adversus posteriores quasque hæreses. Hoc et beatus martyr Cyprianus volebat, cum in epistolâ ad Cæcilium, errantes in religione, “ad radicem atque originem traditionis dominicæ, omnibus novellis et humanis traditionibus valere jussis, jubebat reverti.” Hoc denique et Patres illi volebant, qui “de rebus fidei aliunde suadere neminem posse” aiunt, “nisi ex literis fidei,” ut loquitur Tertullianus: qui οὐδὲ τὸ τυχόν, “ne minimum quidem” quod ad fidem pertineat, aliunde peti debere, nisi è Scripturis, præcisè definiunt, ut Cyrillus Ierosolymorum Episcopus in 4 Catechesi: qui fidei eversionem esse confirmant, ἀθετεῖν τι τῶν γεγραμμένων, ἢ ἐπεισάγειν τῶν μὴ γεγραμμένων, “aut prætermittere, et quasi irritum facere aliquid quod sit scriptum, aut aliquid non scriptum inducere,” ut Basilius Magnus, in libello *de fide*. Et verissimè ille quidem: nam ut est apud magistrum Cypriani in Præscriptionibus, “Nobis nihil ex nostro arbitrio INDUCERE licet: sed nec eligere, quod aliquis de suo arbitrio elegerit. Apostolos Domini habemus auctores, qui nec ipsi quicquam ex suo arbitrio, quod INDUCERENT, elegerunt: sed acceptam à Christo disciplinam fideliter nationibus assignaverunt.” Et B. Chrysostomus aliique Græci Patres subinde admonent; nihil hodiè, post semel à Christo traditam fidei regulam, posse quemquam παραιοφύρειν, “novi aliquid inducere sine peccato;” nam ea est verbi Græci vis, quo et Chrysostomus et alii Patres in eam rem utuntur.—Idcirco et Gregorius Nazianzenus in Athanasii epicedio orthodoxam fidem ἑγγραφον εὐσέβειαν nominabat, “pietatem scripturis comprehensam;” hæresin verò Arianam ἄγραφον καινοτομίαν, “novitatem extra Scripturas inductam:” et è tribus Vincentii^a Lirinensis regulis, quæ jam in ore sunt omnibus, prima est, “Quod fuit à principio.” Hæc et similia his sexcenta, quæ in Scripturis et Patrum monumentis in eam sententiam passim leguntur, si diligenter apud se, uti par erat, expenderent inimici reformationis, quam ejus auctoribus novitatem objiciunt, eam in sinu suo reperirent: essentque omnino iidem excitatis à Deo viris in commune bonum æquiores; facillèque intelligerent, non posse eos sine insigni calumniâ damnari ut novatores, quibus etiamsi non semper ex destinato proposito

^a “In ipsâ item Catholicâ Ecclesiâ magnopere curandum est, ut id teneatur, quod *ubique*, quod *semper*, quod *ab omnibus*.” *Commonitor*. cap. 3.

fluxissent, animum tamen fuisse constat, fidem illam semel traditam et postea humanarum inventionum mole penè obrutam in lucem revocare, et verè, quod isti hodiè jactitant, nec præstant, primævam antiquitatem, contra posteriorum seculorum novitatem vindicare.

Quid? audebuntne instauratæ hoc seculo veritatis inimici dicere, doctrinam de adempto populis calice extra casum necessitatis, de accidentibus sine substantiâ, de concomitantîâ, de communione sine communicantibus, de sacrificio Christi, non per commemorationem et representationem ejus quod semel est peractum in cruce, sed verè et realiter, omnibus sacrificii proprietatibus servatis; de cultu imaginum hodierno; de picturis trinitatis, vel potius *τριάδος*, postquam in picturas trinitatis admissa beata est Virgo; de indulgentiis et similibus quiquiliis ad extrahendas animas è purgatorio; de absolutâ necessitate servandi sigilli confessionis, si vel fides ipsa Christiana, vel totus mundus in periculum adduceretur, ut affirmat Jesuita Henricus Henriquez: hæc, inquam, omnia et similia his doctrinæ Romanæ capita innumera, audebuntne dicere, esse illam Judæ Apostoli semel traditam fidem?—Nam Papæ quidem monarchiam, potestatem imperatores et reges instituendi deponendique, et tam de coronis illorum pedibus ludendi, (quod Cœlestinus olim fecit, referente et laudante etiam Aaronio,) quàm de capitibus statuendi, nullum est dubium, quin dicturi sint tantæ novitatis defensores, eam esse illam ipsam Judæ Apostoli semel traditam fidem. Dicturi sanè; sed quomodo probaturi?

Enimvero digna res est quam pii omnes veris lachrymis defleant, extare hodiè eruditos homines, qui posteaquam semel in animum induxerunt, omnes posteriorum seculorum novitates, imò etiam novissima quæque inventa defendere, in eas angustias coguntur, ut clarissima Scripturarum verba torquere in alienissimos sensus non vereantur. Non metus Dei, non analogia fidei, non consentientes veterum Patrum expositiones, non aliquis suæ existimationis respectus, quam apud Deum et homines veri amantes, miris modis traducunt et maculant, ab hoc proposito potest eos avertere. Igitur quum multa à paucis retro seculis Papæ sibi vindicent jura penitùs nova, omnium defensio in paucissimis Scripturæ verbis, sed maximè in illo unico, “PASCE,” interpretandi subtilitate reperiuntur esse fundata. Monarchæ ergo et reges in Ecclesiâ esse volunt et sunt hodiè Papæ, quare? quia dixit Petro Christus, “Simon Bar-Jona, pasce oves meas,” id est, Baronio interprete, “supremum in ecclesiâ dominium tibi asserere,” Bellarmino au-

tem, “regio more impera:” ceu vellet hic cardinalis ex professo contradicere voci Christi apud Evangelistas; “reges gentium dominantur earum, vos autem non sic.” Quanquam ne hisce quidem adeò perspicuis verbis suus defuit tortor, qui ex illis argumentum pro dominatione Papæ absolutâ in orbem terrarum vi magnâ torquendo exprimeret; sic enim illa Gaspar Scioppius in Ecclesiastico suo exposuit capite 47. “Lex Christi,” inquit ille, “potestatem quâ reges gentium dominantur, penitus tollit, et inter Christianos exerceri prohibet¹,” neque dubitat homo furiosus, illam infinitam in principes tyrannidem Papæ, hoc Scripturarum loco et similibus fulcire.—Sed redeo ad verbum “PASCE.” Mirantur verè pii, Papam hoc sibi vindicare, ut sit summus iudex in controversiis fidei, quæ fuerunt olim partes conciliorum ex Dei verbo: sed hoc jus Papæ asserit Bellarminus è voculâ “Pasce.” Mirantur tribui Papæ ἀναμαρτυρίαν, et quod ne possit quidem in fide errare: sed hoc probat Bellarminus eo argumento, quia dixit Christus Petro, “Pasce oves meas.” Mirantur tribui Romano pontifici jus per tot secula inauditum, ferendi leges in Ecclesiâ, quæ conscientias fidelium obligent; imò etiam ut quibusdam placet, fidei articulos novos, sed hoc quoque Bellarmino eodem argumento facilè probatur. Mirantur quicumque sunt Scripturarum aut Patrum lectioni innutriti, illum thesaurum superfluentium meritorum Christi, et sanctorum, quem pro libitu dispensat Papa. Sed desinant mirari, et accipiant auctoritatem è Scripturis; quia dixit Christus Petro; “Pasce:” nam ita docet Bellarminus in libris de Indulgentiis. Mirantur et indignantur quicumque perduelles suorum principum, unctorum Dei, non sunt, audere Papam dicere, corruptum à suis adulatoribus, licere sibi, imperia transferre, subditos sacramento fidelitatis absolvere, denique reges facere non reges, sed hoc jus pontificum eliciunt Bellarminus et alii è vocabulo “Pasce.” Nec desunt, qui ex eodem illo verbo colligant, Romanum pontificem jus habere coercendi etiam poenis temporalibus, etiam mortis, principes sibi immorigeros, ut Becanus Jesuita, adversus quem justa nuper ira Sorbonæ exarserat, et alius item Jesuita Suarius; homo in aliis literis non sine laude versatus; in ecclesiasticis verò antiquitatibus planè infans; in evangelicâ doctrinâ ne infans quidem: cujus librum adversus tuam, Rex serenissime, monitoriam scriptum, vidimus nuper, propter Satanicas hæreses quibus scatet, et in legitimos

¹ Matt. xx.

principes plus quam diabolicam audaciam, in ignem publicè coniectum. Nec tamen pudet prodigiosarum novitatum reum, neque Christi, sed Hildebrandi discipulum, eam quæ in tuis regnis obtinet fidei formulam, ut parùm antiquam exagitare: tuamque adeo majestatem, cujus scripta omnia summâ pietate maximam primævæ antiquitatis reverentiam spirant, in eâ epistolâ, quâ omnes Europæ principes adversus illam concitat, quod novatoribus aurem præbeat, petulanter accusare. Scilicet Jesuita Suarius, et similes ei novarum hæreseon patroni, de Pauli exemplis, quæ modò commemorabamus, aut de Judæ præcepto, “decertare fortiter pro semel traditâ fide,” aliquando apud se diligenter cogitârunt.

VI. Enimvero, Rex doctissime et Deo charissime, parum est, quod hodierni partium illarum disputatores, qui novitatum novatorumque omnium profiteri odium videri volunt, de verâ antiquitate in lucem et usum Ecclesiæ revocandâ nihil quicquam cogitant; præ eo studio, quo ferri illos cernimus, ipsam rerum antiquarum memoriam, et primitivæ Ecclesiæ auream quâ in fide, quâ in ritibus simplicitatem, tenebris opprimendi, et oblivione sempiternâ obruendi. Nam quum ipsorum theologia novorum dogmatum plena, atque institutorum in priscâ Ecclesiâ inauditorum, præsidio veteris historiæ esset destituta; initio reformationis facilè erat, vel unico illo argumento, “Non ita fuit à principio,” cujus usum Christus ipse suos docuit, etiam ab obstinatissimis Ecclesiæ Romanæ defensoribus, plurimarum depravationum ingenuam exprimere confessionem. Non enim poterant, vel audebant, id negare esse verius et melius, quod probaretur antiquius. Prima ex omnibus Europæ nationibus Germania post literarum *παλιγγενεσίαν*, et ad inquisitionem veritatis vexillum ausa proponere; et ad veram Ecclesiæ antiquitatem è tenebris eruendam, exemplo suo præire. Notæ sunt tuæ majestati, quæ dicuntur centuriæ Magdeburgicæ, à viris quibusdam doctis in eum maximè finem contextæ, ut quæ fuerit Ecclesiæ fides per singula secula, quæ disciplinæ forma exterior, quæ mutationes illi acciderint, ob oculos hominibus ponerent. Etsi autem in partibus operis illius luculentissimi, desiderari possunt non pauca, vel propter *τὴν ἀμετρίαν τῆς ἀνθολοκῆς*, semper inimicam veritati, ut jam olim querebatur Basilius: vel quia unus è primariis illius incepti auctoribus, magnæ potius, quam bonæ apud viros pios fuit famæ, summam tamen instituti laudabilem, et Ecclesiæ nostris temporibus apprime fuisse utilem, nemo alienarum vigilarum judex æquus negaverit.

At non ita judicârunt Romanæ monarchiæ hodierni patroni : qui probè intelligentes, quantum suæ causæ detrimentum notitia accurata veræ antiquitatis, è priorum seculorum caligine emergentis, esset allatura : id ex eo ceperunt curare, idque adedò etiamnum studio omni curant, et mirâ diligentîâ satagunt, ut novitatibus quas tuentur, ab historicis monumentis apud posteros parata sit defensio. Ac quoniam nulla ejusmodi historia primorum temporum extabat, quæ ipsorum scopo admodum faveret, rerum Ecclesiæ memoriam retexere, et novam illi faciem dare instituerunt, suâque industriâ efficere, ut quæ in vetustis historiis ipsi optabant invenire, neque inveniebant, id in novis, et à se retextis posteritas sit repertura. Quo in proposito, quum multorum ex illis partibus doctorum hominum industria desudaverit ; unus tamen Cæsar Baronius, magnis suis laboribus postea cardinalatum meritis, omnium priorum luminibus facilè obstruxit, vir ejus eruditionis, tantæ diligentîæ, itaque necessariis plerisque præsiidiis ad opus quod parabat instructus ; ut mirum videri non debeat, tantam ipsi suas in eo genere lucubrationes apud omnes nationes nominis celebritatem peperisse. Narrat ipse juvenem se à Philippo Nerio, congregationis oratorii fundatore, posteaquam Magdeburgensium centuriæ Romam erant allatæ, fuisse designatum, cujus humeris componendæ historiæ adversus illas centurias comparatæ provincia imponeretur. Annos igitur, non decem, quo spatio temporis elephantorum partus eduntur, sed ter decem, ei studio, sub Nerii ductu operam navasse, priusquam aliquid ederet. Orbem universæ historiæ, à primordiis Ecclesiæ ad nostra tempora, in congregationi illi consuetis exercitationibus septies repetiisse, et absolvere, dum ad susceptum opus sese accingit. Quo diligentîæ novo exemplo, in contexendâ Ecclesiæ historiâ universali et iis omnibus, quæ per totum orbem Christianum gesta sunt memoriâ digna, in unius narrationis seriem et formam annalium digerendis, ea perfecit, de quibus ante ipsum perpauca cogitaverant, nemo simile quid unquam ediderat. Eò magis dolendum, virum sui seculi facilè primarium, in opere tam nobili, communi hodiè multorum vitio, partium studio, ita licenter indulsisse ; ut cujus *πολυαναγνωσίαν, πολυμάθειαν*, atque industriam, neque mirari neque prædicare satis possumus, ejus fidem innumeris in locis vel inviti cogamur desiderare. Bonus cum primis auctor Polybius, in officio historiographi describendo dicebat ; illum qui ad scribendam historiam se accingit, siquidem ad veram laudem iter affectet, omnium privatarum charitatum,

atque aded patriæ suæ oblivisci debere, ut ab affectibus liber, uni possit litare veritati. Hoc saluberrimum et necessarium præceptum, quia prorsus contempsit Baronius, oblitus planè in scribendo se personam induisse conditoris annalium, non patroni ejus causæ quam probabat; evenit ex eâ re, ut historia, quæ inter Paganos audiebat testis veritatis, inter Christianos facta sit testis atque instrumentum falsitatis. Nam, quod res arguit manifestissimè, Cæsar Baronius quando ad scribendum animum appulit, non id sibi negotii credidit dari, ut faciem veteris Ecclesiæ, qualem inveniebat, quâ in Scripturis, quâ in Patrum et historiarum antiquissimis monumentis, et qualis verè fuit, penicillo suo simpliciter exprimeret: sed potius, ut talem ei fingeret σοφία quadam κακο-συνθέτω, ut est apud Epiphanium, et perpetuis in primo præsertim tomo anachronismis, qualem Romanæ Ecclesiæ susceptum patrociniū postulabat.

Omnes hodiernæ de negotio religionis controversiæ ad duo hæc capita, nisi fallor commodè possunt revocari, doctrinam de dogmate, ritibusve, et de Romani pontificis potestate ac monarchia. In utroque horum capitum, eam rationem tenuit Baronius, ut omissâ quæstione de voluntate Domini, et verâ antiquitate, omnia sine exceptione defenderet, quæ hodiè, et à paucis seculis, Romæ sciebat probari: in quo etsi subtilem artem interdum adhibet, quam nos appellamus κρύψιν Baronianam, plerumque tamen animi sui mentem ita palam præ se fert, ut puerum esse, vel cæcum oporteat, qui annales Hos legat, et consilium auctoris non intelligat. De transubstantiatione, concomitantiâ, genere sacrificii Christianorum, verâ ejus naturâ atque usu, calice laicis adempto, Scripturis populo ablatis metu hæreseos, linguâ in sacris non intellectâ, traditionum etiam recentium auctoritate, invocatione sanctorum, imaginum adoratione, (sic Baronius millies appellat, in nono præsertim tomo,) cultu reliquiarum, purgatorii credendi necessitate, indulgentiis, denique de totâ ratione et modo legitimi cultûs divini celebrandi, et superstitionibus infinitis in eum admissis, integrum ferè jam seculum inter pontificios et protestantes acerrimum est certamen: his negantibus ullam earum rerum primis Ecclesiæ seculis fuisse notitiam, et illum ex ore ipso Christi manantem gladium assiduè rotantibus, “A PRINCIPIO NON ITA FUIT:” illis, ad tot novitatum defensionem, nescio quas ratiunculas in contrarium asserentibus. Sed Baronius rationem invenit, quæ à manibus protestantium telum illud in quæstionibus de fide ignitum excuteret, omnia sequiorum seculorum inventa colore

imbuens venerandæ antiquitatis. Nam et in reliquis tomis crebram harum observationum mentionem injicit; et quia non ignorabat veram antiquitatem institutorum ecclesiasticorum, ab ipso Ecclesiæ principio debere originem habere; jam in primo, qui vitam Domini in terris, et jacta Ecclesiæ fundamenta prima continet, nihil planè istorum est ab eo prætermisum. Romani vero pontificis monarchiam, et illud infinitum imperium, ita assidue omnibus ingenii viribus, *ἐκάλῳς, ἀκάλῳς*, propugnat, ut optimo jure aliquando Petrus Pithæus Galliarum singulare lumen, dum viveret, ubi primos tomos inspexisset, dixerit, “non Annales Ecclesiastici, sed de Potestate Papæ,” verum nomen istis Baronii lucubrationibus futurum. Qui vir optimus, si postremos tomos vidisset, quid dicturus fuit? Novæ enim illius et horrendæ, ac principibus Papam agnoscentibus funestæ doctrinæ, quæ sacris illorum cervicibus Dominum imponit, absolutæ potestatis monarchiam; quæ vitæ et necis ipsorum dat illi potestatem; quæ subditos fidelitate ex jure divino et humano debitâ absolvit, et quoties lubet pontifici, adversus unctos Dei armat, nullus temerè animosior patronus Baronio, ne inter juris quidem canonici interpretes, vænalitia Paparum mancipia, potest reperiri. Pontificum, ut quisque in imperatores aut reges impotentissimè et ferocissimè sæviit, ita plurimum à Baronio laudatur: et quia Hildebrandus inter primos hujus hæreseos auctor, assertor, et propagator fuit; idecirco perfectissimi Papæ ideam huic Nerii discipulo videtur absolvisse, et miris elogiis prædicatur. Hic est Gregorius Septimus, qui monarchiam Papalem in suis scriptis tam accuratè defendit: qui elementa totius illius Satanicæ doctrinæ brevibus quasi aphorismis est complexus, qui in ejus epistolis leguntur, et “dictatus Papæ” nominantur: qui praxin ejusdem furiosæ doctrinæ dum exercet furiosè, coelum terræ miscuit, et cædibus horrendis Germaniam atque Italiam complevit. Ille Pontifex à Gulielmo Rege Angliæ, quem “conquæstorem” vocant, pecuniam et fidelitatem cum exegisset, princeps generosissimus de pecuniâ facilè annuit, de fidelitate planè abnuit. Hoc non magis Hildebrando olim displicuit, quàm Baronio illam historiam describenti: persuaso nempe ex illius pontificis dictatibus, “unum esse in terris nomen videlicet Papæ.” Quemlibet episcoporum regem esse, et in regno cujusvis regis plus ipso posse debere, cognitionibus illius intercedere, sententias de plano posse facere irritas, sæpissime in singulis fere tomis pronunciat. Principes qui res

ecclesiasticas attingunt, ubique maledictis incessit; ausus etiam reges veteres Francorum eam ob causam comparare “latronibus in sylvis,” anno Domini 855, principum fideles consiliarios qui jura suorum regum adversus curiam Romanam defendunt, locis innumeris teterrimæ damnat hæreseos: neque aliud occurrit frequentius in posterioribus tomis, quam hæreseos politicorum dirissima detestatio. Magistratus civiles omnes et præsides provinciarum episcopis ita reddit obnoxios, ut ab illorum nutibus velit ipsos pendere; alioquin è tribunalibus suis statim detrahendos ab ipsis episcopis, sicut ait factum in Andronico ab episcopo Sinesio; lapsus in eâ historiâ, justo Dei judicio, plusquam pueriliter, ex imperitiâ Græcæ linguæ, ut sæpe alibi. Henrico quarto Augustæ memoriæ principi, triumphatori omnium suorum hostium; sed de quo, ô seculi infamiam! Hildebrandina doctrina triumphavit; tomum nonum dedicans, exigere à tanto principe non erubuit; non ut “comiter” Papæ “Majestatem coleret,” quæ fuit formula, quam olim exigebant Romani à sibi subditis rebuspublicis et principibus; ac ne “obsequium” quidem tantummodo, vocem his moribus fortasse tolerabilem; sed ut “humili quoque servitio Christi vicarios coleret:” quasi non essetis vos quoque reges, in regnis vestris Dei vicarii; quorum Majestatem imminuere crimen esse apud Deum, per quem solum vos regnatis, longè maximum, ante exortam hanc novam doctrinam nemo unquam dubitaverat. Nulla inter Papas et ullum principem superioribus seculis rixa intervenit, quæ non ita describatur in annalibus, ut ex ipsâ narratione, lector, qui narrantis fidem sequetur, non sit collecturus; omnium criminum et scelerum, quæ in hominem cadunt, maximum esse, Papæ cæcam obedientiam non præstare.

Neque autem refert, qualis sit Papa: nam quum ipsa rei veritas etiam illos, qui pontificem Romanum ceu terrenum Jovem colunt, et Deum etiam nominant, (ita sæpe inter cæteros appellat Pius Bononiensis, orator superioris seculi non obscurus, in orationibus Romæ habitis, Bononiæ editis;) coegerit fateri, sedisse in illâ sede aliquando Papas quinquaginta, serie continuâ, per spatium annorum c. sibi succedentes, non apostolicos, sed apostaticos, inquit Genebrardus Protestantium hostis furiosissimus, in chronico, seculi decimi initio: si quis tamen imperator, aut rex, aut synodus legitima, ausa fuit, vel pessimo illorum obstrepere, ut factum est Johanni XII. “Monstro nullâ virtute redempto;”

statim ejus consilii auctores, ut perditorum perditissimi lacerantur in his Annalibus.

Quid plura? Omnia Europæ regna, omnes insulæ, (tuæ cum primis Anglia et Hibernia) si fidem habemus Baronii historiis, sunt Romani pontificis: quod non dixit quidem ille primus, scio, sed in monumentis pessimorum seculorum inventum studiosè adnotavit, et interdum, extra oleas evagans, confirmavit: ut cum in anno Domini M^{DC}VII. tantâ contentione et instantiâ regnum Siciliæ à rege catholico repetit; certo indicio, Papas, ni vires deessent, vi et armis reposituros, quæ Baronius verbis tam enixè reposit. Cujus Annales eo periculosius in manibus juventutis et rudium veritatis lectorum versantur, quo majore arte scopum suum, in primis præsertim tomis, dissimulat. Nam Bellarminus, Becanus, Suarius, et id genus disputatores, nudo, quod aiunt, capite, veram antiquitatem religionis, et jura principum invadentes atque oppugnantes, minus videntur metuendi; ut qui aperto Marte rem gerant, et vel ipsis titulis librorum suorum, principum sese hostes profiteantur. A Baronio vero, scriptionem annalium promittente, quis sibi metuat? aut quis vidit historiographum argumentosum? atqui multæ ab eo narrationes ita artificiosè concinnantur, ut ad novum aliquod dogma hodiè controversum, animis legentium insinuandum, plus Baronii narrationes, quàm Bellarmini argumentationes sint valituræ. Papam esse supra concilium, novitium est inventum doctorum ex Hildebrandinâ scholâ; pro quo Bellarminus et alii pugnant argutiis, quæ apud mediocriter imbutos doctrinâ evangelicâ non multum ponderis sint habituræ; Baronii vero annales cui non hoc persuadeant? In anno Christi trigesimotertio, referens hic Cæsar historiam, quæ narratur Matthæo, capite 16. sic illam concinnat, ut qui Papæ mentionem nullam faciat, hoc tamen illi jus stratagemate asserat vaferrimo. Fingit concilium habitum esse à Christo et apostolis in quo vult datum esse exemplum conciliorum deinceps habendorum; idque etiam alibi repetit. In hoc igitur concilio, cui interest et præest Christus ipse, solus Petrus articulos de fide condit, et quid sit credendum, “solus clavum figit,” ait Baronius; et addit de aliis, “ut nihil fermè jam esset opus consulere cæteros tunc Apostolos.” Quis igitur ex hac historiâ (figmentum veriùs dixerim), non statim colligat, Papam, Petri in omnia jura successorem, habere solum potestatem condendi articulos fidei, et de Conciliis omnibus statuendi ut volet? quod alibi tot locis palam defendit Baronius.—En tibi, rex sapientissime, quanto astu

in his Annalibus, historia etiam evangelica ad rationes Paparum inflectatur. Sic cum in anno xxxiv. Petrus magnâ contentione demonstratur fuisse Apostolorum princeps; non quomodo Patres illam vocem Petro attribuerunt, coryphæum ejus sacri chori, et ordine primum fuisse ipsum significantes; sed dominator et monarcha; cum etiam affirmatur, illum regio more imperantem, Paulo et cæteris Apostolis præcepisse, ceu Dominum subditis suis, quam partem Ecclesiæ vellet quemque ipsorum curare; facile intelligit tua Majestas, quam vim hæc narratio apud vulgus imperitum, imò etiam apud omnes principes, qui de veritate historiæ parùm fuerint solliciti, sit habitura, ut jugum tyrannidis Romanæ minus deinceps graventur.

Transubstantiationis hodiernum dogma prorsus veteribus ignotum, ut defendant Bellarminus et alii tractores controversiarum, omnem movent lapidem: nemo tamen illorum negat, nomen saltem recens esse inventum. Baronius verò historiam institutæ cœnæ Dominicæ commemorans in anno xxxiv. inter prima verba prolixæ disputationis de eo argumento, transubstantiationem nobis oggerit; repertam sibi, credo, in aliquo Evangelista, quem nobis transalpinis, quibus non patet Vaticana, nondum videre contigit. At quam longè alio spiritu ducebantur Basilius, Gregorius Naz. et alii veteres Patres; qui voces *τριάς* et *ὁμοούσιος*, etsi clarissimis Scripturarum testimoniis contentas, et sacri concilii Niceni auctoritate firmatas, usurpare vix audebant; “parcentes,” inquit Basilius, “uti nominibus, quæ non extant in Scripturis totidem literis.”—Sed hæc olim fuere: nunc alii sunt mores ejus, quæ se jactat solam esse Ecclesiam Catholicam, solam Ecclesiam.—Scripturas sacras à laicis non esse attingendas, apertè quidem non docet Baronius, manifestè tamen illam doctrinam insinuat in illo ipso anno.—Imperatorem, reges, et principes habere jus vocandi concilii in suis ditionibus, semper Ecclesia vetus credidit: et eo jure tam Augusti Romani quàm reges Francorum, et omnes principes Christiani, nemine repugnante, constanter sunt usi, priusquàm periret de rebus pudor. Baronius, ut cucurbitis persuadeat jam inde à concilio Niceno I. solum Papam id jus habuisse, quas adhibet machinas, modò tectas, modò apertas! quarum ut hæ sunt inverecundiores, ita illæ periculosiores: Lectori enim incauto et ad cognoscendam antiquitatem simpliciter intento obrepunt, et velut ex insidiis veritati latus confodiunt.—Sed deficiat me dies, et ego patientiâ tuâ, optime et clementissime principum, nimis impudenter abutar; si omnes rationes

explicare hoc loco aggrediar, quibus vera antiquitas, studio defendendæ modicæ vetustatis, in his Annalibus dissimulatur, obscuratur, et quantum fieri potest, aut obruitur, aut hodiernæ doctrinæ subtiliter accommodatur.

Quamquam, si æquis ponderibus rem volumus æstimare, non tam profectò conditori Annalium, quàm ipsi pontifici, et Romanæ curiæ culpa depravatæ historiæ venit adscribenda. Nam Baronius quid ageret?—Fateretur irrepsisse in Ecclesiam Romanam, tractu longi temporis, multas corruptelas, et quæ fuerunt à Domino prædicta infelicia lolia? Atqui per Romani pontificis ἀναμαρτησίαν, et nunquam errandi in fide privilegium, hoc illi Romæ integrum non erat: ubi non δουλεύειν τῇ ὑποθέσει grande fuisset nefas, et inquisitioni obnoxium.—Fateretur monarchiam Papæ, recens esse inventum, cujus neque rem, neque nomen meliora Ecclesiæ secula noverunt? Atqui hoc illi non permittebat Romanæ sedis theologia; quæ tota ad hunc ἔρωτα δυσέρωτα dominationis, quæ spiritualis, quæ terrenæ, jampridem est comparata.—Referret suas lucubrationes ad concordiam inter principes et populos Christianos ineundam, Ecclesiæ veram antiquitatem, tam his quam illis partibus, sine fuco et fallaciis imitandam proponens? Scilicet hoc Papa ferret, qui Barbarum Turcam in interiora jam Europæ admissum, vastantem omnia ferro atque incendiis, et deletis Ecclesiis, plebes integras in captivitatem abducentem, siccis oculis videre potest; ut principibus, et gregibus Dominicis inter se divisus, ad pacis consilia ducem se præbeat, et de eo jure, quod iniquissimè usurpat, nonnihil remittat, inducere in animum non potest? Quod igitur Aristidi apud Athenienses olim legimus usu venisse; qui in rerum suarum administratione justissimus semper habitus, unde illi “Justi” cognomen; in gerendâ tamen publicâ re, multa contra jus et æquum designavit: πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν τῆς πατρίδος, sicut solitus fuit ipse dicere, ὡς συχνῆς ἀδικίας δεομένην; “quod rationibus patriæ sese accommodaret, quæ multâ injustitiâ opus haberet:” id ipsum Cardin. Baronio videtur Romæ accidissee: qui probitate, justitiâ, et studio veritatis, ut accepimus, in privatâ vitâ non mediocrem adeptus laudem, in scribendis Annalibus, dum cupidè nimis caussæ sui pontificis inservit, discedere à se coactus, superiorum virtutum ne umbram quidem retinuisse, plurimis locisprehenditur.

VII. Sed veniam tandem ad me, et cujus maximè rei gratiâ hic sermo est institutus, breviter expediam. Ego, Rex serenissime, cùm ante plures annos Baronii percurrrens Annales, consilium illius,

quale hactenus exposui, animadvertissem, et in historiâ Ecclesiasticâ gravissimas passim hallucinationes deprehendissem; optare ingenti cupiditate cepi, ut veritati pessimè interdum à discipulo Nerii acceptæ, seculo hoc tam erudito ne deesset patrocinium; sed potius, ut è numero prope infinito doctorum hominum, quos nostra hæc ætas in omnibus Europæ regionibus tulit, aliquis existeret, gloriæ Dei zelo succensus, qui veram antiquitatem adversus novitates Baronianas generoso animo susciperet defendendam. Movebat me cum primis illa quoque ratio, apud animum quidem meum momenti longè maximi; quod concordiæ desiderio, bonorum omnium cordibus, sive harum sive illarum partium, altè impresso, scopum istum Baronianum intelligebam vehementissimè adversari. Quamdiu enim principes populique Christiani sibi sinent persuaderi, studium primævæ pietatis instaurandæ, meram esse novationem; defensionem verò inventionum humanarum et recentiorum, ipsissimam esse religionis à Christo traditæ antiquitatem; indubitatum est, et omni certo certius haberi debet (errant gravissimè qui aliter judicant, et nescio quæ media consilia sectantur, quæ nulla sunt), ineundæ concordiæ, nullam amplius, neque rationem, neque spem in terris omnino superesse. Quòd magis optabam, reperiri aliquem immunem, quantum fieri posset, ab illo insano partium studio, cui indulgent hodiè tam multi, qui ad legendum cum fructu opus Baronianum juventuti et minus cautis lectoribus viam muniret. Atque in hac dudum mihi susceptâ sententiâ, mirificè postea sum confirmatus, quando viros doctrinâ, probitate, et pietate excellentes, idem planè mecum sentire, idem optare, cognovi. Ne longum faciam, quia cessabant meliores, ventum est ad me: et quam ego operam ab aliis expectabam, eadem cepta est à me exigi: neque id Gallorum dumtaxat meorum quotidiano prope convitio, dum eram in patriâ, sed etiam præstantissimorum theologorum, aliorumque hortatibus, qui eâ super re, ex Angliâ tuâ, Germaniâ, ipsâ etiam Italiâ, literas ad me dederunt creberrimas. Etsi autem incepti tam ardui magnitudo, virium mearum tenuitas, et necessariorum præsidiorum carentia, ad hæc, occupata opera in aliis literis pro meâ virili excolendis; justæ mihi caussæ fuerunt, cur morem gerere amicis recusarem, tantum tamen cohortationes frequentes bonorum apud me valuerunt, ut qui induci non poteram, quamdiu fui in Galliis, ut operi manum admoverem, inductus sim tamen, ut de historiâ Ecclesiasticâ illustrandâ dies noctesque cogitarem.

Inter hæc rebus humanis Henricus Magnus est exemptus, et unius parricidæ scelere æternùm detestando, nutantibus Galliarum fati, omnium Gallorum fortunæ in periculum præsentissimum sunt adductæ; mihi quidem tam inopinatus, tanque immanis casus, tantum rerum præsentium, ipsiusque adeò vitæ fastidium attulit, ut qui nullam sine literis vitalem vitam hactenus credideram, libris tunc temporis renuntiarem. Tenebat me annos jam plurimos incredibile quoddam desiderium, florentissimum hoc regnum tuum invisendi, Ecclesiæque Anglicanæ, quam ex famâ et libris tacitus dudum venerabar, formam cognoscendi; multo autem magis dexteram tuam, Princeps principum decus, contingendi, et illas tot tantasque virtutes, sapientiamque altam, propius inspicendi, quas in tuâ Majestate orientis hodiè atque occidentis populi stupore defixi admirantur. Cujus voti ad exitum ducendi facultas quum semper mihi antè defuisset, occasionem rerum in Galliis, inquietarum magis quàm turbatarum, duxi arripiendam, ut priusquam redirem cum musis in gratiam, huc excurrerem. Non est hîc commemorandi locus quantum, aut beatus tuorum populorum status, aut Ecclesiæ tuæ præsens felicitas, aut denique tuæ Majestatis inexplicabilis humanitas, et illa inusitata virtutis absolutæ species, me ceperint: certè, cùm rex Christianissimus, et regina mater, princeps sapientissima, fecissent mihi potestatem commorandi in tuâ aulâ, et Majestati tuæ inserviendi, quamdiu id ipse non nolle videreris; non invitus, et patriæ charitatis, et consuetudinis amicorum, quos habeo Lutetiæ, et in aliis Galliæ partibus, neque obscuros neque paucos, ad tempus sum oblitus. Hic primum, Rex serenissime, beneficio tuo immortalis, frustra mihi per tot annos optatam occasionem simul, et facultatem adipisci contigit, res veteris Ecclesiæ, omissis aliis curis omnibus pro ingenii viribus, et copiâ eruditionis, si qua illa in nobis, illustrandi, quæque dudum in eo literarum genere eram commentatus, in lucem proferendi; atque eâdem operâ Baronianos Annales ad veritatis amussim examinandi, et veram antiquitatem contra novitatem asserendi. Quo in opere sanè arduo et virium, fateor, non istarum, an hoc assecutus sim Dei ope, studio et vigiliis meis, ut Ecclesiæ aliquid meæ lucubrationes sint profuturæ, meum non est dicere: tuum est, Rex piissime, idemque doctissime, judicare et statuere. Mihi hoc unum bonâ conscientîâ profiteri licet, summam voti mei in hac scriptione versantis, hanc fuisse; ut Judæ Apostoli præcepto obtemperans, pro fide semel traditâ decertarem, et falso creditæ antiquitati larvam detraherem. Quod

si vitam Dominus Jesus dederit, cæteros quidem tomos strictim percurrere fert animus ; primum vero, ut in quo legitimæ victoriæ certa spes est posita, religio mihi fuit, non quantâ maximâ poteram diligentiam examinare. Nam si probatum semel fuerit, initio nascentis Ecclesiæ omnia illa fuisse incognita, quæ hodiè fidei articulis inseruntur, ac propterea in controversiam vocantur, conclamata est causa pontificia : cui penitus evertendæ, vel illa sola Filii Dei verba, “NON SIC FUIT A PRINCIPIO,” aut Judæ illud unicum, “SEMEL,” abundè sint suffectura.

Accipe igitur, Rex serenissime, quod supplex offero Majestati tuæ, multis nominibus tuum opus : quod rude cogitatione in Galliis informatum, in regno tuo, tuis præsidiis, tuis auspiciis inchoatum, et aliquâ saltem ex parte ad umbilicum perductum, in clientelam tuam, si pateris, gestit recipi : ut augustissimo nomini tuo honorique inscriptum et consecratum, meæ in aulâ tuâ moræ diuturnioris, animique mei non ingrati, apud præsens et ventura secula extet monumentum. Tuum est, Rex sapientissime, propriè tuum, de nostris cum Baronio disputationibus cognoscere et sententiam ferre : qui literarum disciplinarumque omni genere supra hominum fidem quum sis excultus, orbemque adeo scientiarum mente illâ tuâ igneâ complexus teneas ; præcipuè tamen pietatis primævæ studio te esse accensum, non solum dictis factisque, sed etiam scriptis doctissimis comprobasti. Tuum est, propriè tuum, si quis pro fide semel traditâ decertet, Majestatis tuæ umbrâ illum protegere : “FIDEI” enim “DEFENSOR” audis : quem gloriosum titulum, illi potissimum ex omnibus inimicis tuis tibi invident, qui in proximorum seculorum novitatibus acquiescentes, ad primitivæ Ecclesiæ tempora, quæ est demum vera antiquitas, neque ipsi volunt, neque alios patiuntur oculos attollere. Bellarminus enim, Becanus, Suarius et ille infamis parricidarum patronus, Andreas Cretensis Jesuita, totusque adeò ille grex scriptorum infrunitorum, qui ad impugnationem epistolæ tuæ monitoriæ omnibus ingenii viribus tantopere incubuerunt ; quo alio genere armorum, nisi antiquitatis *ψευδωνύμου*, vanâ specie instructi, in certamen descenderunt ? Tuum est, propriè tuum, pro veteris Ecclesiæ disciplinâ pugnantes regii clypei, quem pro sinceræ pietatis defensione gestas, umbone propugnare. Qui Ecclesiam habeas ^a in

^a For other passages, descriptive of Casaubon's judgment of the felicity and the excellence of the Church of England, see his epistles, Nos. 772, 781, &c. Also, *Clarorum Virorum Epistolæ singulares, collectore Paulo Colomesio*. Edit. 1694. p. 350, 1.

tuis regnis, partim jam olim ita institutam, partim magnis tuis laboribus ita instauratam, ut ad florentis quondam Ecclesiæ formam nulla hodiè propius accedat, quam tua, inter, vel excessu, vel defectu peccantes mediam viam secuta. Quâ moderatione^a hoc primum assecuta est Ecclesia Anglicana, ut illi ipsi, qui suam ei felicitatem invident, sæpe tamen, ex aliarum comparatione, illam cogantur laudare: deinde, ut etiam in remotissimis terris positæ Ecclesiæ, communione jungi cum tuâ vehementissimè cupiant. Quod nuper magni beneficii loco vidimus enixè petiisse unum è patriarchis orientis, cujus literas, itemque unius episcoporum Asiæ, ad illustrissimum præsulem dominum Cantuariensem, prudentissimè scriptas, et antiquam pietatem redolentes, magnâ cum voluptate ante paucos dies legebamus. Postremo tuum est, bellorum Domini fortissime imperator, (nam cujus potius?) doctrinæ Hildebrandinæ fundamenta evertentes, quod hoc libro strenuè factum est, et caussam principum, pio animo, contra novatorum genus pessimum agentes, in numeros tuos referri jubere: qui unus hodiè regum ac principum, causæ regiæ patrocínio suscepto, et de hæreseos illius defensoribus nobilissimo parto triumpho, cæteris tui ordinis principibus exemplum dedisti, quid facere illos oporteret, si dignitatem suam, si subditorum suorum utilitatem, si communem salutem sibi curæ esse apud Deum et homines vellent facere testatum. Oro venerorque Deum patrem, per Jesum Christum, illum unicum mundi Salvatorem, et omnis bonæ donationis auctorem; ut te, Rex serenissime, unicum hodiè rei Christianæ columnen, quam diutissimè lex humanæ naturæ feret, servet incolumem: tuam Majestatem suo Spiritu verè ἡγεμονικῶ, regat, dirigat. Inclytam sobolem tuam, et nunc et semper in posterum, omni maximarum benedictionum suarum genere quam largissimè cumulatam, regnorum tuorum sceptrâ piè, pacatè, beatè, quod tu nunc facis, olim moderantem, recenti semper laude præstet florentem. Amen, Amen!

Serenissimæ tuæ Majestatis

Humillimus et submississimæ devotionis servus,

ISAACUS CASAUBONUS.

^a See *The Moderation of the Church of England, considered as useful for allaying the present distempers which the indisposition of the time hath contracted*, by Timothy Puller, D.D. 1679. 8vo.

III.

OF THE CHURCH OF ROME;

BY SIR EDWIN SANDYS, KNT.

CONTENTS.

- I. The Church of Rome; its Head Assertions.
- II. Its means to strengthen them.
- III. Its ways to fit all affections and humours.
- IV. Its particular projects as they respect Princes' Marriages, and the dispensing with Oaths.

I. BUT to come now to the view of their Ecclesiastical Government, not so much as it is referred to the conduct of souls to their true happiness, though this be the natural and proper end of that

^a This extract is from "Europæ Speculum; or, a View or Survey of the State of Religion in the Western parts of the World, by Sir Edwin Sandys, Knt.—London, 1673." 8vo. p. 25—49. The whole treatise is extremely interesting and valuable. It is deeply imbued with the religious and philosophic spirit of Hooker, so that you recognise every where in the scholar the workings of his master's mind; as might be expected from a pupil worthy of the lessons of that great and holy man. After the grievous loss which the Church of England, or rather, we ought to say, which the united cause of religion, and truth, and liberty sustained, through the sacrilegious havoc which was most wickedly committed on two out of the three last books of the Ecclesiastical Polity,—it is much to be regretted that the intended "Survey of the Reformed Churches," designed to impart to the world the fruit of Sir Edwin's observations in travel amongst them, and in which there is no doubt we should have possessed, on a subject similar to Hooker's, much of the mind and wisdom of Hooker, and which he promises at the close of this volume, does not appear to be extant; the present Work is addressed to Archbishop Whitgift, and bears date, "Paris, April 9, 1599."

regimen ; but rather as it is addressed to the upholding of the worldly power and glory of their order, to the advancing of their part, and the overthrow of their opposites ; I think I may truly say, there was never yet state framed by man's wit in this world, more powerful and forcible to work those effects ; never any either more wisely contrived and plotted, or more constantly and diligently put in practice and execution, insomuch that but for the natural weakness of untruth and dishonesty, which being rotten at the heart, abate the force of whatsoever is founded thereon, their outward means were sufficient to subdue a whole world.

II. Now, as in every art and science there is some one or few first propositions or theorems, on the virtue whereof all the rest depend : so in their art also they have certain " head assertions," which as indemonstrable principles they urge all men to receive and hold. And those are, that they are the Church of God, within which great facility, and without which no possibility of salvation : that divine prerogative, granted to them above all other societies in the world, does preserve them everlastingly from erring in matter of faith, and from falling from God : that the Pope, Christ's deputy, has the keys of heaven in his custody to admit in by indulgence, and shut out by excommunication as he shall see cause : that the charge of all souls, being committed to him, he is thereby made sovereign prince of this world, exceeding in power and majesty all other princes, as far as the soul in dignity does exceed the body^a, and eternal things surmount things temporal ; and seeing that the end is the rule and commander of whatsoever does tend unto it, and all things in this world are to serve but as instruments, and the world itself but as a passage to our everlasting habitation ; that, therefore, he that has the sovereign managing of this high end, and the honour to be the supreme conductor unto it, has also power to dispose of all things subordinate, as may best serve to it ; to plant, to root out ; to establish, to dispose ; to bind, to loose ; to alter, to dispense ; as may seem most fit for the advancement of the Church, and for the achieving of the soul's felicity : wherein whosoever oppose against him, whether by heresy or schism, they are no other than very rebels or seditious persons ; against whom he has unlimited

^a The authorities on which these several statements may be grounded, will be found at large, in different portions of the present volume. See more particularly Casaubon, (No. II.) Barrow, (No. IV.) and Overall (No. V.).

and endless power to proceed, to the suppressing, ruining, and extinguishing of them by all means, that the commonwealth of God may flourish in prosperity, and the highway to heaven be kept safe and open for all God's loyal and obedient people. In these points no doubt or question is tolerable : and whoso join with them in these shall find great connivance in what other defect and difference soever ; this being the very touchstone at which all men are to be tried, whether they be in the Church, or out of the Church, whether with them or against them. And by this plot have their wits erected in the world a monarchy more potent than ever any that has been before it : a monarchy which, entitling them *de jure* to all the world, lays a strong foundation thereof in all men's consciences, the only firm ground of obedience in the world ; and such a foundation as not only holds fast unto them whatsoever it seizes on, but works outwardly also by engines to weaken and undermine the state of all other princes how great soever ; and that in such sort, as by possessing themselves of the principal places in the hearts of their subjects, (as being those from whom they receive their principal good, even the happiness of their souls) to incite them upon very conscience against their natural sovereigns at pleasure, and by writ of excommunication to subdue or at the leastwise greatly to shake whom they list, without fighting a blow, without levying a soldier : and, lastly, a monarchy, which as it was founded by mere wit, so needs not any thing but mere wit to maintain it ; which enriches itself without toiling, warreth without endangering, rewards without spending, using colleges to as great purpose as any other can fortresses ; and working greater matters, partly by scholars, partly by swarms of friars, than any else could ever do by great garri-sons and armies ; and all these maintained at other folks' charges ; for to that rare point have they also proceeded, as not only to have huge rents themselves out of all foreign states, but to maintain also their instruments out of other men's devotion ; and to advance their favourites under the fairest pretence of providing for religion, to the very principal preferments in foreign princes' dominions. Let no man therefore think it strange, if, finding the revenue of skill and cunning to be so great, and her force so mighty, especially where she works upon simplicity and ignorance, they enclosed heretofore all learning within the walls of their clergy, setting forth Lady Ignorance for a great saint to the laity, and shrining her unto them for the true mother of devo-

tion. And assuredly but for one huge defect in their policy, which was *hard*, in regard of their own particular ambitions, but otherwise not *impossible*, to be avoided ; that they choose their popes lightly very old men, and withal indifferently without any restraint out of all families and nations, whereby they are continually subject to double change of government ; the successor seldom prosecuting his antecessor's devices, but either crossing them through envy, or abandoning them upon new humour ; it could not have been but they must have long since been absolute lords of all ; which defect notwithstanding, so strong was their policy by reason of the force of their cordial foundation, that no prince or potentate ever opposed against them, but in fine even by his own subjects, they either mastered him utterly, or brought him to good conformity by great loss and extremity ; till such time as in this latter age *the untruth of the foundation itself*^a being stoutly discovered, has given them a sore blow ; and changing in great part the state of the question, has driven them to a re-enforcement of new inventions and practices.

III. Howbeit those positions being the ground of their state, and the hope of their glory, in them they admit no shadow of alteration, but endeavour still *per fas et nefas*, even by "all means in the world, to strengthen them," and among their manifold adversaries hate them most of all, who have laboured most in sapping of that foundation. And seeing that by reason of this bookish age, they have not that help of ignorance which in times past they had ; they cast about gently to soak and settle them in men's persuasions and consciences another way. They tell men "that the very grounds whereon we build our persuasion of the truth of Christianity itself, are no other than credible ; that the proof of the Scripture to be the word of God, can be no other at this day than probable only : it being impossible for any wit in the world to produce an exact necessary and infallible demonstra-

^a By showing, namely, first, that the powers set forth above, so far as they belonged to the Church of Rome, were vested in it, not as it was *Roman*, but as it was *Catholic*, and are the patrimony therefore equally and for ever, of all other independent, national, legitimate branches of the Church of Christ, throughout the world. And, by showing, secondly, that these powers or any of them, so far as they were claimed by the pope of Rome, in the territories of foreign nations, were founded in error, ignorance, and delusion, on one hand, and in fraud, usurpation, and tyranny, on the other.

tion, either that St. Paul had his calling from above, or that those epistles were of his own writing; so likewise in the rest. And that the chief proof we have thereof is the testimony of the Church^a: a thing which even their adversaries are forced to confess. Now that this probable persuasion of the truth of Christianity does afterwards grow into an assuredness thereof, this issues from the inward operation of God's Spirit; the gift whereof is faith: and that faith being a knowledge not of science but of belief; which searches not by discourse the particular necessity of the verity of the things which are delivered, but relies in general upon the approved wisdom, truth, and virtue of him that does deliver them; surely whosoever will needs have necessary proof of the several articles of his religion^b, does but wittily deceive himself; and by over-curious endeavours to change his faith into science, but lose that which he seeks to perfect. If then without faith no possibility of salvation, surely needs must this be the highway to perdition. Now seeing that Christianity is a doctrine of faith, a doctrine whereof all men, even children, are capable, as being to be received in gross, and to be believed in the general: the high virtue whereof is in the humility of understanding, and the merit in the readiness of obedience to embrace it, (for these have been always the true honours of faith,) and seeing the outward proofs thereof are no other than probable, and of all probable proofs the Church's testimony is most probable: what madness for any man to tire out his soul and to waste away his

^a Compare *Hooker*, book i. chap. xiv. and the notes there; given above, vol. i. p. 169, &c. in this collection.

"The reason why we are to believe the Scripture to be the word of God neither is nor can be the authority of the present Church of Rome, which cannot make good her authority any other way, but by pretence of Scripture; and therefore stands not unto Scripture in the relation of a foundation to a building, but of a building to a foundation; does not support Scripture, but is supported by it! But *the general* consent of Christians of *all* nations and ages, a far greater company than that of the Church of Rome, and delivering universally the Scripture for the word of God,—is the ordinary, external reason why we believe it; whereunto the testimonies of the Jews, enemies of Christ, add no small moment for the authority of some part of it." *Chillingworth's* Confutation of the arguments that persuaded him to turn Papist, Works, vol. ii. 438.

^b Compare *Barrow*, in vol. i. p. 27—9, of this collection. Also *South's* Sermon, the first article in the present volume, and the note there.

spirits in tracing out all the thorny paths of the controversies of these days, wherein to err is a thing no less easy than dangerous, what through forgery abusing him, what through sophistry beguiling him, what through passion, partiality, and private interest transporting him ; and not rather to betake himself to the high path of truth, whereunto God and nature, reason and experience, do all give witness ; and that is, to associate himself unto that Church, whereunto the custody of this heavenly and supernatural truth, has been from heaven itself committed ! So that two things only are to be performed in this case ; to weigh discreetly *which* is the true Church ; and that being found, *to receive faithfully* and obediently without doubt or discussion *whatsoever* it delivereth.”

Now concerning the first point, “some doubt might be made if there were any Church Christian in the world to be shown, which had continued from Christ’s time down to this age without change or interruption, theirs only excepted.

“But if all other have had either their end and decay long since, or their beginning but of late ; if theirs being founded by the prince of the apostles with promise to him by Christ, that hell-gates should not prevail against it, but that Himself would be assisting to it till the consummation of the world, have continued on now to the end of sixteen hundred years with an honourable and certain line of near two hundred and forty popes, all successors of St. Peter, both tyrants and traitors, both Pagans and heretics, in vain wresting, raging, barking, and undermining ; if all the lawful General Councils that ever were in the world, being the venerable senates of God’s officers and ministers, have from time to time approved, obeyed, and honoured it ; if God have so miraculously blessed it from above, as that so many sage doctors should enrich it with their writings ; such armies, yea millions of saints with their holiness, of martyrs with their blood, of virgins with their purity should sanctify and embellish it ; if their Church have been a ruin always to them that opposed against her ; a stay, repose, and advancement to all her followers ; if even at this day in such difficulties of unjust rebellions and unnatural revolts of her nearest children, yet she stretches out her arms to the utmost corners of the world, newly embracing whole nations into her bosom ; if, lastly, in all other opposite Churches wheresoever, there be nothing to be found but inward dissension and contrariety, but change of opinions, uncertainty of

resolutions, with robbing of Churches, rebelling against governors, confusion of orders, nothing to be attended but mischief, subversion, and destruction (which they have well deserved and shall assuredly have): whereas contrariwise in *their* Church the Unity undivided, the obedience unforced, the unalterable resolutions, the most heavenly order reaching from the height of all power to the very lowest of all subjection, with admirable harmony and undefective correspondence, all bending the same way to the effecting of the same work, do promise no other than continuance, increase, and victory:—let no man doubt to submit himself to this glorious spouse of God: on whose head is the blessing of God, in whose hand is the power of God, under whose feet are the enemies of God, and to whom round about do service all the creatures of God.

“ This then being accorded to be the true Church of God, it follows that she be reverently obeyed in all things without farther disquisition: having the warrant that he that hears her, hears Christ, and whosoever hears her not, has no better place with God than a publican or Pagan. And what folly were it to receive *the Scripture* upon credit of her authority, and not to receive *the interpretation of it* upon her authority also and credit? And if God should not protect his Church always from error, and yet peremptorily command men always to obey her, then had He made but very slender provision for the salvation of mankind, to whom error in matter of faith is certain damnation: which conceit of God (whose care of us even in all things touching this transitory life is so plain and eminent) were ungrateful and impious. And hard were the case, mean had his regard been of the vulgar people, whose wants and difficulties in this life will not permit, whose capacity will not suffice to sound the deep and hidden mysteries of divinity, to search out the truth of these intricate controversies, if there were no other whose authority they might rely on. Blessed therefore are they which believe and have not seen: the merit of whose^a religious humility and obedience, does ex-

^a The true light in which this point is to be viewed, is put before us very strikingly, in the evidence before the House of Peers, of the late excellent Archbishop Magee:

“ I am satisfied that a great many of the laity of the Roman Catholics do not know the doctrines. It is a rule of their Church, as I have understood, that it is not necessary for its followers to know exactly what its doctrines are. There is what is called an *implicit* faith, admitted according to the established principles of that Church; and if a person can say, ‘ I believe all

ceed perhaps in honour and acceptance before God, the subtle and profound knowledge of many others.—And lastly, if any man,

which the Church believes and teaches,' he is not required to explain what that is. This sufficiently signifies that he is docile, and devoted to the *authority* of his Church; and this, as I understand, is considered the *great virtue* of the Roman Catholic religion.—To explain myself still further. I can conceive that a person may hold all the doctrines belonging to the Roman Catholic Church, excepting whatever is connected with the supremacy of the Pope; and yet that if he had drawn those doctrines by the force and exercise of his own judgment from the investigation of the Scriptures, *he would not be acknowledged* as a person within the pale of their communion. He would not be connected with the body of the Church, as not being connected with its head. I rather think that he would be pronounced, from his not yielding in the one point of submitting to the supremacy of the Pope, and the authority of the Church, as a person to whom, by the rules of that Church, salvation must be denied." *Phelan's and O'Sullivan's Digest*, part ii. p. 177, 8.

Further, from the Roman Catholic Bishop *Milner's End of Controversy*, as cited in the same very interesting and valuable work :

"You may satisfy yourself respecting it, even by interrogating the poor illiterate Irish, and other Catholic foreigners, who traverse the country in various directions. . . . At all events, if properly interrogated, they will confess their belief in one comprehensive article; namely, this: *I believe whatever the Holy Catholic Church believes and teaches.*" *Ibid.* p. 178.

But there are occasions and circumstances under which this same doctrine assumes a much more appalling and dreadful character. What words can describe our feelings when we read of such discipline as the following, for those who are training to be sent forth into the world as ministers of the Gospel of truth and peace. "The Maynooth class-book, in a passage given in evidence by the Archbishop of Dublin, contrasts the state of a Protestant and a Roman Catholic at the last day. 'The Protestant,' it says, can plead no other principle of faith and action, than his private judgment with which he has searched the Scriptures for himself.—How different the lot of the Catholic! Although (which yet God forbid that we should believe), he should have fallen into error through his obedience to the decrees of the Church; can he not, when interrogated on this head confidently say to the Supreme Judge, 'Lord, if that which we have followed be an error, THOU, EVEN THOU, HAST DECEIVED US, by thy clear and reiterated precepts, that, unless we wished to have our part with the heathen, we should *hear the Church, as we hear Thee.* Thou Thyself hast deceived us, by thy Apostles, by the pastors and doctors whom Thou hast ordained in the Church, for the perfecting of the saints, and the building up of thy body. *Thou Thyself hast deceived us, by thy Church,* which is called by the Apostle the pillar and ground of the truth. For she has always exacted from her children a firm assent in heart and mind to her decrees, in Thy name denouncing an eternal anathema against the rebellious. . . . Confidently then we say, O Lord, if it be an error, which we have followed, THOU THYSELF HAST DECEIVED US, AND WE ARE EXCUSED.'" *Phelan's and O'Sullivan's Digest*, part ii. p. 248.

either in regard of his vocation, or by reason of his leisure, list to study the controversies, let him take heed that he come not with a doubtful mind unto them ; for diffidence is as the sin of rebellion : let him be stedfast in faith ; let him submit his own reason to the Church's authority, being the house of God, the pillar and ground of truth ; let him be fast and unmoveably built on that foundation, and let his end be only this, to furnish and arm himself in such sort as to be able to withstand and overthrow those heretics, whom he shall at any time either choose or chance to encounter."—This is the main course of their persuading at this day, whereby they seek to re-establish that former foundation.

In the unfolding whereof I have been the longer, because trial has taught me, that not by some men's private election, but as it should seem, by common order, direction, or consent, they have relinquished all other courses, and hold them to this as the most effectual means in the way of persuasion to insinuate their desire, and to work their design. In considering whereof there comes into my mind that diversity which a wise philosopher has intimated in the wits of men, that some are of so sharp, deep, and strong discourse, that they yield not their firm assent to any thing till they have found out either some proper demonstration for it, or some other certain proof whereon to ground it assuredly : others are by nature so shallow and weak in that faculty, that they fear always error in working with it, and therefore do more willingly accord to whatsoever some, of account for wisdom, do barely affirm, than to anything that reason alone (which they suspect) enforces.

Now these latter exceeding the other as far in number, as in worthiness and honour of nature they are exceeded by them, the Romanists taking a course so fitting to the feeble and fearful humour of this sort, do greatly sway with them : whereas if they meet with one of the former more tough constitution, that will not be carried away with these plausible declamations, nor yield his assent *in gross*, without *particular* examination, they bestow small cost on him, as having small hope to prevail. Wherein I hold them wise in the rules of policy : that having found by certain and infallible experience, that the ignorance of the laity was the chiefest and surest sinew of their greatness and glory, they now being not able to keep them longer in that blind ignorance, do cunningly endeavour so to lead them out of the former, as to enter them withal into a *second* kind of ignorance ; that being not

content to see utterly nothing, at leastwise they may be persuaded to resign up their own eyesight, and to look through such spectacles as they temper for them.

IV. This being the main ground-work of their policy; and the *general* means to bind and establish it in the minds of all men; the *particular* “ways they hold to ravish all affections and to fit each humour,” (which, their jurisdiction and power being but persuasive and voluntary, they principally regard,) are well-nigh infinite: there being not any thing either sacred or profane, no virtue or vice almost, no things, of how contrary condition soever, which they make not in some sort to serve that turn; that each fancy may be satisfied, and each appetite find what to feed on.—Whatsoever either wealth can sway with the lovers, or voluntary poverty with the despisers of the world; what honour with the ambitious; what obedience with the humble; what great employment with stirring and mettled spirits, what perpetual quiet with heavy and restive bodies; what content the pleasant nature can take in pastimes and jollity; what contrariwise the austere mind in discipline and rigour; what love either chastity can raise in the pure, or voluptuousness in the dissolute; what allurements are in knowledge to draw the contemplative, or in actions of state to possess the practis dispositions; what with the hopeful prerogative of reward can work; what errors, doubts, and dangers with the fearful; what change of vows with the rash, of estate with the inconstant; what pardons with the faulty, or supplies with the defective; what miracles with the credulous, what visions with the fantastical; what gorgeousness of shows with the vulgar and simple; what multitude of ceremonies with the superstitious and ignorant; what prayer with the devout; what with the charitable works of piety; what rules of higher perfection with elevated affections; what dispensing with breach of all rules with men of lawless conditions;—in sum what thing soever can prevail with any man, either for himself to pursue, or at leastwise to love, reverence, or honour in another; (for even therein also man’s nature receives great satisfaction;) the same is found with them, not as in other places of the world, by casualty blended without order, and of necessity; but sorted in great part into several professions, countenanced with reputation, honoured with prerogatives, facilitated with provisions and yearly maintenance, and either (as the better things) advanced with expectation of reward, or born with, how bad soever, with sweet

and silent permission.—What pomp, what riot, to that of their cardinals? what severity of life comparable to their hermits and capuchins? who wealthier than their prelates? who poorer by vow and profession than their mendicants? On the one side of the street a cloister of virgins; on the other a sty of courtesans, with public toleration. This day all in masks with all looseness and foolery; to-morrow all in processions whipping themselves till the blood follow. On one door an excommunication throwing to hell all transgressors; on another a jubilee or full discharge from all transgressions. Who more learned in all kind of sciences than their jesuits? What thing more ignorant than their ordinary mass-priests? What prince so able to prefer his servants and followers as the Pope, and in so great multitude? Who able to take deeper or readier revenge on his enemies? What pride equal unto his, making kings kiss his pantofle? What humility greater than his, shriving himself daily on his knees to an ordinary priest? Who more difficult in dispatch of causes to the greatest? who easier in giving audience to the meanest? Where greater rigour in the world in acting the observation of the Church laws? Where less care or conscience of the commandments of God? To taste flesh on a Friday where suspicion might fasten, were a matter for the inquisition, whereas on the other side the Sunday is one of their greatest market-days.

To conclude; never state, never government in the world, so strangely compacted of infinite contrarieties, all tending to entertain the several humours of all men, and to work what kind of effects soever they shall desire; where rigour and remissness, cruelty and lenity, are so combined, that with neglect of the Church to stir ought is a sin unpardonable; whereas, with duty towards the Church, and by intercession for her allowance, with respective attendance of her pleasure, no law almost of God or nature so sacred, which one way or other they find not means to dispense with, or at leastwise permit the breach of by connivance and without disturbance.

V. But to proceed to the consideration of their more “particular projects” and more mystical devices for the perpetuating of their greatness. There was never yet state so well built in the world, having his ground as theirs has in the good will of others, and not standing by his own main strength and power, that could longer uphold itself in flourishing reputation and in prosperity, than it could make itself necessary to them by whom it subsisted;

all callings of men, all degrees in commonwealths, yea, particular great personages, then waning in their greatness, when they decay in their necessariness, to them from whom they have it. Which the Papacy, nothing ignorant of, nor neglecting, has by secret and rare cunning so deeply engaged and interested from time to time the greatest monarchs of Christendom, in the upholding of that state, that without the Papacy, sundry of them have no hope, and some no title to continue in their own dominions. For to omit things more apparent and in the eyes of all men, their pretended authority to excommunicate and depose them, to discharge subjects of all oaths and bond of obedience, to oblige them under pain of damnation to rise against them, to honour their murderers, with the title of martyrs, (for to that degree of eternity have some of their sect grown :) the effect of which proceeding some great princes have felt and more have feared, and few at this day list to put it to the adventure : the tampering with so unlimited power in princes' marriages, by dispensing with degrees by the law of God and the world forbidden, by loosing and knitting marriages, by device, at pleasure, by legitimating unlawful and accursed issue, and thereby advancing into thrones of regality, oftentimes base, sundry times adulterous, yea, and sometimes incestuous, and perhaps unnatural offspring ; does not reason foretel, and has not experience averred, that both the partners in such marriages, and much more their whole issue, are bound in as strong a bond to the upholding of the Pope's infinite authority and power, as the honour of their birth, and title of their crowns are worth ? It was a silly conceit in them who hoped that Queen Mary would not restore the Pope's authority in England by reason of her promise, when a greater bond to her than her promise did press her to it. What man ever in the world stuck faster to his chosen friend than the late King Philip of Spain to the Papacy, (notwithstanding with the Popes themselves his often jealousies and quarrels :) having ordained moreover that all his heirs and successors in the State of the Low Countries by virtue of his late transport ^a shall for ever in their entry into those seignories take an oath for the maintaining of the Papacy and that religion ? Is not the reason apparent, that if the Papacy should quail, his only son with whomso-

^a Compare *Sir William Temple's* Observations on the United Provinces. Works, vol. i. p. 40, &c. Edit. 1754. Also, *Birch's* Negotiations, p. 175, &c.

ever descend of him, are dishonoured, and made incapable, as in way and right of descent, of those great states and kingdoms which now he holds; yea, a fire kindled in his own house about the title to them! Neither is it to be admitted into any conceit of reason but that this young king will be as sure to the Papacy as his father, being born of a marriage prohibited by God, abhorred haply by nature, disapproved by the world, and only by Papal authority made allowable.

For, for my part, I hold that opinion not improbable, that the marriage of uncle and niece (as it was in this case) is contrary to the law of nature, and not God's positive law only; seeing the uncle has a second right and place of a father. But howsoever that point stand, wherein I dare not affirm ought, it is clearly contrary to such a positive law of God, as the reason and cause whereof must needs continue till the dissolution of the world or overthrow of mankind; and therefore in reason and law no way abrogable or dispensable with, but by the same^a or a higher authority than that which first did make it: so that the Pope need not think they do him apparent wrong who invest him with the title of that man of power, who, sitting in the temple of God, exalts himself above God. For what may it seem else, bearing himself for head of the Church, to take upon him to cancel or authentically to allow of the breach of God's law, without having his express and precise warrant for so doing? Though I am not ignorant that they have distinctions for all this; which were a merry matter if sophistry were the proper science for salvation. But by this and some other marriages these strange relations of alliance have grown, that King Philip the second, were he now alive, might call the Archduke Albert both brother, cousin, nephew, and son: for all this was he to him either by blood or affinity; being uncle to himself, cousin-german to his father, husband to his sister, and father to his wife. And to come a step nearer home^b; the same rule of policy made me strongly conjecture, till that now God by death has prevented that mischief, howsoever the Pope hitherto, what for fear of scandalizing, what for other respects, made show not to be forward to consent to an intended marriage between a married king and his mistress, much

^a See *Hooker* above, in this collection, vol. i. p. 176—7, and *Hey*, vol. iii. p. 188. and note there.

^b The allusion is to the case of Henry IV. of France.

less to legitimate the children adulterously begotten, by finding nullities on both sides in the former marriages, (things made on purpose, as he knows, to cloak a falsehood ;) that yet, notwithstanding himself or his successors would yield to it in the end, if any colour in the world could be laid upon the matter to save the credit of his not erring see, and he might see good hope for that race to prevail ; yea, and it may yet be that in some other match he will guide that stream into the same course ; that so deriving the succession also of this other great kingdom upon issue, whose title must hold of his legitimation, he may be better assured of it than he has been hitherto ; and have them for ever most firm and irreconcilable adversaries, to all such whether subjects or neighbours, or whosoever, as should oppose against his sovereignty and unstinted power ; so searching and penetrant is the cunning of that see to strengthen itself more by the unlawful marriages of other men, than ever prince yet could do by any lawful marriage of his own.

The “ dispensing with oaths ^a” and discharging from them, especially in matters of treaty between princes and states, is a thing so repugnant to all moral honesty, so injurious to the quiet and peace of the world, so odious in itself, so scandalous to all men, that it may be they adventure not to play upon that string in this curious age so often as heretofore, for fear of discording all the rest of their harmony.

Clear it is that heretofore this made them a necessary help for all such princes, as either upon extremity were driven to enter into hard conditions, or upon falsehood and dishonesty desired to take their advantage against their neighbours when it was offered. Which princes having no means to save their credit with the world, but only by justifying the unholiness of their act by the Pope’s holy authority interposed in it, were afterwards tied firmly to adhere unto him. And this was the case of Francis the first, with whom immediately upon his oath given to Charles the fifth for performance of the articles accorded to his delivery Clement the seventh dispensed ; and by probable conjecture had promised him to dispense with his oath beforehand upon hope also whereof he took it. The effect was for the Pope’s behoof, that ever after there was strict love and intelligence between them, testified finally to

^a In connexion with the various topics of this section, consult Bishop *Taylor’s* Dissuasive from Popery, part i. chap. 3. sect. 1.

the world by that famous marriage between the son of the one and the kinswoman of the other. And verily though I hold in general too much suspiciousness as great a fault and as great an enemy to wisdom as too much credulity, it doing oftentimes as hurtful wrong to friends, as the other does receive wrongful hurt from dissemblers; yet viewing the short continuance of sworn leagues at this day, the small reckoning that princes make of oaths solemnly taken whether to neighbours or subjects, not faith but profit being the bond of alliance and amity, which altering once the other have no longer during, it makes me think not impossible that the Pope's unlimited fingers may be stirring even at this day more often in secret in untying those knots of the bonds of conscience than the world is aware of; at leastwise that by authority and imitation of his example princes assume unto themselves a like faculty of dispensing with their own oaths, whensoever they can persuade themselves it is behoveful unto their kingdoms, as he when to his Church. But howsoever that stands, this is very apparent, that by this doctrine and policy the Pope's opposites and enemies, especially the states and princes of the reformed religion, are inestimably prejudiced, being reduced hereby to a continual uncertainty and confusion in all their weightiest actions, counsels, and resolutions,—there being a warrant dormant for all men to break league and oath with them, and no need of particular dispensation from his holiness; their Church long since by her rules, and some of great reckoning among them more lately by their writings, having published and preached to all the world that faith given to heretics is not to be kept^a; that leagues with them are more honourable in their breaking than in their making; denying that right unto princes of Christian profession, which Christians unto Heathen, the Heathen one to another of how different religion soever, yea, all

^a The decree of the Council of Constance, and the proceedings of that Council in the case of John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, which are usually referred to by Protestant writers as a proof that the lawfulness of breaking faith with heretics is a tenet of the Romish Church, appear fairly to admit of another interpretation, and ought not therefore to be cited for that purpose. See *Phelan's*, &c. Digest, part ii. p. 191—3. Still it is to be feared, that independently of the proceedings of that Council too much ground still remains for the imputation. See *Crackanthorpe's* *Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, contra Spalatinum*, chap. 83. sect. 4—7. Also *Phelan's*, &c. Digest, part i. p. 194—8. And Lord Clarendon's *Religion and Policy*, p. 673-5, Oxf. 1811. that the Church of Rome has never disclaimed this tenet.

honourable princes unto very traitors and rebels have always kept inviolable. And surely, if Father Parsons at his late coming to Rome, pretending to make peace between the English scholars and the Jesuits, (who were charged with much indirect dealing, and large embezzling) and setting down certain articles between them to that purpose, whereby each part should be bound to desist impugning of the other, did by handling the matter as is said with such slight and conveyance, (imitating therein a rule of fast on the one side and loose on the other in the ground of their order) as first to swear the scholars to observe that which was their part, and afterwards to leave the Jesuits unsworn to theirs; effect his secret and ambitious intent, and to the great grief of the scholars make the Jesuits their governors;—what other account can be made of these peaces and leagues between those of the Roman and of the reformed religion, but that the one side being tied by oath, and the other left free, (for so are they taught,) they shall so far forth only have performance and continuance, as shall prove to the advantage in ease or profit of that party which esteems itself left at liberty.

The sacred, the sovereign instrument of justice among men, what is it, what can be in this world but an oath, being the strongest bond of conscience? This the end of strifes particular, this the solder of public peace, and the sole assurance of amity between divers nations; which being made here below is enrolled in his high court whose glorious name does sign it, who has made no grant of access to his celestial palace, but to such as having sworn once, though it redound to their own damage, yet swerve not from it; so that nothing but mischief can be presaged to the world in this age most wretched, wherein perjury has so undermined the very tribunals of judgment, that it has chased true justice out of the world, and left no place for a just man where to stand against the crafty. But what may be said when he that sitteth in the temple of God shall so far advance himself above God, as to dispense with oaths made sacred by the most holy and high name of God? when he that professes himself the sole umpire and peace-maker of the world should cut in sunder those only sinews that hold peace together? when the father of princes and prince of religion shall carry himself with so wicked partiality and craft, as in dissolving oaths by afflicting therein the part he hates, and making the other perpetually obnoxious to him, to work his own certain advantage from both?

and lastly, by making that ancient bridle of the unjust to be now an only snare to entrap the innocent, shall impose that blemish upon the name of Christianity which Pagans in their natural morality have abhorred?

These take I to be the means whereby the Papacy has allured so many of the greatest unto it.

IV.

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF THE PAPAL CLAIMS TO SUPREMACY,

WHETHER IN THINGS TEMPORAL OR SPIRITUAL ^a.

CONTENTS.

- I. Many points of primary importance unsettled and uncontrolled in the Church of Rome, notwithstanding its boasted unity: and among these, this especially of the nature and extent of the Pope's authority.
 - II. His pretended supremacy in things temporal, *directè*.
 - III. The same, *indirectè*; or, *in ordine ad spiritualia*.
 - IV. The nature and extent of his pretended supremacy in things spiritual.
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I. THE Roman party does much glory in unity and certainty of doctrine, as things peculiar to them, and which no other men have any means to attain: yet about divers matters of notable consideration, in what they agree, or of what they are certain, it is hard to descry.

They pretend it very needful that controversies should be decided, and that they have a special knack of doing it: yet do many controversies of great weight and consequence stick on their hands unresolved, many points rest in great doubt and debate among them.

The *κύρια δόξαι* of the Roman sect (concerning doctrine,

^a From Dr. Isaac Barrow's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy. Works, vol. vi. p. 1—45. 8vo.

practice, laws, and customs of discipline, rites and ceremonies) are of divers sorts, or built on divers grounds. 1. Some established by (pretended) general Synods. 2. Some founded on decrees of Popes. 3. Some entertained as upon tradition, custom, common agreement. 4. Some which their eminent divines or schoolmen do commonly embrace. 5. Some prevailing by the favour of the Roman Court, and its zealous dependents.

Hence it is very difficult to know wherein their religion consists: for those grounds divers times seem to clash, and accordingly their divines (some building on these, some on others) disagree.

This being so in many points of importance, is so particularly in this (of the Pope's Supremacy).

For instance, the head of their Church (as they call it) is, one would think, a subject about which they should thoroughly consent, and which they by this time should have cleared from all disputes; so that (so far as their decisive faculty goes) we might be assured wherein his authority consists, and how far it does extend; seeing the resolution of that point so nearly touches the heart of religion, the faith and practice of all Christians, the good of the Church, and peace of the world¹; seeing that no one question (perhaps not all questions together) has created so many tragical disturbances in Christendom, as that concerning the bounds of Papal authority.

This disagreement of the Roman Doctors about the nature and extent of Papal authority is a shrewd prejudice against it. If a man should sue for a piece of land, and his advocates (the notablest that could be had, and well paid) could not find where it lies, how it is butted and bounded, from whom it was conveyed to him—one would be very apt to suspect his title. If God had instituted such an office, it is highly probable, we might satisfactorily know what the nature and use of it were: the patents and charters for it would declare it.

Yet for resolution in this great case we are left to seek; they not having either the will, or the courage, or the power to determine it. This insuperable problem has baffled all their infallible methods of deciding controversies; their traditions blundering, their Synods clashing, their divines wrangling endlessly about

¹ *Agitur de summâ rei Christianæ. Bell. Præf. de Rom. Pont.* Upon this one point the very sum and substance of Christianity depends.

what kind of thing the Pope is, and what power he rightly may claim ^a.

^a This statement is very striking, even when taken merely by itself, substantiated as we shall see it is by the superabundant evidence which the admirable author adduces. But how much more striking and instructive does it become, if we turn back to compare and contrast it with the imposing and captivating sketch which has been drawn of the professed and pretended system and condition of the Church of Rome, No. III. above, by the eloquent pen of Sir Edwin Sandys.

But again; the reader's attention is now invited to another description, in some degree combining in one the characters of both the preceding, and worthy for its force and eloquence, of being placed by the side of that of Sandys. It is true that this last relates only to a single country. It is one however in which England is deeply interested; and the same characters, it is to be feared, are existing in all parts where Popery retains its sway.

"The character of the Church of Rome, as exhibited in the evidence of its Irish bishops, is of a very extraordinary nature. The boast of that Church is its unity of doctrine; and the recompense it bestows upon its obedient children, for the surrender of their right to exercise and be guided by their own understandings, has always been considered to be, the comfort arising from being steadied by a secure and well defined belief, and from being no more tossed about by every wind of doctrine. When a Roman Catholic, sincerely attached to the principles of his Church, was questioned on the privileges he enjoyed, it was usual to hear him say, that he was a member of a grand and universal community, whose doctrine was always and in all places the same: and it appeared to him by no means an unworthy sacrifice, that he should yield up his private judgment to the guidance of a Church which maintained no doctrine but that which had been held in every part of the civilized world, in every age, and by all classes of men: 'Quod ubique, quod semper, quod ab omnibus.' This was the boast of the sincere Irish Roman Catholics. The slavery of their reason they imagined to be dignified by the nature of the fetters which were imposed upon it. If, for a moment, reason appeared to rebel, or if a thought of personal responsibility caused even the conscience to experience an uneasy sensation, the mind reverted to the early days of the Church, and the remembrance of martyrs and sages dying for the same hope, and preaching the same doctrine as even in these evil days is promulgated, awoke an enthusiasm in the soul which expelled all hateful suspicions; and thus, men, in the business of life, and in pursuits of science decisive and discriminating, became accustomed to look at their religion through the medium of a romance, which in their ordinary avocations they would condemn themselves for not dispelling.

"The evidence of the Roman Catholic bishops is likely, at least is calculated, to break this veil of awe and mystery which had been drawn around the religion of the majority of the Irish people. It teaches fully, if not clearly, what the professors of that religion must resign, and what they receive in exchange. It teaches that the right of private judgment is denied, and that even the conscience of a man, and the law of God, are to be regarded as

“There is” (says a great divine among them) “so much controversy about the plenitude of ecclesiastical power, and to what things it may extend itself, that few things in that matter are secure——¹”

This is a plain argument of the impotency of the Pope’s power in judging and deciding controversies, or of his own cause in this matter;—that he cannot define a point so nearly concerning himself, and which he so much desires an agreement in; that he cannot settle his own claim out of doubt; that all his authority cannot secure itself from contest.

So indeed it is, that no spells can allay some spirits; and where interests are irreconcilable, opinions will be so.

Some points are so tough and so touchy, that nobody dare meddle with them, fearing that their resolution will fail of suc-

more uncertain guides of conduct than the directions of a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic; and it teaches, that the Church which demands such a sacrifice, offers to him who makes it no sufficient compensation; does not prepare for his use an exact formulary of doctrine, does not satisfy him that he is in communion with the members of the great Catholic Church spread abroad throughout the world; does not instruct him in the wisdom of ages, and make him familiar with the doctrines and decisions of the assembled Councils, the glory and defence of Christian faith;—but expects him to yield up his own reason and his own conscience, not that he may receive them back enlightened and improved by the wisdom and holiness of past ages, but that he may obey the dictates of some priest or bishop, some man like himself, as though he were submitting to a god. All this the evidence of the Roman Catholic bishops well establishes; it is well calculated to disenchant visionary minds, and to force upon them the humbling truth, that that spirit by which they were governed, into whose power conscience and reason were resigned, was not of the noble nature they thought it. The object of the present chapter is to collect those portions of *the evidence which establish this important truth* The reader will see fully established this truth, that, judging of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland by the evidence which its bishops offered before the two Houses of Parliament, there is no reason to believe that it agrees in doctrine with the See of Rome; and there is no mode of knowing in what doctrines its members are instructed. There are three things to be established: first, that the Church to which these bishops belong, denies the right of private judgment; secondly, that it does not profess agreement with the See of Rome; thirdly, that it has not published any explicit and sufficient formulary of doctrine.” *Phelan’s, &c. Digest*, part i. p. 156, 7.

¹ Tanta est inter Doctores controversia de plenitudine ecclesiasticæ potestatis, et ad quæ se extendat, ut pauca sint in eâ materiâ secura.—*Almain*. de Auct. Eccl. cap. 3.

cess and submission. Hence even the anathematizing definers of Trent (the boldest undertakers to decide controversies that ever were) did wave *this* point^a; the legates of the Pope being en-

^a “During the sittings previous to the opening of the Council, there had been very warm and reiterated assertions of the episcopal dignity, insomuch that the Pope’s legates began to apprehend that the Council might revive the doctrine of the primitive Church, which held bishops to be of divine institution. To check this spirit of insubordination, the Pope urged the counter-claims of the holy See, in the high language of the Florentine canon. ‘Pius wrote to his legates,’ says Father Paul (p. 658, *Brent’s* translation), ‘that in the decree of doctrine concerning the Pope’s power, they should enlarge the declaration of the Council of Florence, that the Pope was *the Vicar of Jesus Christ, the Father and Master of all Christians, and that to him were given full powers to feed, rule, and govern the universal Church*; but that they must by no means deviate from the form of expression; that he had no doubt such a decree would be adopted, for as the substance of it would be taken from a general Council, he that should oppose it, would only prove himself a schismatic! The day after the arrival of the Pope’s courier, a congregation was held, and the subject of the letter was discussed. A disputation arose between the French and Italian prelates . . . the result was a compromise, both parties abating somewhat of their extreme pretensions. The claims advanced by the Cisalpine school, have never been and never will be decided. Whether (to use the phrase of the Trent disputants) bishops be *jure divino*, or *jure pontificio*; whether they have their commission from God or from the Pope; whether, in fine, the Pope be not the only true bishop in the world, employing all others as his deputies or vicars;—these are questions to which the Roman Catholic Church, notwithstanding her store of infallible traditions, must not dare to give an answer; virtually and *in practice*, though not in terms, the questions have been determined by the Pope; and, of course, in his own favour. Immediately after he had dismissed the Council, Pius devised an expedient by which he quietly, but effectually put down all opposition; whatever might have been pretended of the independence of bishops as a spiritual *order*, it had been acknowledged by the Fathers, that the Pope was the source of spiritual *jurisdiction*; and that it rested with himself to prescribe the conditions upon which he should *confer* it. Pius availed himself of this concession. He drew up *his celebrated* oath containing that proposition, which was the substance of the whole controversy and of the Florentine decree; and imposed it upon all the functionaries of the Church. The manœuvre was irresistible; no bishopric, no benefice, no parochial cure, no ministry in any of the regular orders, no office of any description under the See or the Court of Rome, could be entered upon, until the new oath had been taken by the candidate. One was taken, and the succeeding Popes, aided by this device, have now for three centuries governed the Church without the impediment of a Council.” *Phelan’s, &c. Digest*, part ii. p. 102—4.

joined, “to advertise, that they should not for any cause whatever come to dispute about the Pope’s authority¹.”

It was indeed wisely done of them to decline this question, their authority not being strong enough to bear the weight of a decision *in favour* of the Roman See, (*against* which they could do nothing,) according to its pretences; as appears by one clear instance. For whereas that Council took upon it incidentally to enact, that any prince should be excommunicate, and deprived of the dominion of any city or place, where he should permit a duel to be fought; the prelates of France in the Convention of orders, *anno* 1595, did declare against that decree, as infringing their king’s authority².

It was therefore advisedly done not to meddle with so ticklish a point. But in the mean time their policy seems greater than their charity; which might have inclined them not to leave the world in darkness and doubt, and unresolved in a point of so main importance; (as indeed they did in others of no small consequence, disputed among their divines with obstinate heat; viz. the divine right of bishops³, the necessity of residence, the immaculate conception, &c.)

The opinions therefore among them concerning the Pope’s authority, as they have been, so they are, and in likelihood may continue, very different.

II. There are among them those who ascribe to the Pope an universal, absolute, and boundless empire over all persons indifferently, and in all matters; conferred and settled on him by divine immutable sanction: so that all men of whatever degree are obliged in conscience to believe whatever he does authoritatively dictate, and to obey whatever he does prescribe. So that if princes themselves do refuse obedience to his will, he may excommunicate them, cashier them, depose them, extirpate them. If he charges us to hold no communion with our prince, to

¹ —di avvertire, che non si venga mai per qual causa si sia alla disputa dell’ Autorità di Papa. Concil. Trid. lib. ii. p. 159.

² Hic articulus est contra auctoritatem regis, qui non potest privari suo dominio temporalis, respectu cujus nullum superiorem recognoscit. *Bochell.* lib. 5. tit. 20. cap. 45.

This article is against the authority of the king; who cannot be deprived of his temporal dominion, wherein he acknowledges no superior.

³ See the preceding note of the editor, p. 93.

renounce our allegiance to him, to abandon, oppose, and persecute him even to death, we *may* without scruple, we *must* in duty obey. If he does interdict whole nations from the exercise of God's worship and service, they must comply therein. So that, according to their conceits, he is in effect sovereign lord of all the world; and superior, even in *temporal* or *civil* matters, unto all kings and princes.

It is notorious, that many canonists (if not most) and many divines of that party do maintain this doctrine; affirming that all the power of "Christ (the Lord of lords and King of kings¹," to whom all power in heaven and earth does appertain) is imparted to the Pope, as to his vicegerent.

This is the doctrine which almost four hundred years ago Augustinus Triumphus², in his egregious work concerning ecclesiastical power, did teach; attributing to the Pope, "an incomprehensible and infinite power; because great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his greatness there is no end."

This is the doctrine which the leading theologues of their sect, their angelical doctor, does affirm, both *directly*, saying, that "in the Pope is the top of both powers³;" and by plain *consequence*, asserting that "when any one is denounced excommunicate for apostasy, his subjects are immediately freed from his dominion, and their oath of allegiance to him."

¹ Prima sententia est summum pontificem jure divino habere plenissimam potestatem in universum orbem terrarum, tam in rebus ecclesiasticis quàm civilibus. Ita docent Aug. Triumphus, Alvarus Pelagius, Panormitanus, Hostiensis, Sylvester, et alii non pauci. *Bell.* 5. 1. The first opinion is, that the Pope has a most full power over the whole world, both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs. This is the doctrine of Aug. Triumphus, &c. and of many others.

² Scripsit egregiam summam de Potestate Ecclesiæ. *Bell.* de Script. Anno 1301. Error est, non credere Pontificem Rom. Universalis Ecclesiæ pastorem, Petri successorem et Christi vicarium, supra temporalia et spiritualia universalem non habere primatum; in quem quandoque multi labuntur, dictæ potestatis ignorantia; quæ cum sit infinita, eò quod "magnus est Dominus, et magna virtus ejus, et magnitudinis ejus non est finis," omnis creatus intellectus in ejus perscrutatione invenitur deficere. *Aug. Triumph.* de Potest. Eccl. in præf. ad P. Joh. xxii.

³ Thomas in fine Secund. Sentent. dicit in Papâ esse apicem utriusque potestatis. *Bell.* v. 1.

Quum quis per sententiam denunciatur propter apostasiam excommunicatus, ipso facto ejus subditi à dominio, et juramento fidelitatis ejus liberati sunt. *Th.* 2. Secund. qu. 12. art. 2.

This the same Thomas¹ (or an author passing under his name, in his book touching the rule of princes,) does teach, affirming, that the Pope, “as supreme king of all the world, may impose taxes on all Christians, and destroy towns and castles for the preservation of Christianity.”

This (as Cardinal Zabarell near three hundred years ago tells us) is the doctrine “which for a long time, those who would please Popes did persuade them, that they could do all things, whatever they pleased; yea and things unlawful; and so could do more than God².”

According to this doctrine then current at Rome, in the last Lateran great synod, under the Pope's nose and in his ear, one bishop styled him “prince of the world³;” another orator called him “King of kings, and Monarch of the earth⁴;” another great prelate said of him, that “he had all power above all powers both of heaven and earth⁵.” And the same roused up Pope Leo X. in these brave terms; “Snatch up therefore the two-edged sword of divine power, committed to thee; and enjoin, command and charge, that an universal peace and alliance be made among Christians for at least ten years; and to that bind kings in the fetters of the Great King, and constrain nobles by the iron manacles of censures: for to thee is given all power in heaven and in earth⁶.”

This is the doctrine which Baronius, with a Roman confidence,

¹ *S. Thomas* (in lib. iii. de Regim. Princ. cap. x. et xix.) affirmat, summum pontificem jure divino habere spiritualem et temporalem potestatem, ut supremum totius mundi regem, adeò ut etiam taleas omnibus Christianis possit imponere, et civitates ac castra destruere pro conservatione Christianitatis. *Bell.* v. 5.

² Quæ jura sunt notanda, quia malè considerata sunt per multos assentatores, qui voluerunt placere pontificibus, per multa retro tempora, et usque ad hodierna suaserunt eis, quod omnia possent; et sic quòd facerent quicquid liberet, etiam illicita, et sic plus quàm Deus. *Zabar.* de Schism.

³ Orbis Princeps. *Episc. Spal.* Sess. i. p. 24.

⁴ Regum rex, et orbis terrarum monarcha. *Del Rio*, sess. viii. p. 87.

⁵ —Virum, in quo erat potestas supra omnes potestates, tam cœli quàm terræ. *Episc. Patrac.* Sess. x. p. 132.

⁶ Arripe ergo gladium divinæ potestatis tibi creditum, bis acutum; et jube, impera, manda, ut pax universalis et colligatio per decennium inter Christianos ad minus fiat; et reges ad id in compedibus magni regis liga, et nobiles in manicis ferreis censurarum constringe: quoniam tibi data est omnis potestas in cœlo et in terrâ. *Ibid.* p. 133.

does so often assert, and drive forward, saying, that “there can be no doubt of it, but that the civil principality is subject to the sacerdotal¹:” and, that God “hath made the political government subject to the dominion of the spiritual Church².”

III. From that doctrine the opinion in effect does not differ, which Bellarmine vouches for the common opinion of Catholics, that “by reason of the spiritual power the Pope, *at least indirectly*^a, has a supreme power even in temporal matters³.”

This opinion, so common, does not, I say, in effect, and prac-

¹ *Politicum principatum sacerdotali esse subjectum nulla potest esse dubitatio.* Ann. 57. § 32.

² *Politicum Imperium subiecit Spiritualis Ecclesiæ dominio.* Ib. § 33.

^a “The third and intermediate opinion, and that which is generally received by Catholic theologians,” (says Cardinal Bellarmine,) “is this:—that the Pope, *as Pope*, has not *directly* and immediately any temporal, but only a spiritual power;—that, nevertheless, *by reason* of this spiritual power, he has a certain authority, and that supreme, *in temporals*.—That the power of the pontiff, properly, *directly*, and *in itself*, is spiritual; but that *by it* he can dispose of the *temporal* things of all Christians, *when* such a measure is necessary to the *end* of his *spiritual* power; to which the *ends* of all temporal powers are subordinate.—He has no power *merely temporal*; and yet, in order to a spiritual good, he has *the supreme* power of disposing of *temporal things*.—The spiritual power *does not interfere* in temporal concerns; but *suffers* all things to proceed *so long* as they do not oppose the spiritual end, or be not necessary to obtain it. But, *if any thing* of this sort occurs, the *spiritual can* and *ought* to coerce the *temporal*, by any way or means which may appear necessary.” Lib. v. De Potestate Pontif. cap. 1 et 6. *Phelan’s, &c. Digest*, part ii. p. 94. Compare *ibid.* p. 72, 3. and 77, 8.

Again: “The Ecclesiastical Commonwealth,” (says the Cardinal,) “must be perfect and sufficient of herself *in order* to her own *end*; for such are all commonwealths that are well instituted:—and therefore she ought to have all necessary power to the obtaining of her own end. But the power of using and disposing of temporal things, is necessary to the spiritual end; because, otherwise, evil princes might, without punishment, nourish heretics, and overthrow religion: and therefore the ecclesiastical commonwealth has this power.—Hitherto the Cardinal, the substance of whose argument is, that the Church of Christ cannot attain to her spiritual end, except the Bishop of Rome have authority to dispose of temporal kingdoms, and to punish kings, by deposing them from their crowns, if he hold it expedient.” *Overall’s Convocation Book*, p. 229, 30. See also Bp. Sanderson’s Sermons, 3rd, ad Magistratum, § 12. p. 120—2. edit. 1681.

³ *Tertia sententia media, et Catholicorum communis, pontificem ut pontificem non habere directè et immediatè ullam temporalem potestatem, sed solum spiritualem; tamen ratione spiritualis habere saltem indirectè potestatem quandam, eamque summam, in temporalibus.* *Bell.* v. 1.

tical consideration, anywise differ from the former; but only in words devised to shun envy, and veil the impudence of the other assertion: for the qualifications, “by reason of the spiritual power, and, at least indirectly,” are but notional, insignificant, and illusive in regard to practice: it importing not, if he has in his keeping a sovereign power, upon what account, or in what formality, he does employ it; seeing that every matter is easily referrible to a spiritual account^a; seeing he is sole judge upon

^a “It was well and pithily urged by the English Roman Catholic Committee, in 1791, ‘If the Pope assume to pronounce a *temporal* concern, to be a *spiritual* concern, is *not the Catholic bound* to submit his judgment to that of the Pope?’” *Phelan’s, &c. Digest*, part ii. p. 109, 10.

“The Roman Catholic Gentry of *Ireland* had begun to feel, with their English brethren, that ‘the doctrines of their clergy formed the chief obstacle to the immediate attainment of all the advantages of the constitution; and, to offer stronger pledges of their attachment to government.’—But the bishops, it appears, would not allow them. They insisted that the question of *civil* allegiance was ‘a point of *Christian* faith, or general discipline;’ that, as such, it was their exclusive province to decide upon it, and that submission, and submission only, was the part of the laity.” *Phelan’s, &c. Ibid.* p. 83.

Before the select committee of the House of Commons (1824, 5), Dr. Doyle, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Leighlin and Ferns, was asked the following question:

“Does it not happen frequently, that there must be such an intermixture of temporal and spiritual power, that it is very difficult to know where the spiritual power ends and the temporal begins?” To this the doctor’s reply was:

“Such difficulties *have* occurred from time to time: but, I conceive, that at present, and even for some centuries past, the limits between the temporal and spiritual things which such commands of the Pope might affect, *are so well ascertained*, that no mistake could, morally speaking, possibly at present occur.”

I omit the deeply instructive and awful comment which the Protestant editors exhibit on this evidence, in a citation of special particulars in contravention of it, of the most momentous kind; and proceed to what they cite from a Roman Catholic divine of very high authority, the learned author of *Columbanus’s Letters*.

“Dr. O’Connor, after adducing many instances to show that the calamities which at various times befel Ireland, made their way *under cover of spiritual* authority, gives his final opinion in the following terms.—‘Until some more rational and Christian ideas of those spiritual jurisdictions are entertained by our exclusive doctors and synods, it is quite nugatory to allege, that the oath of allegiance, which disclaims all power, *except spiritual*, affords security either to the personal or rational independence of our gentry and clergy, or *to the tranquillity of the state*. The word spiritual *must be defined*. Its limits must be ascertained *by law*; for it is plain, that if abandoned to the waywardness

what account he does act ; seeing experience shows, that he will spiritualize all his interests, and upon any occasion exercise that pretended authority ; seeing that it little matters, if he may strike princes, whether he does it by a downright blow, or slantingly.

IV. That such an universal and absolute power has been claimed by divers Popes, successively for many ages, is apparent from their most solemn declarations, and notorious practices ; whereof (beginning from later times, and rising upwards towards the source of this doctrine) we shall represent some.

Ann. 1585. The bull of Pope Sixtus V. against the two sons of wrath, Henry King of Navarre, and the Prince of Condé, begins thus : “ The authority given to St. Peter and his successors by the immense power of the Eternal King, excels all the

of capricious interpretation, it is liable to the most glaring abuse. . . . Nor is this my only objection. I hold, that this spiritual phraseology is much worse than nugatory : it is a profligate trifling in matters of great importance ; it is a species of equivocating profanation. When we appeal to the sacred solemnity of an oath, that oath ought to be clearly defined, so as to admit of no doubt or equivocation, either on the part of those who tender it, or of those who take it. Its meaning ought to be understood in one and the same way by both.”

“ There is reason to fear that the good doctor was too sanguine when he spoke of an oath which should admit of no evasions ; but the state might guard itself, effectually and independently, by legislative enactments on all points of equivocal spirituality.—The necessity for such measures, though always real, was perhaps never glaringly obvious until now.—It is assumed in the evidence of Drs. Murray and Doyle, that the state *recognizes* the Roman Catholic religion. The ecclesiastics of that communion have been acting, it appears, upon this assumption, since the year 1793 ; and they rest upon it as their defence against a charge of breach of faith, or mental reservation. They say, ‘ We gave you credit for so much *common sense* as would have protected you from sanctioning what you did not know. Our principles are unalterable : our books are in your libraries : if you have not taken the trouble of informing yourselves, we are not accountable for your indiscretion.’—Whatever may be thought of their past conduct, they can scarcely be considered accountable henceforward : at all events, they will not so consider themselves.—The legislature, having received very intelligible notice, will now be understood as proceeding on its own responsibility, and at its own peril, in Roman Catholic questions. Let it, therefore, no longer proceed in ignorance : but, instead of suffering, as hitherto, that Rome should *distinguish* between temporals and spirituals, let it endeavour to establish the distinction for itself.” *Phelan’s*, &c. Part ii. 274—6. The editors had already animadverted on “ the continued recurrence to *Rome* by the Irish to learn the lawful *extent* of *civil* obedience, while,” (they observe,) “ Roman Catholics have never consulted the state upon the just limits of the *spiritual* power.” *Ibid.* p. 276.

powers of earthly kings and princes.—It passes uncontrollable sentence upon them all.—And if it find any of them resisting God's ordinance, it takes more severe vengeance of them, casting them down from their thrones, though never so puissant, and tumbling them down to the lowest parts of the earth, as the ministers of aspiring Lucifer." And then he proceeds to thunder against them, "We deprive them and their posterity for ever of their dominions and kingdoms." And accordingly he deprives those princes of their kingdoms and dominions, absolves their subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and forbids them to pay any obedience to them. "By the authority of these presents, we do absolve and set free all persons, as well jointly as severally, from any such oath, and from all duty whatsoever in regard of dominion, fealty, and obedience; and do charge and forbid all and every of them, that they do not dare to obey them, or any of their admonitions, laws, and commands¹."

Ann. 1570. Pope Pius V. (one of their holiest Popes of the last stamp, who hardly has escaped canonization until now) begins his bull against our Queen Elizabeth in these words: "He that reigneth on high, to whom is given all power in heaven and in earth, hath committed the one holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, out of which there is no salvation, to one alone on earth, namely to Peter, prince of the apostles, and to the Roman pontiff, successor of Peter, to be governed with a plenitude of power: this one He hath constituted prince over all nations and all kingdoms, that He might pluck up, destroy, dissipate, ruinate, plant, and build."—And in the same bull he declares, that "he thereby deprives the queen of her pretended right to the kingdom, and of all dominion, dignity and privilege whatsoever; and absolves all

¹ Ab immensâ æterni regis potentiâ B. Petro ejusque successoribus tradita auctoritas omnes terrenorum regum et principum supereminet potestates.—Inconcussa profert in omnes judicia.—Et siquos ordinationi Dei resistentes invenit, severiore hos vindictâ ulciscitur, et, quamvis potentiores, de solio dejiciens, veluti superbientis Luciferi ministros, ad infima terræ deturbatos prosternit.

Dominiiis, regnis, &c. nos illos illorumque posteros privamus in perpetuum.

A juramento hujusmodi, ac omni prorsus dominii, fidelitatis et obsequii debito, illos omnes tam universè quàm singulatim auctoritate præsentium absolvimus et liberamus; præcipimusque et interdiciamus eis universis et singulis, ne illis eorumque monitis, legibus et mandatis audeant obedire. Bulla Sixti V. contra Hen. Navarr. R. &c.

the nobles, subjects, and people of the kingdom, and whoever else have sworn to her, from their oath, and all duty whatsoever, in regard of dominion, fidelity, and obedience¹."

Ann. 1346. Pope Clement VI. did pretend to depose the Emperor Lewis IV.

Ann. 1311. Pope Clement V. in the great synod of Vienna, declared the emperor subject to him², or standing obliged to him by a proper oath of fealty.

Ann. 1294. Pope Boniface VIII. has a decree extant in the canon-law running thus: "We declare, say, define, pronounce it to be of necessity to salvation, for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff³." The which subjection, according to his intent, reaches all matters; for he there challenges a double sword, and asserts to himself jurisdiction over all temporal authorities: for, "One sword" (says he) "must be under another, and the temporal authority must be subject to the Spiritual power⁴"—"whence if the earthly power doth go astray, it must be judged by the Spiritual power⁵." The which aphorisms he proves by Scriptures admirably expounded to that purpose.

This definition might pass for a rant of that boisterous Pope, ("a man above measure ambitious and arrogant⁶,") vented in his passion against King Philip of France, if it had not the advantage

¹ Pius V.—*Quem mirum est in albo sanctorum nondum relatum esse. Briet. Chr. Ann.* 1572.

Regnans in excelsis, cui data est omnis in cœlo et in terrâ potestas, unam sanctam, Catholicam, et Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, uni soli in terris, videlicet apostolorum principi Petro, Petrique successori Romano pontifici, in potestatis plenitudine tradidit gubernandam: hunc unum super omnes gentes et omnia regna principem constituit, qui evellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, et ædificet.—Pap. Pius V. in bull. contra Reg. Eliz. (*Cambd. Hist. Ann.* 1570)

Ipsam prætenso regni jure, nec non omni quocunque dominio, dignitate privilegioque privamus; et iterum proceres, subditos, &c. *Ibid.*

² Apostolicâ auctoritate de fratrum nostrorum consilio declaramus, illa juramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere. *Clem. lib. 2. tit. 9.* Vide Conc. Vienn. p. 909.

³ Subesse Romano Pontifici omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. *Extrav. com. lib. 1. tit. 8. cap. i.*

⁴ Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem authoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. *Ibid.*

⁵ Ergo si deviat terrena potestas, judicabitur à potestate spirituali. *Ibid.*

⁶ Vir super modum ambitiosus et arrogans. (*Binius in vitâ Bonif. VIII.*)

(of a greater than which no Papal decree is capable) of being expressly confirmed by one of their general councils: for, “We” (says Pope Leo X. in his bull, read and passed in the Laterane council) “do renew and approve that holy constitution, with approbation of the present holy council¹.” Accordingly, Melchior Canus says, that “the Laterane council did approve and renew that extravagant²” (indeed extravagant) “constitution:” and Baronius says of it, that “all do assent to it, so that none dissenteth, who doth not by discord fall from the Church³.”

The truth is, Pope Boniface did not invent that proposition, but borrowed it from the schools; for Thomas Aquinas, in his work against the Greeks, pretends to show, that “it is of necessity to salvation to be subject to the Roman pontiff⁴.” The which scholastic aphorism Pope Boniface turned into law, and applied to his purpose of exercising domination over princes; offering in virtue of it to deprive King Philip of his kingdom.

The appendix to Martinus Polonus, says of Pope Boniface VIII. “*Regem se regum, mundi Monarcham, unicum in Spiritualibus et temporalibus Dominum promulgavit;*” that “he openly declared himself to be King of kings, Monarch of the world, and sole lord and governor both in spirituals and temporals.”

Ann. 1245. Before him, Pope Innocent IV. did hold and exemplify the same notion; declaring the Emperor Frederick II. his vassal, and denouncing in his general council of Lyons a sentence of deprivation against him in these terms: “We having about the foregoing and many other his wicked miscarriages had before a careful deliberation with our brethren and the holy council, seeing that we, although unworthy, do hold the place of Jesus Christ on earth, and that it was said unto us in the person of St. Peter the apostle, whatever thou shalt bind on earth, &c.—the said prince (who hath rendered himself unworthy of empire and kingdoms, and of all honour and dignity, and who for his iniquities is cast away by God, that he should not reign or command, being

¹ Constitutionem ipsam, sacro præsentî concilio approbante, innovamus et approbamus. Concil. Later. Sess. 11. p. 153.

² Quam extravagantem renovavit et approbavit concilium Lateranense sub Leone X. Canus loc. 6. 4.

³ Hæc Bonifacius, cui assentiuntur omnes, ut nullus discrepet, nisi qui dissidio ab Ecclesiâ excidit. Baron. Ann. 1053. § 14.

⁴ Ostenditur etiam quòd subesse Romano pontifici sit de necessitate salutis. (Thom. in opusc. contra Græcos.)

bound by his sins and cast away, and deprived by the Lord of all honour and dignity) do show, denounce, and accordingly by sentence deprive; absolving all who are held bound by oath of allegiance from such oath for ever; by apostolical authority firmly prohibiting, that no man henceforth do obey or regard him as emperor or king; and decreeing, that whoever shall hereafter yield advice, or aid, or favour to him as emperor or king, shall immediately lie under the band of excommunication¹."

Before him, Pope Innocent III. (that true wonder of the world, and changer of the age²) did affirm the pontifical authority so much to exceed the royal power, as the sun doth the moon³; and applies to the former that of the prophet Jeremy, "*Ecce, constitui te super gentes et regna*"—"See, I have set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down⁴," &c.

Of this power that Pope made experiment, by deposing the Emperor Otho IV.; "Whom," (says Naucerus) "as rebellious to the apostolical see, he first did strike with an anathema; then him persevering in his obstinacy did, in a council of prelates held at Rome, pronounce deposed from empire⁵."

The which authority was avowed by that great council under this Pope, (the which, according to the men of Trent, did represent or constitute the Church⁶;) wherein it was ordained, that "If a temporal lord, being required and admonished by the Church⁷, should neglect to purge his territory from heretical filth, he should by the metropolitan and the other comprovincial bishops be noosed in the band of excommunication; and that if he should slight to make satisfaction within a year, it should be

¹ Nos itaque super præmissis, &c. P. Innoc. IV. in Conc. Lugd. Matt. Paris (Ann. 1253) says, he deemed kings *mancipia Papæ*.

² Verè stupor mundi, et immutator seculi. Matt. Par. Ann. 1217.

³ Ut quanta est inter solem et lunam, tanta inter pontifices et reges differentia cognoscatur. P. Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 33. cap. 6.

⁴ Jer. i. 10.

⁵ Imperatorem—ut rebellem sedi apostolicæ et inobedientem anathemate primum; deinde in pertinacia perseverantem, in concilio præsum, quod Romæ tum Innocentius celebrabat, ab imperio depositum percussit, et pronunciavit. Nauc. Ann. 1212.

⁶ Neque enim per Lateranense concilium Ecclesia statuit, &c. *Syn. Trid.* Sess. 14. cap. v.

⁷ Si verò Dominus temporalis requisitus et monitus. Conc. Later. cap. 3. in Decret. Greg. lib. v. tit. 7. cap. 13.

signified to the Pope, that he might from that time denounce the subjects absolved from their fealty to him, and expose the territory to be seized on by Catholics," &c.

Ann. 1099. Before that, Pope Paschal II. deprived Henry IV. and excited his enemies to persecute him; telling them, that they could not offer a more acceptable sacrifice to God than by impugning him, who endeavoured to take the kingdom from God's Church¹.

Ann. 1088. Before him, Pope Urban II. (called Turban, by some in his age) did preach this doctrine, recommended to us in the decrees, that "subjects are by no authority constrained to pay the fidelity which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who opposes God and his saints, or violates their precepts²." An instance whereof we have in his granting a privilege to the Canons of Tours; "which (says he) if any emperor, king, prince, &c. shall wilfully attempt to thwart, let him be deprived of the dignity of his honour and power³."

But the great apostle (if not author) of this confounding doctrine was Pope Gregory VII. (a man of a bold spirit and fiery temper, inured even before his entry on that see to bear sway, and drive on daring projects, possessed with resolution to use the advantages of his place and time in pushing forward the Papal interest to the utmost) who did "lift up his voice like a trumpet," kindling wars and seditions, thereby, over Christendom. His dictates and practices are well known⁴, being iterated in his own epistles, and in the Roman councils under him, extant: yet it may be worth the while to hear him swagger in his own language.

"For the dignity and defence of God's holy Church, in the name of Almighty God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I

¹ Nam in hac non tantùm parte, sed ubique, cùm poteris, Henricum, hæreticorum caput, et ejus fautores pro viribus persequaris. Nullum profecto gratius Deo sacrificium, quàm si eum impugnes, qui se contra Deum erexit, qui Ecclesiæ regnum auferre conatur. P. Pasch. Ep. 7. ad Rob. Fland. Com.

² Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurârunt, Deo ejusque Sanctis adversanti, eorumque præcepta, nullâ cohibentur auctoritate persolvere.—Caus. xv. qu. 7. cap. 5.

³ Siquis imperator, rex, princeps—contra hanc constitutionem venire tentaverit—potestatis honorisque sui dignitate careat. P. Urb. II. Ep. 12.

⁴ Vid. ejus dictata apud Bin. post Ep. lib. ii. Ep. lv. Ep. iv. 2. viii. 21. et passim. Ep. i. 58. ii. 5. 12. 13. 18. 32. iii. 10. iv. 1—3. 7. 22.

depose from imperial and royal administration King Henry, son of Henry, sometime emperor, who too boldly and rashly has laid hands on thy Church ; and I absolve all Christians subject to the empire from that oath whereby they were wont to plight their faith unto true kings: for it is right that he should be deprived of dignity, who doth endeavour to diminish the majesty of the Church ¹.

“ Go to, therefore, most holy princes of the Apostles, and what I said, by interposing your authority, confirm; that all men may now at length understand, if you can bind and loose in heaven, that ye also can upon earth take away and give empires, kingdoms, and whatsoever mortals can have: for if you can judge things belonging unto God, what is to be deemed concerning these inferior and profane things? And if it is your part to judge angels, who govern proud princes, what becometh it you to do toward their servants? Let kings, now, and all secular princes learn by this man’s example, what you can do in heaven, and in what esteem you are with God ; and let them henceforth fear to slight the commands of holy Church : but put forth suddenly this judgment, that all may understand, that not casually, but by your means this son of iniquity doth fall from his kingdom ². ”

So did that Pope, not unadvisedly in heat or passion, but out of settled judgment, upon cool deliberation, express himself in his synods at Rome.

This Pope is, indeed, by many held the inventor and broacher of this strange doctrine. And even those, who about his age did oppose it, did express themselves of this mind, calling it “ the novel tradition, schism, heresy of Hildebrand ³. ”

Pope Hildebrand (says the Church of Liege, in their answer to the epistle to Pope Paschal) “ is author of this new schism,

¹ Hâc itaque fiduciâ fretus, pro dignitate et tutelâ Ecclesiæ suæ Sanctæ, omnipotentis Dei nomine, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus S. Henricum regem, Henrici quondam imperatoris filium, qui audacter nimium et temerariè in Ecclesiam tuam manus iniecit, imperatoriâ administratione regiâque dejicio ; et Christianos omnes imperio subjectos juramento illo absolvo, quo fidem veris regibus præstare consueverunt : dignum enim est, ut is honore careat, qui majestatem Ecclesiæ imminuere causatur. *Plat. in Greg. VII. et tom. 7. Conc. Rom. 3. apud Bin. p. 484.*

² Agite igitur, Apostolorum sanctissimi principes, et quod dixi. *Plat. in Greg. VII. Conc. Rom. 7. apud Bin. tom. 7. p. 491.*

³ Quod ex novellâ traditione Hildebrandus. *Eccl. Leod. apud Bin. tom. vii. p. 521.*

and first did raise the priest's lance against the royal diadem :— who first did girt himself, and by his example other Popes, with the sword of war against the emperors ¹.”

“ This only novelty (says Sigebert) not to say heresy, had not yet sprung up in the world, that the priests of Him ² who saith to the king, apostate, and who maketh hypocrites to reign for the sins of the people, should teach the people that they owe no subjection to bad kings, and although they have sworn allegiance to the king, they yet owe him none ; and that they who take part against the king may not be said to be perjured : yea, that he who shall obey the king may be held excommunicate ; he that shall oppose the king, may be absolved from the crime of injustice and perjury ³.”

Indeed, certain it is, that this man did in most downright strains hold the doctrine, and most smartly apply it to practice ; yet did he disclaim the invention or introduction of it, professing that he followed the notions and examples of his predecessors, divers of which he alleges in defence of his proceedings. “ We (says he) holding the statutes of our holy predecessors, do, by apostolical authority, absolve those from their oath who are obliged by fealty or sacrament to excommunicate persons, and by all means prohibit that they observe fealty to them ⁴.”

And so it is, that (although for many successions before Pope Hildebrand, the Popes were not in condition or capacity to take so much upon them ; there having been a row of persons intruded into that see void of virtue, and of small authority, most of them

¹ Hildebrandus P. author est hujus novelli schismatis, et primus levavit sacerdotalem lanceam contra diadema regni. Eccl. Leod. apud Bin. tom. vii. p. 522. Qui primus se, et suo exemplo alios pontifices, contra Imp. accinxit gladio belli. Ibid. p. 523.

² Job xxxiv. 18. 30.

³ Hæc sola novitas, ne dicam hæresis, nondum in mundo emergerat, ut sacerdotes illius qui dicit regi, apostata, et qui regnare facit hypocritas propter peccata populi, doceant populum, quòd malis regibus nullam debeant subjectionem, et licèt ei sacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant ; nec perjuri dicantur, qui contra regem senserint ; imò, qui regi paruerit, pro excommunicato habeatur ; qui contra regem fecerit, à noxâ injustitiæ et perjurii absolvatur. *Sigeb. Chron. ann. 1088.*

⁴ Nos, sanctorum prædecessorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolicâ auctoritate à sacramento absolvimus, et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus. Greg. VII. Ep. viii. 21. Caus. xv. qu. 7. cap. 4.

very beasts, who depended upon the favour of princes for their admittance, confirmation, or support in the place; yet) we may find some Popes before him, who had a great spice of those imperious conceits, and upon occasion made very bold with princes, assuming power over them, and darting menaces against them. For

Pope Leo IX. tells us, that "Constantine the Great did think it very unbecoming that they should be subject to an earthly empire whom the divine Majesty had set over an heavenly¹;" and surely he was of his author's mind, whom he alleged; although, indeed, this Pope may be supposed to speak this and other sayings to that purpose, by suggestion of Hildebrand, by whom he was much governed².

Pope Stephanus VI. told the Emperor Basilius, that "he ought to be subject with all veneration to the Roman Church³."

Ann. 873. Pope John VIII. (or IX.) did pretend obedience due to him from princes; and in default thereof threatened to excommunicate them⁴.

Ann. 858. Pope Nicolas I. cast many imperious sayings and threats at King Lotharius; these, among others: "We do, therefore, by apostolical authority, under obtestation of the divine judgment, enjoin to thee, that in Triers and Cologne thou shouldst not suffer any bishop to be chosen, before a report be made to our apostleship." (Was not this *satis pro imperio*?) And again, "that being compelled thou mayest be able to repent, know, that very soon thou shalt be struck with the ecclesiastical sword; so that thou mayest be afraid any more to commit such things in God's holy Church⁵."

¹ Valde indignum fore arbitratus, terreno imperio subdi, quos divina Majestas præfecit cœlesti. P. *Leo IX.* Ep. i. cap. 12.

² *Plat.* in vitâ Leon. IX.

³ Quis te seduxit, ut pontificem œcumenicum scommatibus lacesseres, et S. Romanam Ecclesiam maledictis incesseres, cui cum omni veneratione subditus esse debes? *Steph.* VI. Ep. i. *Baron.* Ann. 885. § 11.

⁴ Cuncti venire per inobedientiam neglexistis. John VIII. Ep. 119.—deinceps excommunicamus omnes, etc. *Ibid.*

⁵ Idcirco Apostolicâ autoritate, sub divini judicii obtestatione, injungimus tibi, ut in Trevirensi urbe et in Agrippinâ Coloniâ nullum eligi patiaris, antequam relatum super hoc nostro Apostolatui fiat. *Grat.* Dist. 63. cap. 4. Ut saltem compulsus respiscere valeas, noveris, te citissimè mucrone Ecclesiastico feriendum; ita ut ulterius talia in S. Dei Ecclesiâ perpetrare formides. P. *Nic.* I. Ep. 64.

And this he suggests for right doctrine, that subjection is not due to bad princes; perverting the Apostle's words to that purpose, "Be subject to the king as excelling: that is," says he, "in virtues, not in vices¹:" whereas the Apostle means eminency in power.

Pope Gregory VII. does also allege Pope Zachary, "who," says he, "did depose the king of the Franks, and did absolve all the French from the oath of fidelity which they had taken unto him, not so much for his iniquities, as because he was unfit for such a power²."

This indeed was a notable act of jurisdiction, if Pope Gregory's word may be taken for matter of fact; but divers maintain, that Pope Zachary did only concur with the rebellious deponents of King Chilperick in way of advice or approbation, not by authority.

Ann. 772. It was pretty briskly said of Pope Adrian I. "We do by general decree constitute, that whatever king, or bishop, or potentate, shall hereafter believe, or permit that the censure of the Roman pontiffs may be violated in any case, he shall be an execrable anathema, and shall be guilty before God as a betrayer of the Catholic faith³."

Constitutions against the canons and decrees of the bishops of Rome, or against good manners, are of no moment⁴.

Ann. 730. Before that, Pope Gregory II. because the eastern emperor did cross the worship of images, did withdraw subjection from him, and did thrust his authority out of Italy. "He," says Baronius, "did effectually cause both the Romans and Italians to recede from obedience to the emperor⁵."

¹ Regi quasi præcellenti virtutibus scilicet, non vitiis, subditi estote. *P. Nic.* I. Ep. iv. append. p. 626.

² Alius item Rom. Pontifex, Zacharias scilicet, regem Francorum, non tam pro suis iniquitatibus, quam pro eo quòd tantæ potestati erat inutilis, deposuit—omnesque Francigenas à juramento fidelitatis quod illi—*Decret.* 2 part. *Caus.* 15. q. 6.

³ Generali decreto constituimus, ut execrandum anathema sit, et veluti prævaricator Catholicæ fidei semper apud Deum reus existat, quicumque regum, seu episcoporum, vel potentum, deinceps Romanorum Pontificum censuram in quocunque crediderit, vel permiserit violandam. *P. Had.* I. Capit. apud *Grat.* *Caus.* 25. qu. 1. cap. 11.

⁴ Constitutiones contra canones et decreta Præsulum Romanorum, vel bonos mores, nullius sunt momenti. *Distinct.* 10. cap. 4.

⁵ Tum Romanos tum Italos ab ejus obedientiâ recedere penitus fecit. *Baron.* *Ann.* 730. § 40.

This was an act in truth of rebellion against the emperor, in pretence of jurisdiction over him; for how otherwise could he justify or colour the fact? “So,” as Baronius reflects, “he did leave to posterity a worthy example, (forsooth) that heretical princes should not be suffered to reign in the Church of Christ, if, being warned, they were found pertinacious in error¹.”

And no wonder he then was so bold, seeing the Pope had obtained so much respect in those parts of the world, that (as he told the Emperor Leo Isaurus,) “all the kingdoms of the west did hold St. Peter as an earthly god²,” of which he might be able to seduce some to uphold him in his rebellious practices.

This is the highest source, as I take it, to which this extravagant doctrine can be driven. For that single passage of Pope Felix III. though much ancients, will not amount to it; “It is certain, that, in causes relating to God, it is the safest course for you, that, according to his institution, you endeavour to submit the will of the king to the priest’s³,” &c.

For while the emperor did retain any considerable authority in Italy, the Popes were better advised than to vent such notions; and while they themselves did retain any measure of pious or prudent modesty, they were not disposed to it. And we may observe divers Popes near that time in word and practice thwarting that practice. For instance,

Pope Gelasius, a vehement stickler for papal authority, does say to the Emperor Anastasius, “I, as being a Roman born, do love, worship, reverence thee as the Roman prince⁴.” And he says, that “the prelates of religion (knowing the empire conferred on him by divine providence) did obey his laws⁵.” And elsewhere he discourses, that “Christ had distinguished by their proper

¹ Sic dignum posteris reliquit exemplum, ne in Ecclesiâ Christi regnare sinerentur hæretici principes, si sæpe moniti, in errore persistere obstinato animo invenirentur. *Baron. ibid.*

² Ὅν αἱ πᾶσαι βασιλείαι τῆς δύσεως ὡς Θεὸν ἐπίγειον ἔχουσι. *Greg. II. Ep. 1. Bin. tom. v. p. 508.*

³ Certum est, rebus vestris hoc esse salutare, ut cùm de causis Dei agitur, juxta ipsius constitutionem, regiam voluntatem sacerdotibus Christi studeatis subdere, non præferre, &c. *P. Felix III. (Ann. 483.) dist. 10. cap. 3.*

⁴ Te, sicut Romanus natus, Romanum principem amo, colo, suspicio. *P. Gelas. I. epist. 8. (ad Anast. Imp.)*

⁵ —cognoscentes imperium tibi supernâ dispositione collatum, legibus tuis ipsi quoque parent religionis Antistites. *Ibid.*

acts and dignities the offices of ecclesiastical and civil power¹," that one should not meddle with the other; so disclaiming temporal power due to himself, being content to screw up his spiritual authority.

After him, as is well known, Pope Gregory I. (as became a pious and good man) did avow the emperor for "his lord, by God's gift superior to all men, to whom he was subject, whom he in duty was bound to obey²;" and supposed it a high presumption for any one to "set himself above the honour of the empire³," by assuming the title of universal bishop.

After him, (*ann.* 680.) Pope Agatho, in the acts of the sixth general council, does call the Emperor Constantine Pogonatus, "his lord;" does avow "himself, together with all presidents of the Churches, servants to the emperor⁴;" does say, that his see and his synod were subject to him, and did owe obedience to him.

Presently after him, Pope Leo II., who confirmed that general synod, does call the emperor "the prototype son of the Church⁵;" and acknowledges the body of priests to be servants (meanest servants) "of his royal nobleness."

After him, (*ann.* 709.) Pope Constantine, (the immediate predecessor of Pope Gregory II.) when the emperor did command him to come to Constantinople, "The most holy man," says Anastasius in his life, "did obey the imperial commands⁶."

Yea, Pope Gregory II. himself, before his defection, (when

¹ Christus, dispensatione magnificâ temperans, sic actionibus propriis dignitatibusque distinctis officia potestatis utriusque discrevit, &c.

² Ad hoc potestas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines—

Ego indignus famulus vester—

Ego quidem jussioni subjectus—*P. Greg. I. Ep. ii. 26.*

³ Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit. *Ep. iv. 32.*

⁴ Δεσπόται καὶ τέκνα. *Act. Syn. VI. p. 53.* Ἡμεῖς δοῦλοι τοῦ βασιλέως, p. 304. ἡμετέρα δουλεία. p. 32.—τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν πρόεδροι οἱ δοῦλοι τοῦ χριστιανικωτάτου ὑμῶν κράτους. p. 94.—δουλικὸς ὑμῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς θρόνος. p. 64.—ἐνεκεν ὑπακοῆς, ἧς ὀφείλομεν. p. 33, 34.

⁵ Πρωτότυπον ἐκκλησίας τέκνον. *Act. Syn. VI. p. 303.*

Ἡ βασιλικὴ εὐγένεια τοῖς ἐσχάτοις ἑαυτῆς δούλοις συγκατέβαινε. *Ibid. p. 304.*

⁶ Misit Imp. ad Constantinum P. sacram, per quam jussit eum ad regiam ascendere urbem; qui sanctiss. vir jussis imperialibus obtemperans. *Anast. in vit. P. Const.*

perhaps the circumstances of time did not animate him thereto,) did, in his epistle to Leo Isaurus, acknowledge him as emperor to be "the head of Christians¹," and himself consequently subject to him.

This Gregory, therefore, may be reputed the father of that doctrine, which, being fostered by his successors, was by Pope Gregory VII. brought up to its robust pitch and stature.

I know, Pope Gregory VII. to countenance him², does allege Pope Innocent I. excommunicating the Emperor Arcadius for his proceedings against St. Chrysostom³; and the writers of St. Chrysostom's life, with others of the like age and credit, do back him therein. But seeing the historians who lived in St. Chrysostom's own time⁴, and who write very carefully about him, do not mention any such thing; seeing that, being the first act in the kind, must have been very notable, and have made a great noise; seeing that story does not suit with the tenour of proceedings, reported by those most credible historians, in that case; seeing that fact does nowise sort to the condition and way of those times; that report cannot be true, and it must be numbered among the many fabulous narrations, devised by some wanton Greeks, to set out the life of that excellent personage.

The same Pope does also allege St. Gregory the Great⁵, denouncing excommunication, and deprivation of honour, to all kings, bishops, judges, &c. who should violate the privilege granted to the monastery of S. Medard. But this (as are many such privileges) is a rank forgery, unworthily imposed on Pope Gregory, (that prudent, meek, and holy man,) much to his wrong and disgrace; which I will not be at trouble to confute, having showed St. Gregory to have been of another judgment and temper, than to behave himself thus toward princes; and seeing that task is abundantly discharged by that very learned man, Monsieur Launoy⁶.

¹ Ὁς βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν χριστιανῶν. *P. Greg. II. ad Leonem Is. Ep. 1.* (p. 502.)

² *Greg. VII. Ep. viii. 2. Baron. Ann. 407. § 23.*

³ *Georg. Alex. vit. Chrys. cap. 68. Ann. vit. Chrys. cap. 39.*

⁴ Socrates, Sozomen, Theodoret, Palladius.

⁵ Siquis autem regum, antistitum, judicum, vel quarumcunque secularium personarum, hujus apostolicæ auctoritatis, et nostræ præceptionis decreta violaverit, cujuscunque dignitatis vel sublimitatis sit, honore suo privetur.—*Greg. M. post Ep. 38. libri 2.*

⁶ *Epist. pars vii.*

Indeed (upon this occasion to digress a little farther) it does not seem to have been the opinion of the ancient Popes, that they might excommunicate their sovereign princes; for if they might, why did they forbear to exercise that power, when there was greatest reason, and great temptation for it?

Why did not Pope Julius or Pope Liberius excommunicate Constantius, the great favourer of the Arians, against whom Athanasius, St. Hilary, and Lucifer Calarinus, do so earnestly inveigh, calling him heretic, Antichrist, and what not? How did Julian himself escape the censure of Pope Liberius? Why did not Pope Damasus thunder against Valens, that fierce persecutor of Catholics? Why did not Damasus censure the Empress Justina, the patroness of Arianism? Why did not Pope Siricius censure Theodosius I. for that bloody fact, for which St. Ambrose denied him the communion? How was it that Pope Leo I. (that stout and high Pope) had not the heart to correct Theodosius Junior in this way, who was the supporter of his adversary Dioscorus, and the obstinate protector of the second Ephesian council, which that Pope so much detested? Why did that Pope not rather compel that emperor to reason by censures, than supplicate him by tears? How did so many Popes connive at Theodoric, and other princes professing Arianism at their door? Wherefore did not Pope Simplicius or Pope Felix thus punish the Emperor Zeno, the supplanter of the synod of Chalcedon, for which they had so much zeal? Why did neither Pope Felix, nor Pope Gelasius, nor Pope Symmachus, nor Pope Hormisdas excommunicate the Emperor Anastasius, (yea did not so much, Pope Gelasius says¹, as “touch his name,”) for countenancing the oriental bishops in their schism, and refractory non-compliance with the papal authority? Those Popes did indeed clash with that emperor, but they expressly deny, that they condemn him with others whom he did favour. “We,” says Pope Symmachus, “did not excommunicate thee, O Emperor, but Acacius. . . . If you mingle yourself, you are not excommunicated by us, but by yourself.” And, “if the emperor pleases to join himself with those condemned,” says Pope Gelasius, “it cannot be imputed to us².”

¹ Quid sibi vult autem, quòd dixerit imperator à nobis se in religione damnatum, cum super hac parte decessor meus non solùm minimè nomen ejus attigerit —? P. *Gelas.* I. Ep. 4.

² Nos te non excommunicavimus, imperator, sed Acacium——Si te misces,

Wherefore Baronius does ill, in affirming Pope Symmachus to have anathematized Anastasius¹; whereas that Pope plainly denied that he had excommunicated him; yea, denied it even in those words, which are cited to prove it, being rightly read: for they are corruptly written in Baronius and Binius; “ego” (which has no sense, or one contradictory to his former assertion) being put for “nego,” which is good sense, and agreeable to what he and the other popes do affirm in relation to that matter².

Why do we not read that any Pope formally did excommunicate, though divers did zealously contradict and oppose the princes who did reject images?

In fine, a noble bishop, above five hundred years ago, did say, “I read and read again the records of the Roman kings and emperors, and I no where find that any of them before this was excommunicated or deprived of his kingdom by the Roman pontiff³.”

Surely therefore the ancient Popes did either not know their power, or were very negligent of their duty.

Such have been the doctrine and behaviour of Popes in reference to their power.

V. This doctrine of the Pope’s universal power over all persons in all matters may reasonably be supposed the sentiment of all Popes continually for a long time, even for more than five hundred years unto this present day. For,

1. If this doctrine be false, it implies no slight error, but one of a very high nature, and most dangerous consequence; which involves great arrogance and iniquity, which tends to work enormous wrongs and grievous mischiefs: whence, if any Pope should conceive it false, he were bound openly to disclaim, to condemn, to refute it; lest the authority of his predecessors, and his con-

non à nobis, sed à teipso excommunicatus es. P. *Symmachus* I. Ep. 7. Si isti placet se miscere damnatis, nobis non potest imputari. P. *Gelas.* I. Ep. 4.

¹ *Baron.* Ann. 503. § 17.

² Dicis quòd, mecum conspirante senatu, excommunicaverim te. Ista quidem ego, (nego,) sed rationabiliter factum à decessoribus meis sine dubio subsequor. P. *Sym.* Ep. 7.

“You say, that I excommunicated you by the joint consent of the senate. This I deny: but I undoubtedly follow what was with good reason done by my predecessors.”

³ Lego et relego Romanorum regum et imperatorum gesta, et nusquam invenio quenquam eorum ante hunc à Romano pontifice excommunicatum, vel regno privatum. *Otho Frising.* Chron. lib. vi. cap. 35.

nivance should induce others into it, or settle them in it; as it is (in regard to Pope Honorius) charged upon Pope Leo II. "who did not, as it became the apostolical authority, extinguish the flame of heretical doctrine beginning, but did by neglecting, cherish it¹." In such a case a Pope must not be silent: For, "No small danger," (said Pope Gelasius,) "lies upon Popes in being silent about what agrees to the service of God²:" and, "If," (says Pope Paschal,) "a Pope by his silence does suffer the Church to be polluted with the gall of bitterness and root of impiety, he should no wise be excusable before the Eternal Judge³:" and, "Error," (says Pope Felix III.,) "which is not resisted, (by those in eminent office,) is approved; and truth, which is not defended, is oppressed⁴:" and, "He is not free from suspicion of a close society in mischief, who ceases to obviate it⁵:" and, "We," (says Pope Gregory I.,) "do greatly offend, if we do hold our peace at things that are to be corrected⁶." But all Popes since the time specified have either openly declared for this doctrine; or have been silent, and so have avowed it by tacit consent.

2. Any Pope disapproving that tenet were bound to renounce communion with those that hold and profess it; or at least to check and discountenance it. But, on the contrary, they have suffered it to be maintained in their presence and audience; and have hugged that sort of men with especial favour, as their most affectionate and sure friends: they have suspected, discountenanced, and frowned on those who have showed dislike of it.

Those men indeed who vouch this doctrine, may reasonably be deemed to do it as accomplices with the Popes, on purpose to

¹ —Cum Honorio, qui flammam hæretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovxit. P. *Leo* II. Ep. 2.

² Non leve discrimen incumbit pontificibus siluisse pro divinitatis cultu quod congruit. P. *Gelas.* I. Ep. 8. (ad Anastas. Imp.)

³ Si verò nostro silentio pateremur Ecclesiam felle amaritudinis et impietatis radice pollui, quâ ratione possemus apud æternum judicem excusari? P. *Paschal.* II. Ep. 3. (ad Anselm. Cant.)

⁴ Error cui non resistitur, approbatur; et veritas quæ minimè defensatur, opprimitur. P. *Felix* III. Ep. 1. (ad Acatium.)

⁵ Non caret scrupulo societatis occultæ, qui evidenter facinori desinit obviare. Id. *ibid.*

⁶ Si ea quæ nobis corrigenda sunt tacemus, valdè delinquimus. P. *Greg.* I. Ep. 2. 37.

gratify and curry favour with them, in hopes of obtaining reward and preferment of them for it ¹.

3. The chief authors and most zealous abettors of these notions (Popes, synods, doctors of the school,) have continually passed for most authentic masters of divinity, and have retained greatest authority in the Church governed and guided by the Pope.

4. The decrees containing them do stand in their canon-law, and in their collections of synods, without any caution or mark of dislike; which is a sufficient indication of their constant adherence to this doctrine.

5. The common style of the papal edicts or bulls does import their sense; which is imperious, in regard to all persons without exception: "Let no man," (say they,) "presume to infringe this our will and command," &c.

6. Popes of all tempers and qualifications (even those who have passed for the most wise and moderate among them) have been ready to practise according to those principles, when occasion did invite, and circumstances of things did permit; interdicting princes, absolving subjects from their allegiance, raising or encouraging insurrections; as appears by their transactions not long since against our princes, and those of France; which shows the very see imbued with those notions.

7. They do oblige all bishops most solemnly to avow this doctrine, and to engage themselves to practise according to it. For in the oath prescribed to all bishops they are required to avow that "they will observe the apostolical commands with all their power, and cause them to be observed by others²;" that "they will aid and defend the Roman papacy and the royalties of St. Peter against every man³;" that "they will to their power persecute and impugn heretics, schismatics, and rebels to the Pope or his successors⁴," without any exception; (which was, I suppose, chiefly meant against their own prince, if occasion should be;) together with divers other points, importing their acknowledgment and abetting the Pope's universal domination.

¹ Οὐ μόνον αὐτὰ ποιῶσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ συνευδοκοῦσι τοῖς πράσσουσι. Rom. i. 32.
"They not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them."

² Mandata apostolica totis viribus observabo, et ab aliis observari faciam.

³ Papatum Romanum et regalia S. Petri adjutor eis ero ad retinendum et defendendum contra omnem hominem.

⁴ Hæreticos, schismaticos, et rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo.

These horrible oaths of bishops to the Pope do seem to have issued from the same shop with the high Hildebrandine dictates¹: for the oath in the decretals is ascribed to Pope Gregory, (I suppose Gregory VII.) And in the sixth Roman synod under Gregory VII. there is an oath of like tenor exacted from the Bishop of Aquileia; perhaps occasionally, which in pursuance of that example might be extended to all.

And that before that time such oaths were not imposed does appear from hence, that when Pope Paschal II. did require them from some great bishops, (the bishop of Palermo, and the archbishop of Poland²;) they did wonder and boggle at it as an uncouth novelty; nor does the Pope in favour of his demand allege any ancient precedent, but only proposes some odd reasons for it. “You have signified unto me, most dear brother, that the king and his nobles did exceedingly wonder, that an oath with such a condition should be everywhere offered you by my commissioners, and that you should take that oath, which I had written, and they tendered to you³.”

VI. All Romanists, in consistence with their principles, do seem obliged to hold this opinion concerning the Pope’s universal power. For, seeing many of their standing masters and judges of controversies have so expressly from their chair declared and defined it; all the row for many ages consenting to it, and countenancing it; not one of them having signified any dissent or dislike of it; and considering that, if in any thing they may require or deserve belief, it is in this point; for in what are they more skilful and credible than about the nature of their own office? “What” (says Bellarmine wisely) “may they be conceived to know better than the authority of their own see⁴?” seeing it has been approved by their most great and famous councils, which they hold universal, and which their adored synod of Trent does allege for such, (the Laterane under Pope Innocent III., that of Lyons under Pope Innocent IV., the other Laterane under Pope Leo X.,) seeing it has been current among their

¹ *Greg. Decret. lib. ii. tit. 24. cap. 4.* Concil. Rom. vi. apud Bin. p. 489.

² *Decret. Greg. lib. 1. tit. 6. cap. 4.*

³ Significasti, frater charissime, regem et regni majores admiratione per-motos, quod passim tibi ab apocrisariis nostris tali conditione oblatum fuerit, si sacramentum, quod à nobis scriptum detulerant, jures. *P. Pasch. II. Epist. 6.*

⁴ Ipsis præcipuè debet esse nota suæ sedis autoritas. *Bell. iv. 3.*

divines of greatest vogue and authority, the great masters of their school : seeing by so large a consent and concurrence, during so long a time, it may pretend (much better than divers other points of great importance) to be confirmed by tradition, or prescription :—why should it not be admitted for a doctrine of the holy Roman Church, the mother and mistress of all Churches ? How can they who disavow this notion be true sons of that mother, or faithful scholars of that mistress ? How can they acknowledge any authority in their Church to be infallible, or certain, or obliging to assent ?

How can they admit the Pope for authentic judge of controversies, or master of Christian doctrine, or in any point credible, who has in so great a matter erred so foully, and seduced the Christian world ; whom they desert in a point of so great consideration, and influence on practice ; whom they, by virtue of their dissent from him in this opinion, may often be obliged to oppose in his proceedings ?

How can they deny, that bad doctrines might creep in, and obtain sway in the Church, by the interest of the Pope and his clients ?

How can they charge novelty or heterodoxy on those who refuse some dictates of Popes, of Papal councils, of scholastic divines, which stand upon no better grounds than those on which this doctrine stands ?

Why has no synod, of the many which have been held in all parts of Christendom, clearly disclaimed this opinion : but all have let it slip, or have seemed by silence to approve it ?

Yea, how can the concord and unity of that Church well consist with a dissent from this doctrine ? For,

No man apprehending it false, seems capable with good conscience to hold communion with those who profess it : for, upon supposition of its falsehood, the Pope and his chief adherents are the teachers and abettors of the highest violation of divine commands, and most enormous sins ; of usurpation, tyranny, imposture, perjury, rebellion, murder, rapine, and all the villanies complicated in the practical influence of this doctrine.

It seems clear as the sun, that if this doctrine be an error, it is one of the most pernicious heresies that ever was vented ; involving the highest impiety, and producing the greatest mischief. For, if he that should teach adultery, incest, simony, theft, murder, or

the like crimes, to be lawful, would be a heretic; how much more would he be such, that should recommend perjury, rebellion, regicide, (things inducing wars, confusions, slaughters, desolations, all sorts of injustice and mischief,) as duties?

How then can any man safely hold communion with such persons? May we not say with Pope Symmachus, that “to communicate with such, is to consent with them¹?” with Pope Gelasius, that “it is worse than ignorance of the truth to communicate with the enemies of truth²?” and, that “he who communicates with such an heresy is worthily judged to be removed from our society?”

VII. Yet so loose and slippery are the principles of the party which is jumbled in adherence to the Pope, that divers will not allow us to take this tenet of infinite power to be a doctrine of their Church; for divers in that communion do not assent to it.

For there is a sort of heretics (as Bellarmine and Baronius call them) “skulking everywhere in the bosom of their Church, all about Christendom, and in some places stalking with open face, who restrain the Pope’s authority so far, as not to allow him any power over sovereign princes in *temporal* affairs; much less any power of depriving them of their kingdoms and principalities³.”

They are all branded for heretics, who take from the Church of Rome and the See of St. Peter, one of the two swords, and allow *only* the *spiritual*⁴. This heresy Baronius has nominated the heresy of the politics.

This heresy a great nation, otherwise sticking to the Roman communion, does stiffly maintain, not enduring the papal sovereignty over princes in temporals to be preached in it.

There were many persons, yea, synods, who did oppose Pope Hildebrand in the birth of his doctrine, condemning it for a per-

¹ An communicare non est consentire cum talibus? P. Sym. I. Ep. 7.

² Quasi non sit deterius, et non ignorâsse veritatem, et tamen communicâsse cum veritatis inimicis. P. Gelas. I. Ep. 1. Cuicunque hæresi communicans meritò judicatur à nostrâ societate removendus. Id. ibid. Vid. Ep. 13. p. 642.

³ Altera non tam sententia quàm hæresis duo docet: primò, pontificem ut pontificem ex jure divino nullam habere temporalem potestatem, nec posse ullo modo imperare principibus secularibus, nedum eos regnis et principatu privare—. Bell. v. 1.

⁴ Hæresis errore notantur omnes, qui ab Ecclesiâ Rom. cathedrâ Petri è duobus alterum gladium auferunt, nec nisi spiritualem concedunt. Baron. Ann. 1053. § 14. Hæresis politicorum. Baron. Ann. 1073. § 13

icious novelty, and branding it with the name of heresy ; as we before showed.

Since the Hildebrandine age there have been in every nation (yea in Italy itself) divers historians, divines, and lawyers¹, who have in elaborate tracts maintained the royal sovereignty against the pontifical.

This sort of heretics are now so much increased, that the Hildebrandine doctrine is commonly exploded^a. Which by the way showeth, that the Roman party is no less than others subject to change its sentiments ; opinions among them gaining and losing vogue, according to circumstances of time and contingencies of things.

VIII. Neither are the adherents to the Roman Church more agreed concerning the extent of the Pope's authority even in *spiritual* matters.

For, although the Popes themselves plainly do claim an absolute supremacy in them over the Church ; although the stream of divines who do flourish in favour with them does run that way ; although, according to their principles, (if they had any principles clearly and certainly fixed,) that might seem to be the doctrine of their Church : yet is there among them a numerous party, which does not allow him such a supremacy, putting great restraints to his authority ; (as we shall presently show.) And as the other party does charge this with heresy, so does this return back the same imputation on that.

IX. That their doctrine is in this matter so various and uncertain, is no great wonder ; seeing interest is concerned in the question, and principles are defective toward the resolution of it.

1. Contrary interests will not suffer the point to be decided, nor indeed to be freely disputed on either hand.

On one hand, the Pope will not allow his prerogatives to be discussed ; according to that maxim of the great Pope Innocent III. " When there is a question touching the privileges of the apostolic see, we will not that others judge about them²." Whence (as we before touched) the Pope did peremptorily command his legates at Trent, in no case to permit any dispute about his authority.

¹ Otto Frising. Sigebert. Abbas Ubsp. Occam, Marsilius Patav., &c.

^a Compare *Overall's* Convocation Book, p. 332—8.

² *Cum super privilegiis sedis apostolicæ causa vertatur, nolumus de ipsis per alios judicari. Gregor. Decr. lib. ii. tit. 1. cap. 12.*

On the other hand, the French will not permit^a the supremacy of their *king* in *temporals*, or the privileges of their *Church* in *spirituals*, to be contested in their kingdom. Nor we may suppose would any prince admit a decision prejudicial to his authority and welfare, subjecting and enslaving him to the will of the Roman court. Nor (we may hope) would any Church patiently comport with the irrecoverable oppression of all its rights and liberties by a peremptory establishment of Papal omnipotency.

2. Nor is it easy for their dissensions to be reconciled upon theological grounds, and authorities to which they pretend deference. For, not only their schools and masters of their doctrine do in the case disagree, but their synods do notoriously clash.

X. Yea, even Popes themselves have shifted their pretences, and varied in style, according to the different circumstances of time, and their variety of humours, designs, interests.

In time of prosperity and upon advantage, when they might safely do it, any Pope almost would talk high, and assume much to himself; but when they were low, or stood in fear of powerful contradiction, even the boldest Popes would speak submissly or moderately. As for instance, Pope Leo I. after the second Ephesine synod, when he had to do with Theodosius II. did humbly supplicate, and whine pitifully; but after the synod of Chalcedon, having got the emperor favourable, and most of the bishops complacent to him, he ranted bravely. And we may observe, that even Pope Gregory VII. who did swagger so boisterously against the Emperor Henry, was yet calm and mild in his contests with our William the Conqueror; who had a spirit good enough for him, and was far out of his reach.

And Popes of high spirit and bold face (such as Leo I. Gelasius I. Nicholas I. Gregory II. Gregory VII. Innocent III. Boniface VIII. Julius II. Paul IV. Sixtus V. Paulus V. &c.) as they did ever aspire to screw Papal authority to the highest peg, so would they strain their language in commendation of their see as high as their times would bear. But other Popes of meeker

^a For much valuable information on the respective tenets of the Transalpine and Cisalpine schools in the Church of Rome relative to the Papal claims, and on the "Liberties" of the Gallican Church, see *Phelan's*, &c. Digest, part ii. p. 102—112: also p. 55, 6, 75—80, 169, 70. See also *Sandys' Europæ Speculum*, p. 191—4.

and modester disposition (such as Julius I. Anastatius II. Gregory I. Leo. II. Adrian VI. &c.) were content to let things stand as they found them, or to speak in the ordinary style of their times ; yet so, that few have let their authority to go backward, or decline.

We may observe, that the pretences and language of Popes have varied according to several periods, usually growing higher as their state grew looser from danger of opposition or control.

In the first times, while the emperors were Pagans, their pretences were suited to their condition, and could not soar high ; they were not then so mad as to pretend to any temporal power, and a pittance of spiritual eminency did content them.

When the empire was divided, they could sometimes be more haughty and peremptory ; as being in the west, shrouded under the wing of the emperors there, (who commonly did affect to improve their authority, in competition to that of other bishops,) and at distance from the reach of the eastern emperor¹.

The cause of Athanasius having produced the Sardican canons, concerning the revision of some causes by the Popes, by colour of them they did hugely enlarge their authority, and raise their style, especially in the west, where they had great advantages of augmenting their power.

When the western empire was fallen, their influence upon that part of the empire which came under protection of the eastern emperors rendering them able to do service or disservice to those emperors, they, according to the state of times and the need of them, did talk more big, or more tamely.

Pope Boniface III. having by compliance with the usurper Phocas obtained a declaration from him concerning the headship of the Roman Church, did make a considerable step forward toward the height of Papal greatness.

After that Pope Gregory II. had withdrawn Italy from the Oriental empire, and Rome had grown in a manner loose and independent from other secular powers ; in the confusions of the west, the Pope interposing to arbitrate between princes, trucking and bartering with them as occasion served, for mutual aid and countenance did grow in power, and answerably did advance his pretences.

The spurious decretal epistles of the ancient Popes (which as-

¹ P. Nich. ad Imp. Mich. p. 511. 513.

serted to the Pope high degrees of authority) being foisted into men's hands, and insensibly creeping into repute, did inspire the Pope with confidence to invade all the ancient constitutions, privileges, and liberties of Churches; and having got such interest every where, he might say what he pleased, no clergyman daring to check or cross him. Having drawn to himself the final decision of all causes; having got a finger in disposal of all preferments; having by dispensations, exemptions, and grants of privileges tied to him so many dependants, what might not he say or do?

Pope Gregory VII. being a man of untameable spirit, and taking advantage from the distractions and corruptions of his times, did venture to pull a feather with the emperor; and with success having mated him, did set up a peremptory claim to sovereignty over all persons in all causes.

In his footsteps his successors have trodden, being ever ready upon occasion to plead such a title, and to practise according to it. No Pope would forego any power which had been claimed by his predecessors. And Popes would ever be sure to have dancers after their pipe,—numberless abettors of their pretences.

No wonder, then, that persons deferring much regard to the authority of popes, and accommodating their conceits to the dictates of them (or of persons depending on them), should in their opinions vary about the nature and extent of Papal authority; it having never been fixed within certain bounds, or having in several ages continued the same thing.

XI. Wherefore intending by God's help to discuss the pretended authority of the Pope, and to show that he by no divine institution, and by no immutable right, has any such power as he does claim; by reason of this perplexed variety of opinions I do find it difficult to state the question, or to know at what distinct mark I should level my discourse.

XII. But seeing his pretence to any authority in *temporals*, or to the civil sword, is so palpably vain, that it hardly will bear a serious dispute, having nothing but impudence and sophistry to countenance it; seeing so many in the Roman communion do reject it, and have substantially confuted it; seeing now most are ashamed of it, and very few (even among those sects which have been its chief patrons) will own it; seeing Bellarmine himself does acknowledge it a novelty, devised about 500 years ago in St. Ber-

nard's time¹; seeing the popes themselves, whatever they think, dare now scarce speak out, and forbear upon sufficient provocation to practise according to it: I shall spare the trouble of meddling with it, confining my discourse to the Pope's authority in *ecclesiastical* affairs, the pretence whereto I am persuaded to be no less groundless, and no less noxious than the other to Christendom; the which being overthrown, the other, as superstructed on it, must also necessarily fall.

XIII. And here the doctrine which I shall contest against is that in which the cordial partizans of that see do seem to consent; which is most common and current, most applauded and countenanced in their theological schools; which the Popes themselves have solemnly defined, and declared for standing law or rule of jurisdiction; which their most authentic synods (whereby their religion is declared, and distinguished from others) have asserted or supposed; which the tenor of their discipline and practice does hold forth; which their clergy by most solemn professions and engagements is tied to avow; which all the clients and confidants of Rome do zealously stand for, (more than for any other point of doctrine,) and which no man can disclaim without being deemed an enemy, or a prevaricator toward the apostolic see.

XIV. Which doctrine is this, that (in the words of the Florentine synod's definition) "the apostolical chair and the Roman High-priest doth hold a primacy over the universal Church; and that the Roman High-priest is the successor of St. Peter, the prince of the apostles, and the true lieutenant of Christ, and the head of the Church; and that he is the father and doctor of all Christians; and that unto him, in St. Peter, full power is committed to feed, and direct, and govern the Catholic Church under Christ, according as is contained in the acts of general councils, and in the holy canons²."

That (in the words of Pope Leo X. approved by the Laterane synod) "Christ, before his departure from the world, did in solidity of the rock institute Peter and his successors to be his

¹ Primi qui temporalem potestatem summo pontifici ex Christi institutione tribuunt, videntur esse Hugo de S. Victore, Bernardus, etc. Bell. v. 5.

"The first that yield the Pope temporal power by Christ's institution, seem to be Hugo, etc."

² "Ετι ὀρίζομεν τὴν ἁγίαν ἀποστολικὴν καθέδραν, κ. τ. λ. Concil. Flor. defin. p. 854.

lieutenants, to whom it is so necessary to obey, that who doth not obey must die the death¹.”

That to the Pope as sovereign monarch, by divine sanction of the whole Church, do appertain royal prerogatives, (“regalia Petri,” the royalties of Peter, they are called in the oath prescribed to bishops,) such as these which follow :

To be superior to the whole Church, and to its representative a general synod of bishops.—To convocate general synods at his pleasure ; all bishops being obliged to attend upon summons from him.—To preside in synods, so as to suggest matter, promote, obstruct, overrule the debates in them.—To confirm or invalidate their determinations, giving life to them by his assent, or subtracting it by his dissent.—To define points of doctrine, or to decide controversies authoritatively ; so that none may presume to contest or dissent from his dictates.—To enact, establish, abrogate, suspend, dispense with ecclesiastical laws and canons.—To relax or evacuate ecclesiastical censures by indulgence, pardon, &c.—To void promises, vows, oaths, obligations to laws by his dispensation.—To be the fountain of all pastoral jurisdiction and dignity².—To constitute, confirm, judge, censure, suspend, depose, remove, restore, reconcile bishops.—To confer ecclesiastical dignities and benefices by paramount authority, in way of provision, reservation, &c.—To exempt colleges, monasteries, &c. from jurisdiction of their bishops and ordinary superiors.—To judge all persons in all spiritual causes, by calling them to his cognizance, or delegating judges for them, with a final and peremptory sentence.—To receive appeals from all ecclesiastical judicatories ; and to reverse their judgments if he finds cause.—To be himself unaccountable for any of his doings, exempt from judgment, and liable to no reproof.—To erect, transfer, abolish episcopal sees.—To exact oaths of fealty and obedience from the clergy.—To found religious orders ; or to raise a spiritual militia for propagation and defence of the Church.—To summon and commissionate soldiers by crusade, &c. to fight against infidels, or persecute infidels.

¹ Christus——migraturus ex mundo ad Patrem, in soliditate Petræ Petrum ejusque successores vicarios suos instituit, quibus ex libri regum testimonio ita obedire necesse est, ut qui non obedierit, morte moriatur. *P. Leo X.* in Conc. Later. Sess. 11. p. 151.

² Bell. iv. 22.

Some of these are expressed, others in general terms couched in those words of Pope Eugenius, telling the Greeks what they must consent unto. “The Pope,” (said he) “will have the prerogatives of his Church; and he will have appeals to him; and to feed all the Church of Christ, as shepherd of the sheep. Beside these things, that he may have authority and power to convoke general synods, when need shall be; and that all the patriarchs do yield to his will¹.”

That the Pope does claim, assume, and exercise a sovereignty over the Church endowed with such prerogatives, is sufficiently visible in experience of fact, is apparent by the authorized dictates in their canon law, and shall be distinctly proved by competent allegations, when we shall examine the branches of this pretended authority.

In the mean time it suffices to observe, that in effect all clergymen do avow so much, who *bonâ fide* and without prevarication do submit to take the oaths and engagements prescribed to them of course by Papal appointment. For this surely, according to the Pope’s meaning, (by which their obligation is to be measured,) is designed in the profession ordained by Pope Pius IV. wherein every beneficed clergyman is enjoined to say, “And I do promise and swear true obedience to the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter and the vicar of Jesus Christ².” Which profession was appointed in pursuance of a sanction made by the Trent council, that all such persons “should vow and swear to abide in obedience to the Roman Church³;” and consequently, how hard soever its yoke should be, they would not shake it off:—which infers most absolute sovereignty of that Church, or of the Pope, who rules the roast in it.

But what that *true obedience* does import, or how far the Papal authority in the Pope’s own sense, and according to the public spirit of that Church, does stretch, is more explicitly signified in the oath which all bishops at their consecration, and all metropoli-

¹ Θέλει τὰ προνόμια τῆς ἐκκλησίας αὐτοῦ, καὶ θέλει ἔχειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ποιμαίνειν πᾶσαν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὥσπερ ποιμὴν τῶν προβάτων· πρὸς τούτοις, ἵνα ἔχῃ ἐξουσίαν καὶ δύναμιν συγκροτεῖν σύνοδον οἰκουμενικὴν, ὅτε δεήσει· καὶ πάντας τοὺς πατριάρχας ὑπέκειν τῷ θελήματι αὐτοῦ. Conc. Flor. p. 846.

² — Romanoque Pontifici, B. Petri successori, ac Jesu Christi Vicario, veram obedientiam spondeo ac juro. Bull. Pii IV. Super formâ juram.

³ Provisi de beneficiis—in Romanæ Ecclesiæ obedientiâ se permansuros spondeant ac jurent. Conc. Trid. Sess. 24. cap. 12.

tans at their instalment, are required to take ; the which, as it is extant in the Roman pontifical¹, set out by order of Pope Clement VIII. does run in these terms.

“ I, *N. Elect of the Church^a of N.* from henceforward will be faithful and obedient to St. Peter the Apostle, and to the Holy Roman Church, and to our Lord, *the Lord N. Pope N.* and to his Successors canonically coming in. I will neither advise, consent, or do any thing that they may lose life or member, or that their persons may be seized, or hands anywise laid upon them, or any injuries offered to them under any pretence whatsoever. The counsel which they shall entrust me withal, by themselves, their messengers, or Letters, I will not knowingly reveal to any to their prejudice. I will help them to defend and keep the Roman Papacy, and the Royalties of Saint Peter, saving my Order, against all men. The Legate of the Apostolic See, going and coming, I will honourably treat and help in his necessities. The rights, honours, privileges, and authority of the Holy Roman Church, of our Lord the Pope and his foresaid Successors, I will endeavour to preserve, defend, increase, and advance. I will not be in any counsel, action, or treaty, in which shall be plotted against our said Lord, and the said Roman Church, any thing to the hurt or prejudice of their persons, right, honour, state, or power : and if I shall know any such thing to be treated or agitated by any whatsoever, I will hinder it to my power ; and as soon as I can, will signify it to our said Lord, or to some other, by whom it may come to his knowledge. The Rules of the Holy Fathers, the Apostolic decrees, ordinances, or disposals, reservations, provisions, and mandates, I will observe with all my might, and cause to be observed by others. Heretics, Schismatics, and Rebels to our said Lord or his foresaid Successors, I will to my power persecute and oppose. I will come to a Council when I am called, unless I be hindered by a Canonical impediment. I will by myself in person visit the threshold of the Apostles every three years ; and give an account to our Lord and his foresaid Successors of all my Pastoral Office, and of all things anywise belonging to the state of my Church, to the discipline of my Clergy and People, and lastly, to the salvation

¹ Pontif. Rom. Antwerp. Ann. 1626. p. 59. 86.

^a On this oath in general, and on several of its particular clauses, much curious information and valuable remark may be found in chapters first and second of the Digest of the Evidence, (1824, 5.) Part ii. p. 1—59.

of Souls committed to my trust; and will in like manner humbly receive and diligently execute the Apostolic commands. And if I be detained by a lawful impediment, I will perform all the things aforesaid by a certain Messenger hereto specially empowered, a member of my Chapter, or some other in Ecclesiastical Dignity, or else having a Parsonage; or in default of these, by a Priest of the Diocese; or in default of one of the Clergy [of the Diocese] by some other Secular or Regular Priest of approved Integrity and Religion, fully instructed in all things above mentioned. And such impediment I will make out by lawful proofs to be transmitted by the foresaid Messenger to the Cardinal Proponent of the Holy Roman Church in the Congregation of the Sacred Council. The Possessions belonging to my Table I will neither sell nor give away, nor mortgage, nor grant anew in fee, nor any wise alienate, no not even with the consent of the Chapter of my Church, without consulting the Roman Pontiff. And if I shall make any alienation, I will thereby incur the Penalties contained in a certain Constitution put forth about this matter. So help me God and these Holy Gospels of God¹."

¹ Ego N. Electus *Ecclesiæ* N. ab hac horâ in antea fidelis et obediens ero B. Petro Apostolo, Sanctæque Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et Domino nostro, Domino N. Papæ N. suisque Successoribus canonicè intransitibus. Non ero in consilio aut consensu, vel facto, ut vitam perdant, aut membrum; seu capiantur malâ captione; aut in eos manus quomodolibet ingerantur; vel injuriæ aliquæ inferantur, quovis quæsito colore. Consilium verò quod mihi credituri sunt, per se, aut Nuncios suos, seu literas, ad eorum damnum, me sciente, nemini pandam. Papatum Romanum et Regalia Sancti Petri adjutor eis ero ad defendendum et retinendum, salvo meo ordine, contra omnem hominem. Legatum Apostolicæ Sedis in eundo et redeundo honorificè tractabo, et in suis necessitatibus adjuvabo. Jura, honores, privilegia, et auctoritatem Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ, Domini nostri Papæ et Successorum prædictorum, conservare, defendere, augere, promovere curabo. Neque ero in consilio, vel facto, seu tractatu in quibus contra ipsum Dominum nostrum, vel eandem Romanam Ecclesiam aliqua sinistra vel præjudicialia personarum, juris, honoris, status et potestatis eorum machinentur. Et si talia à quibuscunque tractari vel procurari novero, impediam hoc pro posse, et quanto citiùs potero significabo eidem Domino nostro, vel alteri per quem possit ad ipsius notitiam pervenire. Regulas Sanctorum Patrum, decreta, ordinationes, seu dispositiones, reservationes, provisiones et mandata Apostolica totis viribus observabo, et faciam ab aliis observari. Hæreticos, Schismaticos et Rebelles eidem Domino nostro vel Successoribus prædictis pro posse persequar et impugnabo. Vocatus ad Synodum veniam, nisi prædicitus fuero canonicâ præpeditio. Apostolorum limina singulis trienniis personaliter per me ipsum visitabo, et Domino nostro ac Successoribus præfatis rationem reddam de toto meo pastoralis officio ac de rebus omnibus ad meæ Ecclesiæ statum, ad cleri et populi disciplinam, animarum denique quæ

Such is the oath prescribed to bishops, the which is worth the most serious attention of all men, who would understand how miserably slavish the condition of the clergy is in that Church, and how inconsistent their obligation to the Pope is with their duty to their prince^a.

And in perusing it we may note, that the clauses in a different character are in the more ancient oath extant in the Gregorian decretals¹: by which it appears how the Pope does more and more enlarge his power, and straiten the bands of subjection to him. And it is very remarkable that the new oath has changed those words "*Regulas Sanctorum Patrum*" into "*Regalia Sancti Petri*," i. e. "The rules of the Holy Fathers" into "The royalties of Saint Peter."

XV. I know there are within the Roman communion great store of divines, who do contract the Papal sovereignty within a much narrower compass, refusing to him many of those prerogatives, yea scarce allowing to him any of them.

meæ fidei traditæ sunt, salutem quovismodo pertinentibus, et vicissim mandata Apostolica humiliter recipiam et quàm diligentissimè exequar. Quod si legitimo impedimento detentus fuero præfata omnia adimplebo per certum Nuntium ad hoc speciale mandatum habentem de gremio mei Capituli, aut alium in dignitate Ecclesiasticâ constitutum, seu aliàs personatum habentem; aut, his mihi deficientibus, per diœcesanum Sacerdotem; et clero deficiente omnino per aliquem alium Presbyterum sæcularem vel regularem spectatæ probitatis et religionis de supradictis omnibus plenè instructum. De hujusmodi autem impedimento docebo per legitimas probationes ad Sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalem Proponentem in Congregatione Sacri Concilii per supradictum Nuntium transmittendas. Possessiones verò ad mensam meam pertinentes non vendam, nec donabo neque impignorabo, nec de novo infeudabo vel aliquo modo alienabo, etiam cum consensu Capituli Ecclesiæ meæ, inconsulto Romano Pontifice. Et si ad aliquam alienationem devenero, pœnas in quâdam super hoc editâ constitutione contentas eo ipso incurrere volo. Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.

^a "I am not able to explain to myself, how the heads of the Roman Catholic Church, under a Protestant king, can consistently observe the oath of allegiance to the sovereign. I find myself unable to reconcile that most solemn oath, which is taken upon the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop, with his allegiance to the sovereign. It appears to me that there is an obligation as deep as any which can grow out of the feeling of Christianity at war with the civil obligation. . . . Looking to a case of mere temporal concern solely, and supposing the possibility of a war between this country and the states of the Pope, I do not see how both oaths can be safely taken by the same person." Archbishop *Magee's* Evidence before the House of Lords; Digest of Evidence, vol. i. p. 390.

¹ *Gregor. Decret. lib. 2. tit. 24. cap. iv.*

There are those who affirm the Pope, in doctrine and discipline, subject to the Church, or to a general synod representing it. Which opinion thwarts a proposition, in Bellarmine's opinion, even almost an article of faith: but to be even with him, they do hold his proposition to be quite heretical: "The Pope is simply and absolutely above the Universal Church"—"this proposition is almost an article of faith¹," says Bellarmine: the cardinal of Lorrain on the contrary, "But I," (says he) "cannot deny but that I am a Frenchman, and bred up in the Church of Paris, which teaches that the Roman pontiff is subject to a council, and they who teach the contrary are there branded as heretics²."

There are those who affirm the Pope, if he undertake points of faith without assistance of a general synod, may teach heresy: (which opinion, as Bellarmine thought, does closely border on heresy³:) and those also who conceive that Popes may be, and have been heretics; whence Christians sometimes are not obliged to admit their doctrine, or observe their pleasure.

There are those who maintain the Pope, no less than other bishops, subject to the canons, or bound to observe the constitutions of the Church; that he may not infringe them, or over-rule against them, or dispense with them; and that to him attempting to do so obedience is not due.

There are those who maintain, that the Pope cannot subvert or violate the rights and liberties of particular Churches, settled in them agreeably to the ancient canons of the Church Universal.

There are those who assert to general councils a power of reforming the Church, without or against the Pope's consent.

There are those who (as Bellarmine tells us⁴) do allow the Pope to be no more in the ecclesiastical republic, than as the Duke of Venice in his senate, or as the general of an order in his congregation; and that he therefore has but a very limited and subordinate power.

There are consequently those who conceive the Pope notoriously erring, or misdemeaning himself to the prejudice of the

¹ Summus pontifex simpliciter et absolutè est supra Ecclesiam Universam; —hæc propositio est ferè de fide. *Bell. de Conc. ii. 17.*

² Ego verò negare non possum quin Gallus sim, et Parisiensis Ecclesiæ alumnus, in quâ Rom. Pontificem subesse concilio tenetur, et qui docent ibi contrarium, ii tanquam hæretici notantur. *Card. Loth. apud Laun. Ep. 1. 1.*

³ Quæ sententia videtur omnino erronea et hæresi proxima. *Bell. iv. 2.*

⁴ *Bell. de Conc. ii. 14.*

Christian state, may be called to an account, may be judged, may be corrected, may be discarded by a general synod.

Such notions have manifestly prevailed in a good part of the Roman communion, and are maintained by most divines in the French Church; and they may be supposed every where common, where there is any liberty of judgment, or where the inquisition does not reign.

There have been seasons wherein they have so prevailed, as to have been defined for Catholic truths in great synods, and by them to have been applied to practice. For,

In the first great synod of Pisa¹ it was declared, that councils may “reform the Church sufficiently both in head and members:” and accordingly that synod did assume to judge two Popes (Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII.) contending for the Papacy, (whereof one was the true Pope,) and deposing them both, did substitute Alexander V. who (as Antoninus reports) “according to the common opinion did hold the seat of Peter².”

The synod of Constance declared, that “the synod lawfully assembled in the Holy Ghost, making a general council representing the Catholic Church militant, hath immediately power from Christ; to which every one, of whatever state or dignity he be, although it be Papal, is bound to obey in those things which belong to faith, and the extirpation of (the said) schism, and the general reformation of the Church of God in head and members³.”

The which doctrine they notably put in practice, exercising jurisdiction over Popes, and for errors, misdemeanors, or contumacies discarding three, (of whom it is hard if one were not true Pope,) and choosing another, who thereafter did pass for a right Pope, and himself did confirm the acts of that council. (So that this semi-heresy has at least the authority of one Pope to countenance it.) “Our most holy lord the Pope said in answer thereunto, that he would maintain and inviolably observe all and every of those things that were conciliarly determined, concluded, and decreed by the present council in matters of faith⁴.”

¹ Ann. 1409. Conc. Pis. Sess. 16. 17.

² Qui anno uno sedem Petri tenuit, secundum communem opinionem. *Anton. de Concil. Pis. cap. v. § 3.*

³ Primò declarat quòd ipsa synodus, etc. Sess. 4 et 5.

⁴ Sanctiss. Dominus noster Papa dixit, respondendo ad prædicta, quòd omnia et singula determinata, conclusa et decreta in materiis fidei per præsens

The synod of Basil declared the same point, "that councils are superior to Popes, to be a truth of Catholic faith, which whoever doth stiffly oppose is to be accounted a heretic¹:" "nor" (say they) "did any skilful man ever doubt the Pope to be subject to the judgment of general synods in things concerning faith²." In virtue of which doctrine, and by its irresistible authority, the synod did sentence and reject Pope Eugenius as criminal, heretical, and contumacious³.

These synods, although reprobated by Popes in counter-synods⁴, are yet by many Roman Catholic divines retained in great veneration; and their doctrine is so current in the famous Sorbonne, that (if we may believe the great Cardinal of Lorrain) the contrary is there reputed heretical⁵.

XVI. Yet notwithstanding these oppositions, the former opinion averring the Pope's absolute sovereignty, does seem to be the genuine doctrine of the Roman Church, if it have any.

For those divines by the Pope and his intimate confidants are looked upon as a mongrel brood, or mutinous faction; which he by politic connivance does only tolerate, because he is not well able to correct or suppress them⁶. He is afraid to be violent in reclaiming them to his sense, lest he spend his artillery in vain, and lose all his power and interest with them.

Nor indeed do those men seem to adhere to the Roman party out of entire judgment or cordial affection; but in compliance with their princes, or upon account of their interest, or at best with regard to peace and quiet. They cannot conveniently break with the Pope, because his interest is twisted with their own, so as not easily to be disentangled.

For how can they heartily stick to the Pope, when their

concilium conciliariter tenere, et inviolabiliter observare volebat. Conc. Const. Sess. 45, p. 1119.

¹ Veritas de potestate concilii supra Papam——est veritas fidei Catholicæ——cui pertinaciter repugnans est censendus hæreticus. Conc. Bas. Sess. 33. (p. 95.)

² Nec unquam aliquis peritorum dubitavit, summum pontificem in his quæ fidem concernunt judicio eorumdem generalium synodorum esse subjectum. Conc. Bas. Sess. 45. (p. 117.)

³ Vigore cujus, ac ineffabili et inexpugnabili autoritate——. Sess. 38. p. 101.

⁴ (Concil. Later. etc.)

⁵ Ego verò negare non possum, etc.

⁶ Nam adhuc videmus ab Ecclesiâ tolerari, qui eam sententiam sequuntur——. *Bell.* iv. 2.

opinion does plainly imply him to be an usurper and a tyrant, (claiming to himself, and exercising authority over the Church, which does not rightfully belong to him;) to be a rebel and traitor against the Church, (invading and possessing the sovereignty due to it; for such questionless the Duke of Venice would be, should he challenge and assume to himself such a power over his commonwealth, as the Pope has over Christendom;) to be an impostor and seducer, pretending to infallible conduct, which he has not.

How can they honestly condemn those who (upon such grounds) do shake off such yokes, refusing to comply with the Pope, till he correct his errors, till he desist from those usurpations and impostures, till he restore to the Church its rights and liberties?

How are the doctrines of those men consistent or congruous to their practice? For they call the Pope monarch of the Church, and universal pastor of Christians, by God's appointment, inflexibly; yet will they not admit all his laws, and reject doctrines which he teaches, particularly those which most nearly touch him, concerning his own office and authority. They profess themselves his loyal subjects, yet pretend liberties which they will maintain against him. They hold that all are bound to entertain communion with him, yet confess that he may be heretical, and seduce into error. They give him the name and shadow of a supremacy, but so that they can void the substance and reality thereof¹.

In fine, where should we seek for the doctrine of the Roman Church, but at Rome, or from Rome itself? where these doctrines are heterodoxies.

XVII. We shall not therefore have a distinct regard to the opinion of these semi-Romanists; nor consider them otherwise, than to confirm that part of truth which they hold, and to confute that part of error which they embrace; allowing, at least in word and semblance, more power to the Pope, than we can admit as due to him. Our discourse shall be levelled at him as such as he pretends himself to be, or as assuming to himself the forementioned powers and prerogatives.

XVIII. Of such vast pretences we have reason to require

¹ Manifestum autem schismatis argumentum est cum quis se communioni subtrahit Apostolicæ sedis. *Balus.* not. ad Agobard, p. 112. "It is a manifest argument of schism, when any man withdraws himself from communion with the apostolic see."

sufficient grounds. He that demands assent to such important assertions, ought to produce clear proofs of them: he that claims so mighty power, should be able to make out a good title to it; for “No man may take this (more than pontifical) honour to himself, but he that is called by God, as was Aaron¹.” “They are worthily to be blamed, who tumultuously and disorderly fall upon curbing or restraining those who by no law are subject to them².”

We cannot well be justified from a stupid easiness, in admitting *such* a lieutenancy to our Lord, if we do not see exhibited to us manifest and certain patents assuring its commission to us. We should love the Church better, than to yield up its liberty to the will of a pretender, upon slight or no ground. Their boldly claiming such a power, their having sometime usurped such a power, will not excuse them or us. Nor will precarious assumptions, or subtle distinctions, or blind traditions, or loose conjectures, serve for probations in such a case³.

XIX. Such demands they cannot wholly balk: wherefore for satisfaction to them, not finding any better plea, they hook in St. Peter; affirming that on him by our Lord there was instated a primacy over his brethren, all the Apostles and the Disciples of our Lord, importing all the authority which they claim; and that from him this primacy was devolved by succession to the bishops of Rome, by right indefectible for all future ages.

Which plea of theirs does involve these main suppositions.

1. That St. Peter by our Lord's donation or sanction had conferred on him a primacy among the Apostles.

2. That this primacy did include a supremacy of power, and dominion or jurisdiction over the Apostles.

3. That the rights and prerogatives of this supremacy were not personal, but derivable to his successors.

4. That St. Peter was bishop of Rome properly.

5. That he continued till his death in possession of that office.

6. That hence to the bishops of Rome, as to St. Peter's successors, an universal jurisdiction over the Christian Church of right does appertain.

¹ Heb. v. 4.

² Jure culpandi sunt, qui turbidè atque inordinatè in eos coërcendos insiliunt, qui nullà sibi lege subjecti sunt. *Aug. de Unit. Eccl. cap. 17.*

³ Nemo sibi et professor et testis est. *Tert. v. l. adv. Marc.* “None can be both a claimer and a witness for himself.”

7. That such a right of the Roman bishop is indefectible, and by no means can fail.

8. That in fact, upon these accompts, from St. Peter's time in the primitive Church, and continually downward through all ages, the Roman bishops have enjoyed and exercised such a sovereign power.

The truth and certainty of these propositions we shall in order discuss ; so that it may competently appear, whether those who disclaim these pretences are (as they are charged) guilty of heresy and schism ; or they rather are liable to the imputations of arrogance and iniquity who do obtrude and urge them.

V.

THERE IS NO MORE NECESSITY OF ONE VISIBLE HEAD OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, THAN OF ONE VISIBLE MONARCH OVER ALL THE WORLD ^a.

WE have showed at large ^b, above, that our Saviour Christ, the Son of God, having created the world, and taken upon Him to be the Redeemer of mankind, after their transgression through Adam's fall, did not only, as He was the Son of God, govern all the world (the same being in that respect but one universal kingdom) and appoint several kings and sovereign princes, as his substitutes, to rule the same under Him in their several countries and kingdoms, leaving no one emperor, or temporal monarch to govern them all ; but likewise, as He was the blessed Lamb, slain from the beginning of the world, He did (for his own glory, and our endless comfort) erect for Himself, in this world, a spiritual kingdom, called his Church, consisting of such men, dispersed throughout the world, as did profess his name ; and being Himself the only Head and Governor of it (in which respect it is rightly to be termed, but one Catholic Church) did appoint no one priest over the whole Catholic Church, but several priests, and ecclesiastical ministers, to rule and govern the particular Churches in every province, country, and nation. And in such manner and form, as our Saviour Christ did rule and govern his universal kingdom, and Catholic Church, *before his incarnation* ; so does He *still* rule and govern the same : notwithstanding any of those

^a From "Bishop Overall's Convocation Book, MDCVI, concerning the Government of God's Catholic Church, and the Kingdoms of the whole World. 1690." 4to. p. 247—67.

^b See book i. chap. xxxv. and xxxvi.

vain pretences, and ridiculous usurpations, which the bishops of Rome, or any of their adherents, are able to allege and maintain to the contrary.

In the gloss of one of the books of the canon law, not long since printed, and approved by Gregory XIII., a glossographer¹, and now an authentional canonist, does write in this sort; *Dico, quod potestas spiritualis debet dominari omni creature humane.* “I say, that the spiritual power ought to domineer over every human creature.” And why says he so? Forsooth, *Per rationes, quas Hostiensis inducit in summâ*: “for certain causes and reasons, which Hostiensis (another canonist) does allege in his sum.” But he stays not there: he has another motive, which he sets down thus: *Item, quia Christus, &c.* “Also, because Jesus Christ, the Son of God, when he was in the world, and also from everlasting, was the natural Lord; and by the natural law He might have given sentences against the emperor, and any other whatsoever, of deposition and damnation, and any other sentences;” *Utpote in personas, quas creaverat, et donis naturalibus, et gratuitis dotaverat, et etiam conservabat*: “As against persons, whom He had created and endowed with natural and free gifts; and also whom He did preserve:” *et eâdem ratione vicarius ejus potest*: “and by one and the same reason” (says he) “his vicar may so do.”—What! would Pope Gregory, by his canonists, make men to believe, that all emperors, kings, and sovereign princes, are persons of the Pope’s creation? or, that he does bestow on them freely any gifts or benefits of nature? or, that their preservation does depend upon his good favour and providence? But the idle canonist’s wit does serve him no better, than to make (in effect) this fond collection: “Christ, the creator of all things, does govern, rule, dispose, and preserve all his own creatures:—therefore the Pope must likewise govern, rule, dispose, and preserve them all, though he created none of them.”—And why must he so do? He wants not a very substantial reason that moved him so to collect; which follows in his own words: *Nam non videretur Dominus discretus fuisse (ut cum reverentiâ ejus loquar) nisi unicum post se talem vicarium reliquisset, qui hæc omnia posset. Fuit autem iste vicarius ejus Petrus. Et idem dicendum est de successoribus Petri; cum eadem absurditas sequeretur, si post mortem Petri humanam naturam à se creatam sine regimine unius personæ*

¹ Extravag. l. i. c. 1. de major. et obed. unam sanctam.

reliquisset. “For Christ should not have been thought a person of sufficient discretion (that with his reverence, I may so speak) except He had left behind Him one such vicar, who might do all these things. And this his vicar was Peter. And the same is to be said of the successors of Peter : seeing the same absurdity must follow, if after Peter’s death He had left mankind created by Himself, without the regiment of one person.”—And Mr. Harding¹, one of our own countrymen, does wholly concur with this profound canonist ; saving that he deals more civilly with Christ, in using the word *providence* instead of the canonist’s *discretion*. Thus he writes, “Except we should wickedly grant, that God’s providence doth lack to his Church ; reason may soon induce us to believe, that to one man, the chief and highest of all bishops, the successor of Peter, the rule and government of the Church, by God, has been deferred.” And he further does express his opinion to this effect ; “That if God had not ordained such a monarchical Church government, He should have brought in amongst his faithful people that unruly confusion and destruction of all commonwealths, so much abhorred of princes, which the Grecians call an anarchy ; which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all.”

That our Saviour Christ is the sole governor, head, and archbishop of his Catholic Church, as He is the only governor, ruler, and monarch over all the world : and that his discretion, and divine providence, is no more to be blemished or impeached by the cavils of any impostors, in that He has appointed no one priest, archbishop, or Pope, to be his vicar-general over the whole Catholic Church, than for that He has not assigned any one king, emperor, or monarch, to rule the whole world under Him ; this is the point that here we purpose to make good : taking it in this place for granted, that there was never any one man in the world to whom our Saviour Christ did commit the government of it, after the time that it was peopled, and thoroughly inhabited ; that is, from Noah’s flood, at the least hitherto.

They that labour to prove that the bishop of Rome is head of the universal Church, and that Christ should have showed little discretion, or providence, if he had not so ordained it, do insist very much upon the grounds of natural reason and philosophy ; telling us out of Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch, Isocrates, Stobæus,

¹ *Harding’s Confut. of Jewel’s Apol.* § 19.

Hesiodus, Euripides, Homer, Herodotus¹, and divers others, that of all the kinds of governments that are, the monarchical government is the best; "That in a great host, consisting of soldiers of divers nations and countries, and perhaps of many sovereign princes and kings, there must be one general to govern them all; that all things naturally have a propension and aptness to monarchical government; that bees of every hive have their king; that in every flock of sheep there is a principal ram; that every herd of cattle has a leader; that cranes do not fly promiscuously, and in heaps, but have one whom they do all very orderly follow; that amongst celestial spheres, there is but one *primum mobile*²; that in the number of the lights of the world, one is greater than the rest; that there is a certain principality in the elements; that the fountain is but one, from whence divers times there flow sundry streams; that into one sea all rivers do run and return; that the thing which is most one, is less easily divided; that it is rather one, which is simply one, than a multitude conspiring in one³;" and that for these, and many other like reasons, seeing the monarchical government is best, and that we may be sure that Christ would have his Church governed by the best manner of government (except we should think Him to have dealt absurdly, as a person void both of good discretion and providence); it follows, therefore, that Christ committed the government of it unto one—first to St. Peter, and then to his successor, the bishop of Rome for the time being.

If this one Jesuit and his fellows, would upon the said philosophical premises, have concluded thus, that it therefore had followed that Christ Himself does not only retain in his own hands the sole government of his Catholic Church, as He is the only Redeemer of it, but likewise the sole government of the whole world, as He is the Creator of it, the conclusion had been true, although the premises had not enforced it. But how stiffly soever they meant to insist upon the said conclusion, without any regard of truth, so they may blear the eyes of the simpler sort with such their vain illusions, we may be bold (as we hope) resolutely to defend and maintain it, that the said natural reasons are of as great strength to prove, that there ought of necessity to be one temporal monarch over all the world, as one ecclesiastical monarch

¹ *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. i. c. 2.

² *Sand. de Visib. Monarch.* l. iii.

³ *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. i. c. 9.

over the whole Catholic Church ; although in very deed they are far too feeble and weak to prove either the one or the other.—For who knows not, that when the philosophers did write in commendation of the monarchical government, they only had relation to particular nations and countries, endeavouring to prove that it was better for them severally to be ruled by that form of government, which is called monarchical, than by any of the rest,—aristocratical, democratical, or any other? And it was so far from their meaning to have their said reasons wrested to prove that one mortal man ought to have the government of the Catholic Church, the spiritual kingdom of Christ, as they never dreamed (for aught that appears) that one man, in their judgment, was fit or able to take upon him the temporal government of the whole world ; to which purpose, a principal lawyer amongst our adversaries does write in this sort ;—*Naturâ ipsâ institutum non est, quòd universus orbis uni principi subditus sit* ;—“ it is not ordained by nature that the whole world should be subject to one prince¹.” If, then, it be an idle vanity for any man to go about by natural reason to prove that one man ought to be the temporal monarch of all the world, which nature itself did never intend, it is then certainly a kind of madness or phrenzy, to rely upon such proofs for the Pope’s spiritual authority over the whole Catholic Church ; neither of them both being comprehensible, or subject to the apprehensions of nature.

Again, these patrons for the Pope, and his primacy over the whole Catholic Church, have not only such arguments as we have heard, drawn from *natural reason*, but some likewise deduced from sundry similitudes, and those out of the *Scriptures*, upon which they rely with some more confidence, as reason is they should,—saying that God made all mankind, *ex uno Adamo*, “ of one Adam²,” to signify, thereby, that He would have all men to depend, *ab uno*, “ of one ;” that the Old Testament was a figure of the New ; and that, therefore, as there was but one High-priest amongst the Jews to govern that one Church, so now there must be but one Pope to govern all the Churches in the world : that Aaron was not only a figure of Christ, but likewise of St. Peter : that the Church is compared to an host well ordered, to a human body, to a kingdom, to a fold, to a house, to a ship ; and that, therefore,

¹ Covarruv. ii. part. Relect. § 9. tom. i. num. 5.

² *Bell. de Rom. Pont.* l. i. c. 2.

she must have but one Captain, one human Head, one King, one Pastor, one Householder, and one Pilot : that, although there be but one proper Head of the Church, which is Christ, that governs the same *spiritually*, yet she has need of one *visible* head, or otherwise the bishop of Rome—and all other bishops, pastors, doctors, and ministers were needless : that, although Christ be the head of the Church, yet He ought to have one underneath Him, by whom she may be governed : as a king, when he is present, may govern his kingdom himself, but being absent, does usually appoint another under him, who is called his viceroy : that every diocese and province has her bishops and archbishops to govern the particular Churches under them, within their several charges ; and that, therefore, there must be one bishop of the whole Catholic Church to rule and govern them all. Lastly, that as there is but one God, one faith, and one baptism, so there must be in the Catholic Church but one chief bishop and judge, upon whom all men ought to depend. Many more are the reasons, grounded upon divers other similitudes, which our adversaries have heaped up together, to uphold the Pope's authority, all of them being as vain and frivolous as the former.

For it is certain and manifest, that as the Catholic Church is resembled in the Scriptures to an host well ordered, to a human body, to a kingdom, to a flock of sheep, to a house, and to a ship, so Christ only is intended thereby to be her only General, her only Head, her only King, her only Shepherd, her only Householder, and her only Pilot. Neither can any other thing be enforced from the words mentioned of one faith, and one baptism, but that as we are only justified through a lively faith in Christ, so there is but one baptism ordained, whereby we have our first entrance into his spiritual kingdom, and are made particular members of his Catholic Church. Besides, in the like sense that the Catholic Church is resembled to an host well ordered, to a human body, to a kingdom, to a flock, to a house, to a ship, so may the universal kingdom of Christ over the whole world, as He is the Creator of it, be resembled to them all, and the aforesaid titles respectively attributed unto Him. The whole world is a host under Him, well ordered, and He is the General of it ; the whole world is but as one body, whereof He is the head, being the life of all men, from whom, as from their head, they have their sense, understanding, and motion ; the whole universal world is but his kingdom, and He is the King of it, ruling and disposing

it as seems best to his divine wisdom: the whole world is with Him but one flock, and He is the Shepherd of it, all men in it being the sheep of his pasture, to whom He gives food and sustentation in due season. Also He orders all the affairs in the world as a good householder does order and direct all the businesses and troubles appertaining to his family. Likewise the whole world may aptly be compared to a ship, in that the state of all mankind living in it, is subject, as a ship on the sea, unto all manner of contrary winds, tempests, and storms; of which ship, were not Christ as He is the Creator of the world the only Pilot, the world could not subsist. And as the Catholic Church is resembled to a fold, which contains in it all that believe in Christ, so may the universal kingdom of Christ, over all the world, be compared unto a fold, in that it contains in it all mankind generally,—his heavenly care and providence evermore protecting them.

Moreover, as there is but one Catholic Church, one Head, or spiritual Ruler of it (Christ our Redeemer), one Christian faith, one baptism, one Gospel, one truth, one and the selfsame form or nature of all the several theological virtues, and one inheritance, which are all of them to be taught, embraced, and expected by all that are true members of the Catholic Church, so there is but one universal kingdom in all the world (the Creator of it being the sole Emperor and Governor of it,) one moral faith, one nature of truth to be observed amongst all, one rule and nature of justice, one moral law, one nature of equity, one kind, form, or nature of all the several virtues, both moral and intellectual, which are to be put in practice, as occasion requires, in this one empire, by as many as expect from Christ, their Emperor, any happy success in their worldly affairs.—But, as all these unities in the temporal monarchy of Christ, are no sufficient grounds to warrant this assertion, that there ought to be one temporal king or emperor under Christ to govern the whole world; so the aforesaid spiritual and ecclesiastical unities, are not able to establish or uphold this inference; that one Pope must of necessity have the government under Christ of the whole Catholic Church.—Also from the authority of Scripture, that God made all mankind of one Adam, to signify, that He would have all men to depend upon one; why may it not as well be collected that He meant, that all the men in the world should depend upon one emperor for causes temporal, as upon one Pope in causes eccle-

siastical?—Likewise it is a very absurd conceit that our Jesuit maintains when he says, that although Christ be the head of the Church, yet He ought to have one underneath Him by whom she may be governed ; as a king, when he is present, may govern his kingdom himself, and when He is absent appoint his viceroy. Of likelihood this fellow would persuade us, that Christ is sometimes absent from his Church ; to the end that the Pope may be his grand deputy ; for otherwise by his own example, Christ may govern the Catholic Church without the Pope ; as the king ruling himself in his own kingdom, needs no viceroy. That Christ is never absent from his Church, but does by his power, grace, and virtue of the Holy Ghost, still defend and protect it, is plain by his own words, where He says, “Lo, I am with you always unto the end of the world¹.” It is true, that He told his apostles, that “he was to depart from them ;” meaning that they must be deprived of his corporeal presence ; but did He signify unto them, that for their comfort He would leave St. Peter in his place, and after Him the bishops of Rome, St. Peter’s successors, to govern his Church to the end of the world ? No such matter. These are our Saviour Christ’s words : “It is expedient for you, that I go away ; for if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you ; but if I depart, I will send him unto you².” Again, “When he is come, which is the Spirit of truth, he will lead you into all truth³.” Again, “I will pray to my Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever ; even the Spirit of truth⁴.” Again, “The Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things⁵.” And again, “I will not leave you comfortless ; but I will come unto you⁶.” Which He does continually when He upholds his Church daily against Satan, and all that do malign it. So, as we may far more rightly and safely, term the Holy Ghost to be Christ’s vicar-general over all the Catholic Church, than we may ascribe that title to the Pope ; the Holy Ghost being ever present and ready, not only to defend the Church generally, but to aid and comfort every particular member of it, wheresoever they are dispersed upon the face of the earth ;—which we suppose the Pope is not able to perform.

¹ Matt. xxviii. 20.

⁴ John xiv. 16, 17.

² John xvi. 7.

⁵ John v. 26.

³ John v. 13.

⁶ John v. 18.

We have before laboured to make it manifest, that our Saviour Christ is the Creator of the world, and the Governor of it ; that He has redeemed and sanctified unto Himself his Church whereof He is the sole Monarch ; that He has neither appointed any one emperor under Him to govern the whole world, nor any one priest or archbishop, to rule the whole Catholic Church ; that, as in respect of Christ, the Creator, all the world is but one kingdom, whereof He is the only King ; so, in respect of Christ our Redeemer, all that believe in his name, wheresoever they are dispersed, are but one Catholic Church ; and that the said one Catholic Church is not otherwise visible in this world, than is the said one universal kingdom of Christ, the Creator of it ; viz. by the several and distinct parts of them, as by this or that national Church, by this or that temporal kingdom. For our Saviour Christ having made the external government of his Catholic Church suitable to the government of his universal monarchy over all the world, has by the institution of the Holy Ghost ordered to be placed in every kingdom (as before in another place we have observed ^a,) archbishops, bishops, and inferior ministers, to govern the particular Churches therein planted ; priests, ministers in every particular parish, and over them bishops within their several dioceses ; as likewise archbishops to have the inspection and charge over all the rest, according to the platform ordained (in substance) by Himself in the Old Testament ; as He has in like manner appointed kings and sovereign princes, with their inferior magistrates of divers sorts, to rule and govern his people under Him, in every kingdom, country, and sovereign principality ; some of their said inferior magistrates having authority from their sovereigns in particular parishes, some in hundreds, some in shires or counties, and some in governments of larger extents ; there being amongst them all divers degrees of persons, one over another, and their kings and sovereign princes, excelling them all in power and authority, as the persons appointed by God, to rule and direct all their subjects, of what calling soever, in the right use of the authority and magistracy, which they have committed unto them.

And we cannot but wonder, as well at our said Jesuit, where he says, That although there be but one proper head of the Church, which is Christ, that governs the same spiritually ; yet

^a See book ii. chap. vii.

she has need of one visible head, or otherwise the bishop of Rome, and all other bishops, pastors, doctors, and ministers, were needless ; as likewise at our countryman Harding, who says, (as is above noted) that if God had not deferred to one man, that is, to Peter and his successors, the rule and government of the Church, He should have brought, amongst his faithful people, that unruly confusion which is called an anarchy.—For, were these their vain conceits and imaginations true, then would it by the same reason follow, that albeit there be but one proper monarch over all the world, (which is Christ that created it) yet the same has need of one visible monarch ; or otherwise emperors, and all other kings, princes, and civil magistrates, were needless ; or otherwise, Christ should have left amongst his people throughout the world, that unruly confusion and destruction of all commonwealths, so much abhorred of princes, which the Grecians call an anarchy ; which is a state, for lack of order in governors, without any government at all. The fondness of which two consequents, do so plainly argue the folly and falsehood of the two former, as we need no other refutation of them. For if all Christian kingdoms, and sovereign princes, would banish the Pope, with his usurped authority, as the monarchy of Britain has done, and retain under them the apostolical form of Church government, by archbishops and bishops, with other degrees of ministers (as before we have divers times specified), they should find the Churches, in their several dominions, as well governed by them (the said archbishops and bishops) without one Pope to rule the whole Catholic Church ; as they have experience of the sufficiency of their own regal and sovereign form of government in their several kingdoms and countries, notwithstanding there be no one monarch over all the world to command or direct them.

We have spoken hitherto of the government of the Church, especially as it was in the Apostles' times and afterward, for the space of 300 years, when the civil magistrates were enemies unto it. Whereby we do infer, that if the particular Churches, settled then almost in every country and nation throughout the world, had so good success when there were no Christian magistrates, nor had any assistance of the temporal sword for the strengthening of their ecclesiastical government, but only ministers to teach and direct their parishioners in the ways of godliness, and bishops over them in every diocese, to oversee and rule, as well the ministers as the several people committed to their charge, that

they taught no new doctrine, or ran to schisms ; and archbishops over them all, in every national Church and province, for the moderating and appeasing of such oppositions and dissensions as might otherwise have risen amongst the bishops, and so consequently have wrought great distraction betwixt their diocesan Churches,—how much more, then, are the said particular Churches like to flourish and prosper under such a form of ecclesiastical government, wherein the Christian magistrate is become to be as the chief member of the Church, so the chief governor of it ; to keep as well the said archbishops within their bounds and limits, as all the rest of the clergy, and Christians, bishops, ministers, and parishioners, that every one, in their several places, may execute and discharge their distinct offices and duties which are committed unto them ?

We shall have fit occasion hereafter to speak of the authority of Christian princes in causes ecclesiastical : here we do only still prosecute the government of the Church, when temporal kings and princes were her great and mortal enemies, and the folly (if not the obstinacy) of our adversaries, who either see it not, or will not acknowledge it, that peace and quietness may as well be preserved in all the Churches in the world, by archbishops and bishops, without one Pope to govern them all, as by kings and sovereign princes in all the kingdoms and temporal governments in the world, without one temporal monarch to rule and oversway them. For our adversaries shall never be able to prove, that it may be ascribed (as we have before said) more to any want of discretion and due providence in our Saviour Christ, that He has not appointed the Pope to govern the Catholic Church, than that He has not assigned the government of the whole world to one king or emperor. Rather it is to be attributed to their audacious temerity and presumption, that will either enforce our Saviour Christ to be contented with that form of government in his Church, which they think good to assign unto Him, and so make Him to divide stakes (as the phrase is) with the bishops of Rome, or else to be reputed amongst them for a person of little discretion and providence, and to have dealt absurdly in ordering and settling the external government of his Church, as He had ordered and settled the external government of his universal kingdom, over all the kings and princes in the world : which profane, wicked, and blasphemous proceedings with Christ, will (no doubt) in short time receive a heavy judgment ; in that, although the

man of sin has long wrought in a mystery, and taken upon him for his time, and so every one of his successors, during their lives, to sit in the temple of God, vaunting that the said temple, or spiritual kingdom of Christ, is wholly at his command; yet now he begins to be revealed and disclosed to be that impostor, that by the assistance of Satan has with power, and signs, and lying wonders, in all deceivableness and unrighteousness, long abused the Christian world, and is consequently to be consumed by our Saviour Christ, with the spirit of his mouth.

In the meanwhile, and till this work be thoroughly effected, we are not to censure Christ, either for his discretion or divine providence, but indeed to admire and magnify them both; considering, that by his government, both of the universal world as He is the Son of God, and of his Catholic Church as He is the Redeemer of it (in such manner and form as we have before expressed, by several kings and priests, within their kingdoms, provinces, and dioceses), He has left unto them certain general rules and motives, which being diligently observed, do tend to the universal good and preservation both of the one and the other, though they have no assistance therein from the bishops of Rome. For as it is an apt and good reason to persuade all kings and kingdoms to live quietly with their neighbour princes and nations, and to be at a firm league and friendship with them, because they have all but one heavenly King, are members and subjects of one universal kingdom, have, or ought to have, but one moral faith, one rule of justice, one square for equity, one nature of truth, one moral law, one kind, form, and nature of all the several virtues, both moral and intellectual, one natural instinct to know God and to worship Him, and one form and rule of mutual love and affection;—so the particular Churches dispersed over the world, when they had small comfort from the civil magistrate, held themselves bound to have a special care one over another, that matters of religion might proceed by one rule, with mutual agreement and uniformity, for avoiding of schisms; in that they well knew they had all but one Redeemer and Saviour, one heavenly spiritual King or Archbishop, were all of them members of one mystical body—whereof Christ was the head; had all of them but one faith, one baptism, one spiritual food, one hope, one bond of charity, one redemption, and one everlasting inheritance in the life to come: which were such arguments of mutual consociation in those days as when any great matters of importance did fall

out in any one country, through the wilfulness and obstinacy of heretics and crafty seducers of the people, which perhaps were countenanced with some of strength and greater power than could easily be withstood; their neighbour Churches adjoining did sometimes assist them, by their letters, with the best counsel they could give them, and sometimes did send some especial learned men unto them, for the better suppressing of those evils; and sometimes (when occasions fell out thereunto moving) sundry archbishops and bishops of several countries, with other learned priests and persons of principal note, did as they might, for fear of danger, meet together, and upon due and mature deliberation did so order and determine of matters, as thereby heresies and contentions were still suppressed, and the Churches in those countries received great comfort and quietness. And if in those troublesome times the peace of the Church were thus preserved, how much more now, under Christian magistrates, may it be strengthened, upheld, and maintained without the Pope, not only within their several kingdoms, but likewise throughout (in effect) all these western parts of the world, if Christian kings and sovereign princes would agree together for a general council, to the end^a, that all those heresies, errors, impostures, and presumptions wherewith the Church of Christ has been long, and is now miserably shaken and disturbed, might be at the last utterly suppressed and extinguished?

Many other means might here be alleged, to show how the state of Christian religion is to be upheld and maintained, without any assistance from the bishop of Rome. But our purpose being in this place to resemble and compare the government of the Catholic Church, with the universal government of the Son of God over the whole world, we hold it sufficient to observe, that every national Church may as well subsist of herself, without one universal bishop, as every kingdom may do without one general monarch. Nevertheless, it may be thought perhaps by some, that our pains herein is altogether superfluous, because many of our adversaries do (in effect) acknowledge that there *is* the like necessity of one emperor to govern all the world, as there is of one Pope to have the oversight and ordering of the whole Catholic Church.—Indeed, upon the sifting of the usurped au-

^a Compare *Hooker*, book i. chap. x. § 14. vol. i. p. 151—3. of this collection.

thority of the bishops of Rome, our adversaries finding that by their arguments to bolster up his said authority, the erection of one man to govern the world in temporal causes, is as necessarily to be enforced as of one Pope to govern the whole Church in ecclesiastical causes; they are grown to this most admirable insolency, and most high presumption, as that they dare affirm, and do take upon them, without all modesty, to maintain it, that the Pope is both the monarch of the Catholic Church, and the emperor of all the world. Which mystery of theirs is thus^a managed, and by piece-meal unfolded after this sort—*viz.* that to ease the Pope, lest he might be oppressed with multitude of affairs, if he should take upon him, in his own person, to govern

^a “When these champions of the Pope saw how the matter went,—that either they must hold that there ought to be but one emperor over all the kingdoms of the world, or else be forced to confess that there ought not to be one Pope over all the Churches in the world, (the same reason being as pregnant for the one as for the other,) they joined with the Italian civilians, that there ought to be but one emperor. Marry how? . . . The pope being Christ’s vicar, who was ‘Lord of lords, and King of kings,’ it must needs follow, that the Pope was likewise that one emperor, who was to govern all the world in *temporal* causes, as he did all the Churches of the world in *ecclesiastical* causes: and thereupon they reasoned in this sort: ‘Christ is Lord of all the world: but the Pope is Christ’s vicar on earth; therefore the Pope is lord of all the world.’ Again; ‘the emperor is the Pope’s vicar, and his successor in all *temporal* causes; therefore the emperor is lord of all the world—all temporal jurisdiction being *habitually* in the Pope, and from him *derived* to the emperor.’ And many of the Italian lawyers, especially such as mixed their studies with the canon law, were well enough content, that so as the emperor might be lord of all, *how* and *whence* he had it, *whether* from God or from the Pope, they stood indifferent.” Overall, p. 325, 26.

“The House of Austria, finding no fitter or more plausible means to enlarge their *temporal* dominion, than by concurring with the Pope in raising his spiritual, have linked themselves most fast with his see, and investing themselves voluntarily with an office of their own erection, have taken upon them to be the executioners of the Papal excommunications; so that having title from the Pope, giving his enemies’ states *occupanti*, and distracting their subjects from them upon fear of his curse—the rest they may supply out of their own force and opportunities. And for this purpose has been erected, and by them highly cherished, that super-politic and irrefragable order as they count it, the Jesuits, who couple in their persuasions, as one God and one faith, so one Pope and one king; bearing the world in hand that there is no other means for the Church to stand but by resting upon this pillar, and by uniting in this sort all the force of the Christians—this the only means to vanquish that arch enemy of Christianity” (the Turk). *Sandys’ Europæ Speculum*, p. 50.

the whole world as he does direct the especial affairs of the Catholic Church, they do assign unto him power and authority to create and delegate under him, as his feudatory or vassal, this one supposed emperor, to whom (they say) he may commit the special execution of his temporal sword, to be drawn and put up at his direction and commandment. And for this one base emperor over all the world, many are now as busy as others are to maintain the Pope's supremacy over the whole Catholic Church¹.

¹ Dr. *Marta* de Jurisd. par. i. c. xx. Carerius.

VI.

THE POPE'S SUPREMACY CONFUTED FROM SCRIPTURE AND TRADITION^a.

I SHALL in the next place level some arguments directly against their main conclusion itself.

I. My first argument against this pretence shall be, that it is destitute of any good warrant, either from divine or human testimony; and so is groundless. As will appear by the following considerations.

1. If God had designed the Bishop of Rome to be for the perpetual course of times sovereign monarch of his Church, it may reasonably be supposed, that He would expressly have declared his mind in the case; it being a point of greatest importance of all that concern the administration of his kingdom in the world¹. Princes do not use to send their viceroys unfurnished with patents clearly signifying their commission, that no man, out of ignorance or doubt concerning that point, excusably may refuse compliance; and in all equity promulgation is requisite to the establishment of any law, or exacting obedience. But in all the pandects of divine revelation the Bishop of Rome is not so much as once mentioned, either by name, or by character, or by pro-

^a From Dr. Isaac Barrow. Works, vol. vi. p. 175—205.

¹ Nec vero simile sit, ut rem tam necessariam ad Ecclesiæ unitatem continendam Christus Dominus apostolis suis non revelârit. *Melch. Can.* vi. 8.

“Neither is it likely that our Lord Christ would not have revealed to his apostles a thing so necessary for preserving the unity of the Church.”

bable intimation ; they cannot hook him in otherwise than by straining hard and framing a long chain of consequences ; each of which is too subtle for to constrain any man's persuasion. They have indeed found the Pope in the first chapter of Genesis ; for, (if we believe Pope Innocent III.¹) he is one of the two great luminaries there ; and he is as plainly there, as any where else in the Bible.

Wherefore if upon this account we should reject this pretence, we might do it justly ; and for so doing we have the allowance of the ancient Fathers ; for they did not hold any man obliged to admit any point of doctrine, or rule of manners which is not in express words, or in terms equivalent, contained in Holy Scripture ; or which at least might not thence be deduced by clear and certain inference. This their manner of disputing with heretics and heterodox people does show ; this appears by their way of defining and settling doctrines of faith ; this they often do avow in plain words applicable to our case ; for, “ If ” (says St. Austin) “ about Christ, or about his Church, or about any other thing, which concerneth our faith and life, I will not say We, who are no wise comparable to him, who said Although we ; but even as he going on did add, If an angel from heaven should tell you beside what you have received in the legal and evangelical Scriptures, let him be anathema² ; ” in which words we have St. Austin's warrant not only to refuse, but to detest this doctrine, which being nowhere extant in law or gospel, is yet obtruded on us as nearly relating both to Christ and his Church ; as greatly concerning both our faith and practice.

¹ Ad firmamentum igitur cœli, hoc est universalis Ecclesiæ, fecit Deus duo magna luminaria, id est duas instituit dignitates, quæ sunt pontificalis auctoritas et regalis potestas ; sed illa quæ præest diebus, id est spiritualibus, major est ; quæ verò carnalibus, minor, &c. *Innoc. III. in Decret. Greg. I. 33. 6.*

“ For the firmament therefore of heaven, (*i. e.*) of the Universal Church, God made two great lights, (*i. e.*) He ordained two dignities or powers, which are the pontifical authority and the regal power ; but that which rules the days, (*i. e.*) spiritual matters, is the greater ; but that which governs carnal things, is the lesser,” &c.

² Proinde sive de Christo, sive de ejus Ecclesiâ, sive de quâcunque aliâ re, quæ pertinet ad fidem vitamque nostram, non dicam Nos, nequaquam comparandi ei qui dixit, *Licet si nos*, sed omnino quod sequutus adjecit, *Si Angelus de cœlo vobis annuntiaverit*, præterquam quod in Scripturis legalibus ac evangelicis accepistis, anathema sit. *Aug. contr. Petil. iii. 6.*

2. To enforce this argument, we may consider, that the evangelists do speak about the propagation, settlement, and continuance of our Lord's kingdom; that the apostles do often treat about the state of the Church, and its edification, order, peace, unity; about the distinction of its officers and members; about the qualifications, duties, graces, privileges, of spiritual governors and guides; about prevention and remedy of heresies, schisms, disorders; upon any of which occasions how is it possible that the mention of such a spiritual monarch (who was to have a main influence on each of those particulars) should wholly escape them, if they had known such an one instituted by God?

In the Levitical law all things concerning the high priest¹; not only his designation, succession, consecration, duty, power, maintenance, privileges²; but even his garments, marriage, mourning³, &c. are punctually determined, and described; and is it not wonderful that in the many descriptions of the new law, no mention should be made concerning any duty or privilege of its high priest, whereby he might be directed in the administration of his office, and know what observance to require?

3. Whereas also the Scripture does inculcate duties of all sorts, and does not forget frequently to press duties of respect and obedience toward particular governors of the Church; is it not strange, that it never should bestow one precept, whereby we might be instructed and admonished to pay our duty to the Universal Pastor? especially considering, that God who directed the pens of the apostles, and who intended that their writings should continue for the perpetual instruction of Christians, did foresee, how requisite such a precept would be to secure that duty; for if but one such precept did appear, it would do the business, and void all contestation about it.

4. They who so carefully do exhort to honour and obey the temporal sovereignty, how come they so wholly to wave urging the no less needful obligations to obey the spiritual monarch? while they are so mindful of the emperor⁴, why are they so neglectful of the Pope⁵? insomuch, that divers Popes afterward, to ground and urge obedience to them, are fain to borrow those precepts, which command obedience to princes, accommodating them by analogy and inference to themselves⁶?

¹ Exod. xxviii. 1.

² Exod. xxxviii. 4.

³ Levit. xxi.

⁴ P. Nic. I. Ep. x.

⁵ P. Leo IX. Ep. i.

⁶ P. Greg. VIII. Ep. i. 22.

5. Particularly St. Peter, one would think, who does so earnestly enjoin to obey “the king as supreme, and to honour him ¹,” should not have been unmindful of his successors; or quite have forborne to warn Christians of the respect due to them: surely the Popes afterward do not follow him in this reservedness; for in their decretal epistles they urge nothing so much as obedience to the Apostolical See.

6. One might have expected something of that nature from St. Paul himself, who did write so largely to the Romans, and so often from Rome; that at least some word, or some intimation should have dropped from him concerning these huge rights and privileges of this See, and of the regard due to it. Particularly then, when he professedly does enumerate the offices, instituted by God, for standing use and perpetual duration; “for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ; till we all come in the unity of Faith ²,” &c.

He commends them for their faith, which “was spoken of through the whole world; yet giveth them no advantage above others ³,” as St. Chrysostom observes on those words, “for obedience to the faith among all nations, among whom also are ye ⁴,” this (says St. Chrysostom,) “he saith to depress their conceit, to void their haughtiness of mind, and to teach them (to deem others equal in dignity with them ⁵).”

When he writes to that Church (which was some time after St. Peter had settled the Popedom) he does only style them *κλητοὶ ἅγιοι* (called saints) and *ἀγαπητοὶ Θεοῦ*, (beloved of God ⁶) which are common adjuncts of all Christians; he says their faith was spoken of generally, but of the fame of their authority being so spread he takes no notice; that “their obedience had come abroad to all men ⁷,” but their *commands* had not (it seems) come any where.

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 13. 17.

² Eph. iii. 11—13. 1 Cor. xii. 28. Quarum laudum et gloriæ degenerem fuisse, maximum crimen est. *Cl. Rom. ad Cypr. Ep. xxxi.*

“To degenerate from which praise and glory, is an exceeding great crime.”

³ Rom. i. 8.

⁴ Οὐδὲν πλεον αὐτοῖς δίδωσι τῶν λοιπῶν ἐθνῶν.

⁵ Ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖ καθαιρῶν αὐτῶν τὸ φρόνημα, καὶ κενῶν τὸ φύσημα τῆς διανοίας, καὶ διδάσκων αὐτοὺς τὴν πρὸς ἄλλους ἰσοτιμίαν.

⁶ (Vid. *Chrys. Theo. Hier.*) *Baron. Ann.* 58. § 46, &c. *Rom. xvi.* 19.

⁷ *Rom. i.* 8.

He wrote divers epistles from Rome, wherein he resolves many cases debated, yet never does urge the authority of the Roman Church for any point, which now is so ponderous an argument.

7. But, however, seeing the Scripture is so strangely reserved, how comes it to pass that tradition is also so defective, and staunch in so grand a case? We have in divers of the Fathers, (particularly in Tertullian¹, in St. Basil², in St. Hierome³) catalogues of traditional doctrines and observances, which they recite to assert tradition in some cases supplemental to Scripture; in which their purpose did require, that they should set down those of principal moment; and they are so punctual as to insert many of small consideration; how then came they to neglect this, concerning the Papal authority over the whole Church, which had been most pertinent to their design, and in consequence did vastly surpass all the rest, which they do name?

8. The designation of the Roman Bishop by succession to obtain so high a degree in the Church, being above all others a most remarkable and noble piece of history, which it had been a horrible fault in an ecclesiastical history to slip over, without careful reporting and reflecting upon it; yet Eusebius, that most diligent compiler of all passages relating to the original constitution of the Church, and to all transactions therein, has not one word about it; who yet studiously does report the successions of the Roman bishops, and all the notable occurrences he knew concerning them, with favourable advantage.

9. Whereas this doctrine is pretended to be a point of faith, of vast consequence to the substance of the Church and to the salvation of men, it is somewhat strange, that it should not be inserted into any one ancient summary of things to be believed, (of which summaries divers remain, some composed by public consent, others by persons of eminency in the Church,) nor by fair and forcible consequence should be deducible from any article in them⁴; especially considering, that such summaries were framed upon occasion of heresies springing up, which disregarded the Pope's authority, and which by asserting it were plainly confuted. We are therefore beholden to Pope Innocent III. and his Lateran Synod⁵ for first synodically defining this point, together with

¹ *Tertull.* de Cor. Mil. 3.

² *Basil.* de Sp. S. 27.

³ *Hier.* adv. Lucif. 4.

⁴ *Const. Apost.* vii. 41. (a full Creed at Baptism)

⁵ *Conc. Lat.* iv. cap. 5. Ann. 1215.

other points no less new and unheard of before. The Creed of Pope Pius IV. formed the other day, is the first, as I take it, which did contain this article of faith.

10. It is much that this point of faith should not be delivered in any of those ancient *expositions* of the Creed (made by Saint Austin, Ruffin, &c.) which enlarge it to necessary points of doctrine, connected with the articles therein, especially with that of the Catholic Church, to which the Pope's authority has so close a connexion; that it should not be touched in the catechetical discourses of Cyril, Ambrose, &c.; that in the systems of divinity composed by Saint Austin, Lactantius, &c., it should not be treated on. The world is now changed; for the Catechism of Trent does not overlook so material a point; and it would pass for a lame body of theology which should omit to treat on this subject.

11. It is more wonderful that this point should never be defined, in downright and full terms, by any ancient synod; it being so notoriously in those old times opposed by divers, who dissented in opinion, and discorded in practice from the Pope; it being also a point of that consequence, that such a solemn declaration of it would have much conduced to the ruin of all particular errors and schisms, which were maintained then in opposition to the Church.

12. Indeed had this point been allowed by the main body of orthodox bishops, the Pope could not have been so drowsy or stupid as not to have solicited for such a definition thereof; nor would the bishops have been backward in compliance thereto; it being, in our adversaries' conceit, so compendious and effectual a way of suppressing all heresies, schisms, and disorders; (although indeed later experience has showed it no less available to stifle truth, justice, and piety.) The Popes after Luther were better advised, and so were the bishops adhering to his opinions.

13. Whereas also it is most apparent, that many persons disclaimed this authority, not regarding either the doctrines or decrees of the Popes: it is wonderful that such men should not be reckoned in the large catalogues of heretics; wherein errors of less obvious consideration, and of far less importance, did place men. If Epiphanius, Theodoret, Leontius, &c. were so negligent, or unconcerned, yet St. Austin, Philastrius — western men, should not have overlooked this sort of desperate heretics. Acrius for questioning the dignity of bishops is set among the

heretics ;—but *who* got that name for disavowing the Pope's supremacy, among the many who did it ? (It is but lately, that such as *we* have been thrust in among heretics.)

14. Whereas no point avowed by Christians could be so apt to raise offence and jealousy in Pagans against our religion as this, which sets up a power of so vast extent and huge influence ; whereas no novelty could be more surprising or startling than the erection of an universal empire over the consciences and religious practices of men ; whereas also this doctrine could not but be very conspicuous and glaring in ordinary practice : it is prodigious that all Pagans should not loudly exclaim against it.

It is strange that Pagan histories (such as Marcellinus, who often speaks of Popes, and blames them for their luxurious way of living and pompous garb ; as Zosimus, who bore a great spite at Christianity ; as all the writers of the Imperial history before Constantine) should not report it, as a very strange pretence newly started up¹.

It is wonderful that the eager adversaries of our religion, (such as Celsus, Porphyry, Hierocles, Julian himself) should not particularly level their discourse against it, as a most scandalous position and dangerous pretence, threatening the government of the empire,

It is admirable that the emperors themselves, inflamed with emulation and suspicion of such an authority (the which has been so terrible even to Christian princes) should not in their edicts expressly decry and impugn it ; that indeed every one of them should not with extremest violence implacably strive to extirpate it.

In consequence of these things it may also seem strange that none of the advocates of our faith (Justin, Origen, Tertullian, Arnobius, Cyril, Austin) should be put to defend it, or so much as forced to mention it, in their elaborate apologies for the doctrines and practices which were reprehended by any sort of adversaries thereto.

We may add, that divers of them in their apologies and representations concerning Christianity would have appeared not to deal fairly, or to have been very inconsiderate, when they profess

¹ —procedantque vehiculis insidentes, circumspectè vestiti, epulas curantes profusas, adeò ut eorum convivia regales superent mensas. *Marcell.* lib. 27. p. 338. "They travel sitting in chariots, curiously apparelled, procuring profuse dainties, insomuch as their meals exceed the feasts of kings."

for their common belief assertions repugnant to that doctrine¹; as when Tertullian says, “ We reverence the emperor as a man second to God, and less only than God²;” when Optatus affirms, “ that above the emperor there is none beside God, who made the emperor³;” and that Donatus “ by extolling himself (as some now do) above the emperor, did in so doing as it were exceed the bounds of men, that he did esteem himself as God, not as a man⁴.” When St. Chrysostome asserts, “ the emperor to be the crown and head of all men upon earth;” and says, that “ even apostles, evangelists, prophets, any men whoever⁵,” are to be subject to the temporal powers; when St. Cyril calls the emperor “ the supreme top of glory among men, elevated above all others by incomparable differences⁶,” &c. When even Popes talk at this rate; as Pope Gregory I. calling the emperor “ his Lord, and Lord of all;” telling the emperor that his competitor, by assuming the title of universal bishop, “ did set himself above the honour of his imperial majesty⁷,” which he supposes a piece of

¹ *Sentiunt enim Deum esse solum, in cujus solius potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi, ante omnes et super omnes Deos. Quidni? cùm super omnes homines, qui utique vivunt, et mortuis antistant. Tert. Apolog. c. 30.*

“ For they think it is God alone in whose power they are, next to whom they are the chief, before all, and above all Gods. And why not? when they are above all men alive, and surpass the dead.”

² *Colimus imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum, et solo Deo minorem. Tertull. ad Scap. 2.*

³ *Cum super imperatorem non sit nisi solus Deus qui fecit imperatorem. Opt. lib. 3.*

⁴ —dum se Donatus super imperatorem extollit, jam quasi hominum excesserat modum, ut se ut Deum, non hominem, æstimaret. *Id. Ibid.*

⁵ *Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφή καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστὶν ἀπάντων. Chrys. ἀνδρ. 2. p. 463.*

Κὰν Ἀπόστολος ἦς, κὰν Εὐαγγελιστῆς, κὰν Προφῆτης, κὰν ὁστισοῦν, &c. Chrys. in Rom. 13. 1.

Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ὑβρισθεὶς ὁμότιμόν τινα ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, βασιλεὺς γάρ.—Chrys. suprà. “ For he that is thus wronged has not his equal upon earth, for he is king,” &c.

⁶ *Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις εὐκλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις διαφοραῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων ἀνεστηχὸς καὶ ὑπερκείμενον, ὑμεῖς, ὧ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς, καὶ κληρὸς ὑμῖν ἐξαίρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ Θεοῦ τῆς ἐνοῦσης αὐτῷ κατὰ πάντων ὑπεροχῆς. Cyril. ad Theod. in Conc. Eph. part. i. cap. 3. p. 20.*

⁷ *P. Greg. M. Ep. 2. 62.*

Quia Sereniss. Domine ex illo jam tempore Dominus meus fuisti, quando adhuc Dominus omnium non eras—Ego quidem jussioni subjectus—. Ibid.

Ad

great absurdity and arrogance; and even Pope Gregory II. does call that emperor (against whom he afterwards rebelled) “the head of Christians¹.” Whereas, indeed, if the Pope be monarch of the Church, endowed with the regalities which they now ascribe to him, it is plain enough that he is not inferior to any man living in real power and dignity. Wherefore the modern doctors of Rome are far more sincere or considerate in their heraldry, than were those old Fathers of Christendom; who now stick not downrightly to prefer the Pope before all princes of the world, not only in doctrine and notion, but in the sacred offices of the Church; for in the very canon of their mass, the Pope (together with the bishop of the diocese, one of his ministers) is set before all Christian princes; every Christian subject being thereby taught to deem the Pope superior to his prince². Now we must believe (for one Pope has written it, another has put it in his decretals, and it is current law) that the Papal authority does no less surpass the royal, than the sun does outshine the moon³.

Now it is abundantly declared by Papal definition, as a point necessary to salvation, that every human creature (neither king nor Cæsar excepted) is subject to the Roman High Priest⁴.

Now the mystery is discovered why Popes, when summoned by emperors, declined to go in person to general synods; because it was not tolerable that the emperor (who sometime would be

Ad hoc enim potestas Dominorum meorum pietati cœlitus data est super omnes homines, &c. *Ibid.* Ego indignus famulus vester. *Ibid.*

Qui honori quoque imperii vestri se per privatum vocabulum superponit. *P. Greg. I. Ep. 4. 32.*

¹ Ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. *P. Greg. II. in Epist. 1. ad Leon. Isaur. apud Bin. Tom. v. p. 502.* As king and head of Christians.

² —unà cum famulo tuo Papâ Nostro N. et Antistite nostro N. et Rege nostro N. et omnibus Orthodoxis, &c.

“Together with thy servant our Pope N. and our Bishop N. and our King N. and all orthodox,” &c.

³ Fiat autem oratio pro dignitate regiâ post orationem factam pro Papâ, quia potestas suprema sacerdotalis excedit regiam antiquitate, dignitate, et utilitate, &c. *Gab. Biel in Can. mis.*

“Let prayer be made for the king after prayer made for the Pope, because the supreme sacerdotal power exceeds the kingly in antiquity, dignity, and utility,” &c.

⁴ Subesse Romano Pontifici, omni humanæ creaturæ declaramus, dicimus, definimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis. *P. Bonif. VIII. in Extrav. com. lib. i. tit. 38.*

present in synods) should sit above the Pope¹; as in the pride of his heart he might perhaps offer to do. (I cannot forbear to note what an ill conceit Bellarmine had of Pope Leo I. and other Popes, that they did forbear coming at synods out of this villanous pride and haughtiness.)

15. One would admire that Constantine, if he had smelt this doctrine, or any thing like it in Christianity, should be so ready to embrace it; or that so many emperors should in those times do so; some princes then probably being jealous of their honour, and unwilling to admit any superior to them.

It is at least much, that emperors should with so much indulgence foster and cherish Popes, being their so dangerous rivals for dignity; and that it should be true, which Pope Nicholas does affirm; that “the emperors had extolled the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits²,” had done I know not how many things more for it: surely they were bewitched thus to advance their concurrent competitor for honour and power; one who pretended to be a better man than themselves. Bellarmine (in his Apology against King James) says, that “the Pope was (*vellet nollet*) constrained to be subject to the emperors, because his power was not known to them³.” It was well it was not: but how could it be concealed from them, if it were a doctrine commonly avowed by Christians? it is hard keeping so practical a doctrine from breaking forth into light. But to leave this consideration:

Furthermore, we have divers ancient writings, the special nature, matter, scope whereof did require, or greatly invite giving attestation to this power, if such a one had been known and allowed in those times; which yet do afford no countenance, but rather much prejudice thereto.

16. The Apostolical Canons, and the Constitutions of Clement, which describe the state of the Church, with its laws, customs,

¹ At quamvis utcunque tolerabile sit ut principes, seculares in concilio sedeant ante alios Episcopos, tamen nullo modo convenit, ut ante ipsum summum Pontificem, &c. *Bell. de Conc.* i. 19.

² Quapropter attendat clementia vestra, quantus fuerit erga sedis apostolicæ reverentiam antecessorum vestrorum, piorum duntaxat imperatorum—amor, et studium; qualiter eam diversis privilegiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint; qualiter eam literis suis honoraverint, ejus votis annuerint, &c. *P. Nich. I. Ep. 8. ad Mich. Imp.*

³ *Apol. Bell.* p. 202.

and practices current in the times of those who compiled them¹ (which times are not certain, but ancient, and the less ancient the more it is to our purpose) wherein especially the ranks, duties, and privileges of all ecclesiastical persons are declared or prescribed, do not yet touch the prerogatives of this universal head, or the special respects due to him, nor mention any laws or constitutions framed by him: which is no less strange, than that there should be a body of laws, or description of the state of any kingdom, wherein nothing should be said concerning the king, or the royal authority. It is not so in our modern canon-law, wherein the Pope does make *utramque paginam*; we read little beside his authority, and decrees made by it.

* * * * *

27. It is matter of amazement, if the Pope were such as they would have him to be, that in so many bulky volumes of the ancient Fathers, living through many ages after Christ, in those vast treasuries of learning and knowledge, wherein all sorts of truth are displayed, all sorts of duty are pressed; this momentous point of doctrine and practice should nowhere be expressed in clear and peremptory terms; (I speak so, for that by wresting words, by impertinent application, by straining consequences, the most ridiculous positions imaginable may be deduced from their writings.)

It is strange that somewhere or other, at least incidentally, in their commentaries upon the Scripture, wherein many places concerning the Church and its hierarchy do invite to speak of the Pope; in their treatises about the priesthood, about the unity and peace of the Church, about heresy and schism; in their epistles concerning ecclesiastical affairs; in their historical narrations about occurrences in the Church, in their concertations with heterodox adversaries, they should not frequently touch it, they should not sometimes largely dwell upon it.

Is it not marvellous, that Origen, St. Hilary, St. Cyril, St. Chrysostome, St. Hierome, St. Austin, in their commentaries and tractates upon those places of Scripture "*Tu es Petrus*," "*Pasce oves*," whereon they now build the papal authority, should be so dull and drowsy as not to say a word concerning the Pope?

That St. Austin, in his so many elaborate tractates against the Donatists, (wherein he discourses so prolixly about the Church,

¹ Const. Apost. viii. 4, &c.

its unity, communion, discipline) should never insist upon the duty of obedience to the Pope, or charge those schismatics with their rebellion against him, or allege his authority against them?

If we consider that the Pope was bishop of the imperial city, the metropolis of the world; that he thence was most eminent in rank, did abound in wealth, did live in great splendour and reputation; had many dependencies, and great opportunities to gratify and relieve many of the clergy; that of the fathers, whose volumes we have, all well affected towards him, divers were personally obliged to him, for his support in their distress (as Athanasius, Chrysostom, Theodoret,) or as to their patrons and benefactors (as St. Hierome): divers could not but highly respect him as patron of the cause wherein they were engaged (as Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Hilary, Gregory Nyssene, Ambrose, Austin): some were his partizans in a common quarrel (as Cyril): divers of them lived in places, and times wherein he had got much sway, (as all the western bishops): that he had then improved his authority much beyond the old limits: that all the bishops of the western or Latin Churches had a peculiar dependence on him (especially after that by advantage of his station, by favour of the court, by colour of the Sardican canons, by voluntary deferences and submissions, by several tricks, he had wound himself to meddle in most of their chief affairs¹): that hence divers bishops were tempted to admire, to court, to flatter him; that divers aspiring Popes were apt to encourage the commendations of their authority, which they themselves were apt to magnify and inculcate; considering, I say, such things, it is a wonder, that in so many voluminous discourses, so little should be said favouring this pretence, so nothing that proves it; [so much that crosses it, so much indeed (as I hope to show) that quite overthrows it.]

If it be asked, how we can prove this; I answer, that (beside who carefully peruses those old books, will easily see it) we are beholden to our adversaries for proving it to us, when they least intended us such a favour; for that no clear and cogent passages for proof of this pretence can be thence fetched, is sufficiently evident from the very allegations, which after their most diligent

¹ Τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκοπῆς ὁμοίως τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. *Soer.* vii. 11.

“The bishopric of Rome is like to that of Alexandria, having now long ago arrived to that height of power above and beyond the priesthood.”

raking in old books they produce ; the which are so few, and fall so very short of their purpose, that without much stretching they signify nothing.

28. It is monstrous, that in the code of the Catholic Church, (consisting of the decrees of so many synods, concerning ecclesiastical order and discipline) there should not be one canon directly declaring his authority ; nor any mention made of him, except thrice accidentally ; once upon occasion of declaring the authority of the Alexandrine bishop, the other upon occasion of assigning to the bishop of Constantinople the “second place of honour,” and “equal privileges” with him ¹.

If it be objected, that these discourses are negative, and therefore of small force ; I answer, that therefore they are most proper to assert such a negative proposition ; for how can we otherwise better show a thing not to be, than by showing it to have no footstep there, where it is supposed to stand ? how can we more clearly argue a matter of right to want proof, than by declaring it not to be extant in the laws grounding such right ; not taught by the masters, who profess to instruct in such things ; not testified in records concerning the exercise of it ? Such arguments indeed in such cases are not merely negative, but rather privative ; proving things not to be, because not affirmed there, where in reason they ought to be affirmed ; standing therefore upon positive suppositions, that Holy Scripture, that general tradition are not imperfect and lame toward their design ; that ancient writers were competently intelligent, faithful, diligent ; that all of them could not conspire in perpetual silence about things, about which they had often fair occasion, and great reason to speak. In fine, such considerations, however they may be deluded by sophistical wits, will yet bear great sway, and often will amount near to the force of demonstration, with men of honest prudence. However, we shall proceed to other discourses more direct and positive against the Popish doctrine.

II. Secondly, we shall show that this pretence, upon several accounts, is contrary to the doctrine of holy Scripture.

1. This pretence does thwart the holy Scripture, by assigning to another the prerogatives and peculiar titles appropriated therein to our Lord.

The Scripture asserts Him to be our only sovereign lord and

¹ Conc. Nic. Can. 6. Conc. Const. Can. 2. Conc. Chalc. Can. 28.

king: "To us" (says it) "there is one Lord¹;" and, "One King shall be king over them²;" who "shall reign over the house of David for ever, and of his kingdom there shall be no end³;" who is "the only Potentate⁴;" "the King of kings and Lord of lords⁵;" "the One Lawgiver, who is able to save and to destroy⁶."

The Scripture speaks of one "Arch-Pastor, and great Shepherd of the Sheep⁷;" exclusively to any other. For "I will" (said God in the prophet) "set up one Shepherd over them, and he shall feed the sheep⁸:" and "There" (saith our Lord Himself) "shall be one fold, and one Shepherd⁹;" who that shall be He expresses, adding, "I am the good Shepherd; the good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep¹⁰," (by Pope Boniface's good leave, who makes St. Peter or himself this shepherd¹¹.)

The Scripture tells us that we have "one High Priest of our profession¹²," answerable to that one in the Jewish Church, his type.

The Scripture informs us, that there is but one Supreme Doctor, Guide, father of Christians, prohibiting us to acknowledge any other for such; "Ye are all brethren; and call ye not any one father upon earth; for one is your Father, even he that is in heaven; neither be ye called masters, for one is your Master, even Christ¹³." Good Pope Gregory (not the seventh of that name) did take this for a good argument; for "What therefore, dearest brother," (said he to John of Constantinople,) "wilt thou say in that terrible trial of the Judge who is coming; who dost affect to be called not only father, but general father in the world¹⁴?"

The Scripture represents the Church as "a building whereof Christ Himself is the chief corner stone¹⁵;" as a family, whereof He being the *Pater familias*¹⁶, all others are fellow-servants; as

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6. 12. 5.

² Eph. iv. 5.

³ Ezek. xxxvii. 22.

⁴ Luke i. 33.

⁵ 1 Tim. vi. 15.

⁶ James iv. 12.

⁷ 1 Pet. v. 4. ii. 25.

⁸ Heb. xiii. 20.

⁹ Ezek. xxxiv. 23.

¹⁰ John x. 16. xi. 14.

¹¹ Extrav. Com. lib. i. tit. 8. cap. 1.

¹² Heb. iii. 1. ix. 7. 24.

¹³ Matt. xxiii. 8, 9.

¹⁴ Quid ergò frater charissime, in illo terribili examine venientis judicis dicturus es, qui non solùm pater, sed etiam generalis pater in mundo vocari appetis? *Greg. M. Epist. iv. 38.*

¹⁵ Eph. ii. 20. 1 Pet. ii. 4.

¹⁶ Heb. iii. 6. Matt. x. 25.

“one body¹,” having “one head²,” whom “God has given to be the head over all things to the Church, which is his body³.”

He is the One Spouse of the Church⁴; which title one would think he might leave peculiar to our Lord; there being no vice-husbands⁵; yet has he been bold even to claim that; as may be seen in the Constitutions of Pope Gregory X. in one of their general synods.

It seems therefore a sacrilegious arrogance (derogating from our Lord's honour) for any man to assume or admit those titles of “sovereign of the Church, head of the Church, our lord, arch-pastor, highest priest, chief doctor, master, father, judge of Christians⁶,” upon what pretence, or under what distinction soever: these “pompatic, foolish, proud, perverse, wicked, profane words;” these “names of singularity, elation, vanity, blasphemy⁷,” (to borrow the epithets, with which Pope Gregory I. does brand the titles of Universal Bishop and Œcumenical Patriarch, no less modest in sound, and far more innocent in meaning, than those now ascribed to the Pope) are therefore to be rejected, not only because they are injurious to all other pastors, and to the people of God's heritage; but because they do encroach upon our only Lord; to whom they do only belong;—much more to usurp the things, which they do naturally signify, is a horrible invasion upon our Lord's prerogative.

III. Farther, because our adversaries do little regard any allegation of Scripture against them, (pretending themselves to be the only masters of its sense or of common sense, judges and interpreters of them) we do allege against them, that this pretence does also cross tradition, and the common doctrine of the Fathers. For,

1. Common usage and practice is a good interpreter of right; and that sheweth no such right was known in the primitive Church——

2. Indeed the state of the primitive Church did not admit it.

3. The Fathers did suppose no order in the Church by original

¹ Eph. iv. 4. ii. 16. Rom xii. 5.

² 1 Cor. xii. 13. Eph. i. 22. iv. 15. v. 23.

³ Col. i. 18. Hosea i. 11. One head.

⁴ John iii. 29. Eph. v. 23. 2 Cor. xi. 2. *ἐνὶ ἀνδρί.*

⁵ Sext. Decret. lib. i. tit. 6. cap. 3.

⁶ Baron. A. 34. § 208.

⁷ Vid. Greg. I. Epist. lib. iv. Ep. xxxii. 34. 36. 38, 39. lib. 6. Ep. xxiv. 24. 28. 30, 31. lib. 7. Ep. lxx.

right or divine institution superior to that of a bishop ; whence they commonly did style a bishop the highest priest, and episcopacy the top of ecclesiastical orders ¹.

“ The chief priest,” (saith Tertullian,) “ that is the bishop, hath the right of giving baptism ².”

“ Although ” (says St. Ambrose) “ the presbyters also do it, yet the beginning of the ministry is from the highest priest ³.”

Optatus calls bishops “ the tops and princes of all ⁴.”

“ The divine order of bishops ” (says Dionysius) “ is the first of divine orders ; the same being also the extreme and last of them ; for into it all the frame of our hierarchy is resolved and accomplished ⁵.”

This language is common even among Popes themselves, complying with the speech then current ; for, “ presbyters ” (says Pope Innocent I.) “ although they are priests, yet have they not the top of high priesthood ⁶.”

“ No man ” (says P. Zosimus I.) “ against the precepts of the Fathers should presume to aspire to the highest priesthood of the Church ⁷.”

¹ Ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου διδασθέντες ἀκολουθίαν πραγμάτων τοῖς μὲν Ἐπισκόποις τὰ τῆς ἀρχιερωσύνης ἐνείμαμεν, &c. Const. Apost. viii. 46.

² Dandi quidem jus habet summus sacerdos, qui est episcopus. *Tertull.* de Bapt. c. 17.

³ Licet enim et presbyteri faciant, tamen exordium ministerii est à summo sacerdote. *Amb.* de Sac. iii. 1. Suscepisti gubernacula summi sacerdotii. *Id.* Ep. 5.

⁴ Apices et principes omnium sacerdotes. *Opt.* i. Ecclesiæ salus in summi sacerdotis dignitate pendet. *Hier.* c. Lucif. iv. “ The safety of the Church depends upon the dignity of the high priest.”

Ego dignus summo sacerdotio decernebar. *Id.* Ep. 99. (ad Asell.)

In episcopo omnes ordines sunt, quia primus sacerdos est, hoc est princeps sacerdotum, et propheta et evangelista, et cætera adimplenda officia Ecclesiæ in ministerio fidelium. *Ambros.* in Eph. iv. 11.

“ In the bishop there are all orders, because he is the first priest, (*i. e.*) the prince of priests, and prophet and evangelist, and all other offices of the Church, to be fulfilled in the ministry of the faithful.”

⁵ Ἡ θεία τῶν ἱεραρχῶν τάξις, &c. supr. Pontifex princeps sacerdotum est, quasi via sequentium ; ipse et summus sacerdos, ipse et pontifex maximus nuncupatur. *Isid. Hisp.* apud Grat. dist. 21. cap. 1.

⁶ Nam presbyteri, licet sint sacerdotes, pontificatus tamen apicem non habent. *P. Innoc.* I. Ep. i. (ad Decent.) — dum facile imponuntur manus, dum negligerent summus sacerdos eligitur. *Id.* Ep. xii. (ad Aurel.)

⁷ Ne quis contra patrum præcepta — ad summum Ecclesiæ sacerdotium aspirare præsumeret. *P. Zos.* I. Ep. i. (ad Hesych.)

“It is decreed” (says Pope Leo I.) “that the Chorepiscopi, or presbyters, who figure the sons of Aaron, shall not presume to snatch that which the princes of the priests (whom Moses and Aaron did typify) are commanded to do ¹.” (Note by the way, that seeing according to this Pope’s mind (after St. Hierome) Moses and Aaron did in the Jewish policy represent bishops, there was none there to prefigure the Pope.)

In those days the Bishop of Nazianzum ² (a petty town in Capadocia) was a high priest (so Gregory calls his father). And the bishop of a poor city in Africa is styled “sovereign pontiff of Christ ³,” “most blessed father, most blessed Pope ⁴; and the very Roman clergy does call St. Cyprian, “most blessed and glorious Pope ⁵,” which titles the Pope does now so charily reserve and appropriate to himself.

But innumerable instances of this kind might be produced.

¹ Ideòque id quod tantum facere principibus sacerdotum jussum est, quorum typum Moses et Aaron tenuerunt, omnino decretum est, ut chorepiscopi vel presbyteri qui filiorum Aaron gestant figuram, arripere non præsumant. *P. Leo*, Ep. 88. Pontificatus apicem non habent. *Ibid.* Vid. Ep. 84. cap. 5.

S. Hier. ad Evagr. Ut sciamus traditiones apostolicas sumptas de Veteri Testamento, quod Aaron et filii ejus atque Levitæ in templo fuerunt, hoc sibi episcopi, presbyteri et diaconi vendicant in Ecclesiâ. Or. 19. p. 309.

² A bishop called ἀρχιεπίς. *Apost. Const.* viii. 10. 12.

³ Summus Christi Pontifex Augustinus. (*Paulin.* apud *Aug.* Ep. 36.) *Aug.* Ep. 35.

⁴ Beatissimo Papæ Augustino. *Hieron.* (*Aug.* Ep. 11. 13, 14, &c.)

⁵ Optamus te beatissime et gloriosissime Papa in Domino semper valere. *Ep.* 31.

VII.

ARGUMENTS AGAINST THE POPE'S CLAIM OF SUPREMACY,

FROM THE NATURE AND REASON OF THINGS; AND FROM
THE EVILS WHICH IT HAS PRODUCED ^a.

CONTENTS.

- I. It is injurious to the good government of the Church.
 - II. To its just freedom and liberties.
 - III. To the truth of its doctrines.
 - IV. To the reformation of false doctrines.
 - V. To good morals.
 - VI. To the reformation of corruptions in morals.
 - VII. To the Pope's own conduct and character.
 - VIII. To the stability and liberty of civil governments.
 - IX. It tends to alienate men from Christianity.
 - X. Introduces into other countries a foreign and unfriendly jurisdiction.
 - XI. It is not useful, but hurtful, to the ends proposed by it.
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THIS pretence of an universal supremacy and jurisdiction in the Pope of Rome over the Christian Church, may be impugned by many arguments springing from the nature and reason of things abstractedly considered; according to which the exercise of such an authority may appear unpracticable without much iniquity and great inconvenience, in prejudice to the rights of Christian states and people, to the interests of religion and piety, to the peace and welfare of mankind;—whence it is to be rejected as a pest of Christendom.

^a From Dr. *Isaac Barrow's* Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, Works, vol. vi. p. 218—49.

1. Whereas all the world in design and obligation is Christian ; (the “ utmost parts of the earth ” being granted “ in possession ” to our Lord ; and his gospel extending to “ every creature under heaven ¹ ; ”) and may in effect become such when God pleases, by acceptance of the gospel ; whereas it may easily happen that the most distant places on the earth may embrace Christianity ; whereas really Christian Churches have been and are dispersed all about the world ;—it is thence hugely incommodious that all the Church should depend upon an authority resident in one place, and to be managed by one person : the Church being such, is too immense, boundless, uncircumscribed, unwieldy a bulk to be guided by the inspection, or managed by the influence of one such authority or person.

If the whole world were reduced under the government of one civil monarch, it would necessarily be ill governed, as to policy, to justice, to peace. The skirts or remoter parts from the metropolis or centre of the government would extremely suffer thereby ; for they would feel little light or warmth from majesty shining at such a distance. They would live under small awe of that power which was so far out of sight : they must have very difficult recourse to it for redress of grievances, and relief of oppressions ; for final decision of causes and composure of differences ; for correction of offences, and dispensation of justice, upon good information, with tolerable expedition. It would be hard to preserve peace or quell seditions, and suppress insurrections that might arise in distant quarters.

What man could obtain the knowledge or experience needful skilfully and justly to give laws, or administer judgment to so many nations different in humour, in language, in customs ? What mind of man, what industry, what leisure could serve to sustain the burthen of that care which is needful to the wielding such an office ? How and when should one man be able to receive all the addresses, to weigh all the cases, to make all the resolutions and dispatches requisite for such a charge ² ? If the burthen of one small kingdom be so great that wise and good princes do groan under its weight, what must that be of all mankind ? To such an extent of government there must be allowed a Majesty, and Power correspondent, the which cannot be committed to one

¹ Psalm ii. 8. Col. i. 23. Luke xxiv. 47. Matt. xxviii. 19.

² Cum tot sustineas, et tanta negotia, solus, &c. Hor. Ep. ii. 1.

hand, without its degeneration into extreme tyranny. The words of Zosimus to this purpose are observable; who says, that the Romans, by admitting Augustus Cæsar to the government, did so very perilously; for, “If he should choose to manage the government rightly and justly, he would not be capable of applying himself to all things as were fit; not being able to succour those who do lie at greatest distance; nor could he find so many magistrates as would not be ashamed to defeat the opinion conceived of them; nor could he suit them to the differences of so many manners. Or, if transgressing the bounds of royalty, he should warp to tyranny, disturbing the magistracies, overlooking misdemeanours, bartering right for money, holding the subjects for slaves (such as most emperors, or rather near all have been, few excepted), then it is quite necessary that the brutish authority of the prince should be a public calamity, for then flatterers being by him dignified with gifts and honours do invade the greatest commands; and those who are modest and quiet, not affecting the same life with them, are consequently displeased, not enjoying the same advantages; so that from hence cities are filled with seditions and troubles. And the civil and military employments being delivered up to avaricious persons, do both render a peaceable life sad and grievous to men of better disposition, and do enfeeble the resolution of soldiers in war¹.”

Hence St. Austin was of opinion, that “it were happy for mankind, if all kingdoms were small, enjoying a peaceful neighbourhood².”

It is commonly observed by historians, that “Rome growing in bigness did labour therewith³,” and was not able to support

¹ Εἴτε γὰρ ὀρθῶς, &c. . *Zos. Hist. 1. (p. 4. Steph.)*

² Felicioribus sic rebus humanis, omnia regna parva essent, concordi vicinitate lætantia. *Aug. de Civ. D. 4. 15.* Ἔστι τι καὶ πόλεσι μεγέθους μέτρον, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων, ζώων, φυτῶν, ὀργάνων· καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἕκαστον οὔτε λίαν μικρόν, οὔτε κατὰ μέγεθος ὑπερβάλλον ἔξει τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. *Arist. Pol. 7. 4.*

“There is a certain measure of greatness fit for cities and commonwealths, as well as for all other things, living creatures, plants, instruments, for every one of these has its proper virtue and faculty, when it is neither very little, nor yet exceeds in bigness.”

Τίς γὰρ στρατηγὸς ἔσται τοῦ λίαν ὑπερβάλλοντος πλήθους, ἢ τίς κήρυξ μὴ στεντόρειος; *Ibid.*

“For who would be a captain of an excessive huge multitude, &c.”

³ Suis et ipsa Roma viribus ruit. *Hor. Epod. 16.*

itself; many distempers and disorders springing up in so vast a body, which did throw it into continual pangs, and at length did bring it to ruin; for “Then,” says St. Austin concerning the times of Pompey, “Rome had subdued Africa, it had subdued Greece; and widely also ruling over other parts, as not able to bear itself, did in a manner by its own greatness break itself¹.”

Hence that wise prince Augustus Cæsar did himself forbear to enlarge the Roman dominion, and did in his testament advise the senate to do the like².

To the like inconveniences (and much greater in its kind, temporal things being more easily ordered than spiritual, and having secular authority, great advantages of power and wealth to aid itself) must the Church be obnoxious, if it were subjected to the government of one sovereign, unto whom the maintenance of faith, the protection of discipline, the determination of controversies, the revision of judgments, the discussion and final decision of causes upon appeal, the suppression of disorders and factions, the inspection over all governors, the correction of misdemeanours, the constitution, relaxation, and abolition of laws, the resolution of all matters concerning religion and the public state, in all countries must be referred.

Τίς πρὸς ταῦτα ἱκανός; what shoulders can bear such a charge without perpetual miracle? (and yet we do not find that the Pope has any promise of miraculous assistance, nor in his demeanour

—quæ ab exiguis initiis creverit, ut jam magnitudine laboret suâ. *Liv.* 1.

Ac nescio an satius fuerit populo Romano Siciliâ et Africâ contentos fuisse, aut his etiam ipsis carere dominanti in Italiâ suâ, quam eò magnitudinis crescere, ut viribus suis conficeretur. *Flor.* iii. 12.

¹ Tunc jam Roma subjugaverat Africam, subjugaverat Græciam, latèque etiam aliis partibus imperans tanquam seipsam ferre non valens, se suâ quodammodo magnitudine fregerat. *Aug. de Civ. D.* xviii. 45. *Tac. Hist.* 2. p. 476.

² Γνώμην τε αὐτοῖς ἔδωκε τοῖς τε παροῦσιν ἀρκεσθῆναι, καὶ μηδαμῶς ἐπὶ τὸ πλεῖον τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπauξῆσαι ἡθελῆσαι· δυσφύλακτόν τε γάρ αὐτὴν ἔσεσθαι ἔφη· τοῦτο γάρ καὶ αὐτὸς ὄντως αἰεὶ ποτε οὐ λόγῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔργῳ ἐτήρησε. παρὸν γοῦν αὐτῷ πολλὰ ἐκ τοῦ βαρβαρικοῦ προσκλήσασθαι, οὐκ ἠθέλησε. *Dion.* lib. 56. *Tac. Ann.* 1.

“He advised them to be content with what they had, and by no means to endeavour the enlargement of their empire; for, said he, it will be hardly kept: and this he himself observed not in word only, but in deed; for when he might have gotten more from the barbarous nations, yet he would not.”

Ipsa nocet moles, utinam remeare liceret Ad veteres fines, et mœnia pauperis Anci, &c. *Claud.* de bello Gildon.

does appear any mark thereof :) what mind would not the care of so many affairs utterly distract and overwhelm? who could find time to cast a glance on each of so numberless particulars? what sagacity of wit, what variety of learning, what penetrancy of judgment, what strength of memory, what indefatigable vigour of industry, what abundance of experience would suffice for enabling one man to weigh exactly all the controversies of faith, and cases of discipline perpetually starting up in so many regions ¹?

What reach of skill and ability would serve for accommodation of laws to the different humours and fashions of so many nations? Shall a decrepit old man in the decay of his age, parts, vigour, (such as Popes usually are ^a) undertake this? May we not say to him, as Jethro did to Moses, *Ultra vires tuas est negotium*. "The thing thou doest is not good; thou wilt surely wear away, both thou and this people that is with thee; for this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thyself alone ²."

If the care of a small diocese has made the most able and industrious bishops (who had a conscience and sense of their duty) to groan under its weight, how insupportable must such a charge be?

The care of his own particular Church, if he would act the part of a bishop indeed, would sufficiently take up the Pope; especially in some times; whenas Pope Alexander says,—*Ut intestina nostræ specialis Ecclesiæ negotia vix possemus ventilare, nedum longinqua ad plenum extricare* ³.

If it be said that St. Paul testifies of himself that he had "a care of all the churches ⁴" incumbent on him, I answer, that he (and other apostles had the like) questionless had a pious solicitude for the welfare of all Christians, especially of the Churches which he had founded, being vigilant for occasions to edify them; but what is this to bearing the charge of a standing government over all Churches diffused through the world? That care of a few Churches *then* was burthensome to him, what is the charge of so many *now*, to one seldom endowed with such apostolical graces and gifts as St. Paul was?

¹ The Synod of Basil does well describe the duty of a Pope, but it is infinitely hard to practise it in any measure. (Conc. Pas. Sess. 23. p. 64, &c.)

^a See *Sir Edwyn Sandys*, above, p. 75.

² Exod. xviii. 18.

³ *P. Alex. II.* (Epist. ad Ger. Rhem.) Bin. p. 284.

⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 28.

How weak must the influence of such an authority be upon the circumferential parts of its œcumenical sphere?

How must the outward branches of the Churches faint and fade for want of sap from the root of discipline, which must be conveyed through so many obstructions to such a distance?

How discomposed must things be in each country, for want of seasonable resolution, hanging in suspense, till information do travel to Rome, and determination come back thence¹?

How difficult, how impossible will it be for him there to receive faithful information, or competent testimony, whereupon to ground just decisions of causes?

How will it be in the power thence of any malicious and cunning person to raise trouble against innocent persons? for any like person to decline the due correction laid on him? by transferring the cause from home to such a distance?

How much cost, how much trouble, how much hazard must parties concerned be at to fetch light and justice thence?

Put case a heresy, a schism, a doubt or debate of great moment should arise in China, how should the gentleman in Italy proceed to confute that heresy, to quash that schism, to satisfy that doubt, to determine that cause? how long must it be ere he can have notice thereof? to how many cross accidents of weather and way must the transmitting of information be subject? how difficult will it prove to get a clear and sure knowledge concerning the state of things?

How hard will it be to get the opposite parties to appear, so as to confront testimonies, and probations requisite to a fair and just decision? how shall witnesses of infirm sex or age ramble so far? how easily will some of them prepossess and abuse him with false suggestions, and misrepresentations of the case? how slippery therefore will the result be, and how prone he to award a wrongful sentence²?

¹ Tanta me occupationum onera deprimunt, ut ad superna animus nullatenus erigatur, &c. *Greg.* I. lib. 1. Ep. 7. 25. 5.

“Such a weight of employments presses me down, that my mind can by no means be raised to things above.”

Si administratio illius temporis mare fuit, quid de præsentī Papatu dicendum erit? *Calv.* Inst. iv. c. 7. 22.

“If the ordering of affairs in those times was a boundless sea, what shall we say of the present Papacy?”

² Nunquid mirandum est de tam longinquis terris Episcopos tuos tibi narrare impune quod volunt? *Aug.* contra Crescon. 3. 34.

What

How tedious, how expensive, how troublesome, how vexatious, how hazardous must this course be to all parties? Certainly causes must needs proceed slowly, and depend long; and in the end the resolution of them must be very uncertain¹.

What temptation will it be for any one (how justly soever corrected by his immediate superiors) to complain; hoping thereby to escape, to disguise the truth, &c. Who being condemned will not appeal to one at a distance, hoping by false suggestions to delude him?

This necessarily will destroy all discipline, and induce impunity, or frustration of justice².

Certainly much more convenient and equal it should be, that there should be near at hand a sovereign power, fully capable expeditely and seasonably to compose differences, to decide causes, to resolve doubts, to settle things, without more stir and trouble.

Very equal it is, that laws should rather be framed, interpreted, and executed in every country, with accommodation to the tempers of the people, to the circumstances of things, to the civil state there, by persons acquainted with those particulars, than by strangers ignorant of them, and apt to mistake about them.

How often will the Pope be imposed upon, as he was in the case of Basilides, of whom St. Cyprian says, "going to Rome he deceived our colleague Stephen, being placed at distance, and ignorant of the fact, and concealed truth, aspiring to be unjustly restored to the bishoprick, from which he was justly removed³."

As he was in the case of Marcellus, who gulled Pope Julius by fair professions, as St. Basil does often complain⁴.

As he was in aiding that versatile and troublesome bishop, Eustathius of Sebastia, to the recovery of his bishoprick⁵.

As he was in rejecting the man of God, and most admirable

"What marvel if the bishops from so remote countries tell you what they please without check or control?"

¹ De lungas vias luengas mentiras. *Hispan. Prov. Syn. Basil. Sess. 31.* p. 86.

² Vid. *Bernard. Ep. 178. de Consid.*

³ Romam pergens Stephanum Collegam nostrum longè positum, et gestæ rei, ac tacitæ veritatis ignarum fefellit; ut exambiret reponi se injustè in Episcopatum, de quo fuerat justè depositus. *Cypr. Ep. 67.*

⁴ Ἐκεῖνα ποιοῦσι νῦν, ἃ πρότερον ἐπὶ Μαρκέλλῳ πρὸς μὲν τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτοῖς ἀπαγγέλλοντας φιλονεικῆσαντες, &c. *Basil. Ep. 10.*

⁵ *Basil. Ep. 73, 74.*

bishop, Meletius¹; and admitting scandalous reports about him, which the same saint does often resent; blaming sometimes the fallacious misinformation, sometimes the wilful presumption, negligence, pride of the Roman Church, in the case².

As he was in the case of Pelagius and Celestius, who did cajole Pope Zosimus to acquit them, to condemn Eros and Lazarus their accusers, to reprove the African bishops for prosecuting them³.

How many proceedings should we have like to that of Pope Zosimus I. concerning that scandalous priest, Apiarius; whom being for grievous crimes excommunicated by his bishop, that Pope did admit to communion, and undertake to patronize; but was baffled in his enterprise⁴.

This has been the sense of the Fathers, in the case.

St. Cyprian therefore says, that “seeing it was a general statute among the bishops, and that it was both equal and just, that every one’s cause should be heard there, where the crime was committed; and that each pastor had a portion of the flock allotted to him, which he should rule and govern, being to render unto the Lord an account of his doing⁵.”

St. Chrysostome thought it “improper that one out of Egypt

¹ Τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τοῦ Θεοῦ Μελετίου—τὸν θανασιώτατον ἐπίσκοπον τῆς ἀλθρινῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ Ἐκκλησίας Μελέτιον.—*Bas. Ep.* 349.

² Οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀγνοοῦσι παντελῶς τὰ ἐνταῦθα· οἱ δὲ καὶ δοκοῦντες εἶδέναι φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον αὐτοῖς ἐξηγοῦνται. *Ibid.*

“Some are altogether ignorant of what is here done, others that think they know them declare them unto us more contentiously than truly.”

Ἐλύπει ἡμᾶς λέγων τοῖς Ἀρειομανίταις συγκαταριθμεῖσθαι τοὺς θεοφιλεστάτους ἀδελφούς ἡμῶν Μελέτιον καὶ Εὐσέβιον. *Epist.* 321. ad Pet. Alex.

“He grieved us when he said that our godly brethren, Meletius and Eusebius, were reckoned among the Arians.”

³ Ποία βοήθεια ἡμῖν τῆς δυτικῆς ὁφρύος, οὐ τόγε ἀληθές οὔτε ἴσασιν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἀνέχονται; *Bas. Ep.* 10.

“What help can we have from the pride of the Africans, who neither know the truth, nor endure to learn it?”

P. Zos. I. Ep. 3 et 4.

⁴ Deinde quòd inter tantam hominum multitudinem adeò pauci sunt Episcopi, et amplæ singulorum parochiæ, ut in subjectis plebibus curam Episcopalis officii nullatenus exequi, aut ritè administrare valeant. *P. Greg. VII. Ep.* 2. 73.

“And then because in so great a multitude of people there are so few bishops, and every one’s diocese very large, that they are in nowise able to execute or rightly perform the charge of the episcopal office among the people over whom they are set.”

⁵ *Cypr. Ep.* 55. (*p.* 116.)

should administer justice to persons in Thrace¹:" (and why not as well as one out of Italy?)

The African synod thought "the Nicene fathers had provided most prudently and most justly, that all affairs should be finally determined there where they did arise²."

They thought "a transmarine judgment could not be firm, because the necessary persons for testimony, for the infirmity of sex or age, or for many other infirmities, could not be brought thither³."

Pope Leo himself saw how dilatory this course would be; and that "longinquity of region doth cause the examination of truth to become over dilatory⁴."

Pope Liberius for such reasons did request Constantius, that Athanasius's cause should be tried at Alexandria; where—"he" (says he) "that is accused, and the accusers are, and the defender of them, and so we may upon examination had agree in our sentence about them⁵."

Therefore divers ancient canons of synods did prohibit, that any causes should be removed out of the bounds of provinces, or dioceses⁶; as elsewhere we show^a.

¹ Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀκόλουθον ἦν τὸν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοῖς ἐν Θράκῃ δικάζειν. *Chrys. Ep.* 102. (ad P. Innoc. I.)

Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο κρατήσῃ τὸ ἔθος, καὶ ἐξὸν γένοιτο τοῖς βουλομένοις εἰς ἀλλοτρίας ἀπέναντι παροικίας ἐκ τοσοῦτων διαστημάτων, καὶ ἐκβάλλειν οὓς ἂν ἐθέλοι τις, ὥστε ὅτι πάντα οἰχέσεται, &c.

"For if this custom prevail, and if they that will may go to other men's dioceses at so great a distance, and eject whom any man pleases, know that all will go to rack," &c.

² Decreta Nicæna sive inferioris gradus clericos, sive ipsos Episcopos suis metropolitanis apertissimè commiserunt; prudentissimè enim justissimèque viderunt (providerunt) quæcunque negotia in suis locis ubi orsa sunt, finienda. *Ep. Conc. Afric. ad P. Celest. I.* (in fine Cod. Afric.) vel apud *Dion. Exig.*

³ Aut quomodo ipsum transmarinum iudicium ratum erit, ad quod testium necessariæ personæ vel propter sexûs, vel propter senectutis infirmitatem, vel multis aliis impedimentis adduci non poterunt. *Ibid.*

⁴ Ne ergo (quod inter longinquas regiones accidere solet) in nimias dilationes tenderent veritatis examina——*P. Leo I. Ep. 34.*

⁵ Τότε ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀλεξανδρίαν οἱ πάντες ἀπαντήσαντες ἔνθα ὁ ἐγκαλούμενος καὶ οἱ ἐγκαλοῦντές εἰσι, καὶ ὁ ἀντιπαικνόμενος αὐτῶν, ἐξετάσαντες τὰ περὶ αὐτῶν συμπεριεχενῶμεν. *Theod. 2. 16.*

⁶ Inoleverunt autem hactenus intolerabilium vexationum abusus permulti, dum nimium frequenter à remotissimis etiam partibus ad Romanam curiam,

^a See Works, vol. vi. p. 366.

2. Such an authority, as this pretence claims, must necessarily (if not withheld by continual miracle) throw the Church into sad *bondage*¹. All the world must become slaves to one city, its wealth must be derived thither, its quiet must depend on it. For it (not being restrained within any bounds of place or time, having no check upon it of equal or co-ordinate power, standing upon divine institution, and therefore immutably settled) must of its own nature become absolute, and unlimited.

Let it be however of right limited by divine laws, or human canons, yet will it be continually encroaching, and stretching its power, until it grow enormous and boundless. It will not endure to be pinched by any restraint. It will draw to itself the collation of all preferments², &c.

It will assume all things to itself; trampling down all opposite claims of right and liberty; so that neither pastor nor people shall enjoy or do any thing otherwise than in dependence on it, and at its pleasure.

It will be always forging new prerogatives, and interpreting all things in favour of them, and enacting sanctions to establish them; which none must presume to contest³.

It will draw to itself the disposal of all places; the exaction of goods. All princes must become his ministers, and executors of his decrees⁴.

It will mount above all law and rule; not only challenging to be uncontrollable and unaccountable, but not enduring any re-

et interdum pro parvis et minutis rebus ac negotiis quamplurimi citari ac evocari consueverunt, etc. Vid. Conc. Bas. Sess. 31. (p. 86.)

“But hitherto very many intolerable vexatious abuses have prevailed, while too often men have been used to be cited and called out even from the remotest parts to the court of Rome, and sometimes for slight and trivial businesses and occasions.”

¹ Vid. Hist. Conc. Trid. p. 61. Privilegia istius sedis perpetua sunt, divinitus radicata, atque plantata, impingi possunt, transferri non possunt; trahi possunt, evelli non possunt. P. Nic. I. ad Mich. Imp.

“The privileges of this see are perpetual, rooted and founded upon divine authority, they may be dashed against, they cannot be removed, they may be drawn aside, they cannot be plucked up.”

² Vid. Concil. Bas. Sess. 31. p. 87.

³ Licet apostolica prerogativa possimus de quolibet Ecclesiâ clericum ordinare. P. Steph. apud Grat. caus. 9. qu. 3. cap. 20. “Though by our apostolical prerogative we may ordain a clergyman of any Church.”

⁴ Hist. Conc. Trid. P. 60. so they pretend. Concil. Later. 4. (sub Innoc. III.)

proof of its proceedings, or contradiction of its dictates; a blind faith must be yielded to all its assertions as infallibly true, and a blind obedience to all its decrees, as unquestionably holy; whosoever shall anywise cross it in word or deed, shall certainly be discountenanced, condemned, ejected from the Church; so that the most absolute tyranny that can be imagined, will ensue. All the world has groaned and heavily complained of their exactions, particularly our poor nation:—it would raise indignation in any man to read the complaints¹.

This is consequent on such a pretence, according to the very *nature of things*²;—and so in *experience* it has happened. For,

It is evident, that the Papacy has devoured all the privileges and rights of all orders in the Church, either granted by God, or established in the ancient canons³.

The royalties of Peter^a are become immense; and consistently to his practice the Pope does allow men to tell him to his face, that “all power in heaven and in earth is given unto him⁴.”

It belongeth to him “to judge of the whole Church⁵.”

He has a plenitude (as he calls it) of power, by which he can infringe any law, or do any thing that he pleases⁶.

It is the tenour of his bulls; that “whoever rashly dares to thwart his will, shall incur the indignation of Almighty God,

¹ Sitque alienus à divinis et pontificalibus officiis, qui noluit præceptis apostolicis obtemperare. *Greg. IV.* (dist. 19. cap. 5.) “And let him have nothing at all to do with divine and pontifical offices, who would not obey apostolical precepts.” *Vid. Mat. Paris.*

Oportet autem gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spiritali subjici potestati. *Bonif. VIII. Extrav. Com. i. 8.*

“But there must be a sword under a sword, and temporal authority subject to spiritual.”

² —chesia piu ufficio di Pontefici aggiurgere con l’armi, e col sorgue de Christiani, &c. *Guicc. lib. xi. p. 858.*

³ Quid hodiè erant episcopi, nisi umbra quædam? quid plus eis restabat quàm baculus et mitra, &c.? *An. Sylv. de gestis Syn. Bas. lib. i.*

“What were bishops now, but a kind of shadows? what had they left more than a staff and a mitre, &c.

^a See *Phelan’s*, &c. Digest. Part ii. chap. ii. p. 30—59.

⁴ Concil. Lat. 5. Sess. xi. p. 129.

⁵ De omni Ecclesiâ jus habet judicandi. *P. Gelas. Grat. Caus. 9. qu. 3. cap. 18.*

⁶ Secundum plenitudinem potestatis de jure possumus supra jus dispensare. *Greg. decret. lib. iii. tit. 8. cap. 4.*

and (as if that were not enough) of St. Peter and St. Paul also."

"No man must presume to tax his faults; or to judge of his judgment¹."

"It is idolatry to disobey his commands²," against their own sovereign Lord.

There are who dare in plain terms call him omnipotent, and who ascribe infinite power to him.—And that he is infallible, is the most common and plausible opinion; so that at Rome the contrary is erroneous, and within an inch of being heretical³.

We are now told, that "If the Pope should err by enjoining vices, or forbidding virtues, the Church should be bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues evil, unless it would sin against conscience⁴."

The greatest princes must stoop to his will; otherwise he has power to cashier, and depose them.

Now what greater inconvenience, what more horrible iniquity can there be, than that all God's people (that free people, who are called to freedom⁵,) should be subject to so intolerable a yoke, and miserable a slavery?

That tyranny soon had crept into the Roman Church, Socrates tells us⁶.

¹ *Hujus culpas isthic redarguere præsument mortalium nullus. Grat. dist. 40. cap. 6. (si Papa—). Neque cuiquam licere de ejus judicare judicio. Caus. 9. qu. 3. cap. 10.*

² *Cum enim obedire apostolicæ sedi superbè contemnunt, scelus idololatriæ, teste Samuele, incurrunt. Greg. VII. Ep. iv. 2.*

Nulli fas est vel velle, vel posse transgredi apostolicæ sedis præcepta. Greg. IV. apud Grat. dist. 19. cap. 5.

"No man may nor can transgress the commands of the apostolic see."

Ab omnibus quicquid statuit, quicquid ordinat, perpetuò et irrefragabiliter observandum est. Ibid. cap. 4. (P. Steph.)

"Whatever he decrees, whatever he ordains, must always and inviolably be observed by all."

³ *Erronea, et hæresi proxima. Bell. de P. iv. 2.*

⁴ *Si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur Ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare. Bell. de Pont. iv. 5.*

⁵ *Gal. v. 1. 13. 1 Pet. ii. 16.*

⁶ *Papa occupavit omnia jura inferiorum Ecclesiarum, ita quòd inferiores prælati sunt pro nihilo. Card. Zab. de Sch. Inn. VII. p. 560.*

"The Pope has invaded all the rights of inferior Churches, so that all inferior prelates are nothing set by."

They have rendered true that definition of Scioppius : “ The Church is a stall, or herd, or multitude of beasts, or asses ¹. ”

“ They bridle us, they harness us, they spur us, they lay yokes and laws upon us ². ”

“ The greatest tyranny that ever was invented in the world, is the pretence of infallibility ; for Dionysius and Phalaris did leave the mind free, (pretending only to dispose of body and goods according to their will ;) but the Pope, not content to make us do and say what he pleases, will have us also to *think* so ; denouncing his imprecations and spiritual menaces if we do not.

3. Such an authority will inevitably produce a *depravation of Christian doctrine*, by distorting it in accommodation of it to the promoting its designs and interests. It will blend Christianity with worldly notions and policies.

It certainly will introduce new doctrines, and interpret the old ones so as may serve to the advancement of the power, reputation, pomp, wealth, and pleasure of those who manage it, and of their dependents.

That which is called *καπηλεύειν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ* ^a to make a trade of religion, will be the great work of the teachers of the Church. It will turn all divines into mercenary, slavish, designing flatterers ³.

This we see come to pass ; Christianity by the Papal influence being from its original simplicity transformed into quite another thing than it was ; from a divine philosophy designed to improve the reason, to moderate the passions, to correct the manners of men, to prepare men for conversation with God and angels ; modelled to a system of politic devices (of notions, of precepts, of rites,) serving to exalt and enrich the Pope, with his court and adherents, clients and vassals ⁴.

¹ Ecclesia est mandra sive grex aut multitudo jumentorum sive asinorum. Eccles. xlvii.

² Illi nos frænant, nos loris alligant, nos stimulant, nobis jugum et onus imponunt. Ibid.

^a Compare *Bentley's* Sermon against Popery, (Nov. 5, 1715.) the rudiments of which powerful and justly celebrated discourse are plainly contained in these paragraphs.

³ 2 Cor. ii. 17. 1 Tim. vi. 5. *νομιζόντων πορισμὸν εἶναι τὴν εὐσέβειαν*. “ Supposing that gain is godliness.” *Ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας*. 1 Thess. ii. 5. “ A cloak of covetousness.” *Κυβεία*. Eph. iv. 4.

⁴ Pasce, id est regio more impera. Ecce duos Gladios.—Oravi ne deficeret. —“ Feed, (*i. e.*) rule as a king. Behold two swords.”

What doctrine of Christian theology, as it is interpreted by their schools, has not a direct aspect, or does not squint that way? especially according to the opinions passant and in vogue among them.

To pass over those concerning the Pope (his universal pastorage, judgeship in controversies, power to call councils, presidency in them, superiority over them; right to confirm, or annul them; his infallibility; his double sword, and dominion (direct or indirect) over princes; his dispensing in laws, in oaths, in vows, in matrimonial cases, with all other the monstrous prerogatives, which the sound doctors of Rome, with encouragement of that chair, do teach):

What does the doctrine concerning the exempting of the clergy from secular jurisdiction, and immunity of their goods from taxes signify, but their entire dependence on the Pope, and their being closely tied to his interests?

What is the exemption of monastical places from the jurisdiction of bishops, but listing so many soldiers and advocates to defend and advance the papal empire?

What means the doctrine concerning that middle region of souls, or cloister of purgatory, whereof the Pope holds the keys; opening and shutting it at his pleasure, by dispensation of pardons and indulgences; but that he must be master of the people's condition, and of their purse?

What means the treasure of merits, and supererogatory works, whereof he is the steward, but a way of driving a trade, and drawing money from simple people, to his treasury?

Whither does the entangling of folks in perpetual vows tend, but to assure them in a slavish dependence on their interests, eternally, without evasion or remedy; except by favourable dispensation from the Pope?

Why is the *opus operatum* in sacraments taught to confer grace, but to breed a high opinion of the priest, and all he does?

Whence did the monstrous doctrine of transubstantiation (urged with so furious zeal) issue, but from design to magnify the credit of those, who by saying of a few words can make our God and Saviour? and withal, to exercise a notable instance of their power over men, in making them to renounce their reason and senses?

Whither does tend the doctrine concerning the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice for the dead, but to engage men to leave in their wills good sums to offer in their behalf?

Why is the cup withheld from the laity, but to lay it low by so notable a distinction, in the principal mystery of our religion, from the priesthood?

Why is saying private mass (or celebrating the communion in solitude) allowed, but because priests are paid for it, and live by it?

At what does the doctrine concerning the necessity of auricular confession aim, but that thereby the priests may have a mighty awe on the consciences of all people, may dive into their secrets, may manage their lives as they please?

And what does a like necessary particular absolution intend, but to set the priest in a lofty state of authority above the people, as a judge of his condition, and dispenser of his salvation?

Why do they equal ecclesiastical traditions with Scripture, but that on the pretence of them they may obtrude whatever doctrines, advantageous to their designs?

What drift has the doctrine concerning the infallibility of Churches or Councils, but that when opportunity does invite, he may call a company of bishops together to establish what he likes, which ever after must pass for certain truth, to be contradicted by none; so enslaving the minds of all men to his dictates, which always suit to his interest.

What does the prohibition of Holy Scripture drive at, but a monopoly of knowledge to themselves, or a detaining a people in ignorance of truth and duty; so that they must be forced to rely on them for direction, must believe all they say, and blindly submit to their dictates; being disabled to detect their errors, or contest their opinions.

Why must the sacraments be celebrated, and public devotions exercised in an unknown tongue, but that the priests may seem to have a peculiar interest in them, and ability for them?

Why must the priesthood be so indispensably forbidden marriage, but that it may be wholly untacked from the state, and rest addicted to him, and governable by him; that the persons and wealth of priests may be purely at his devotion?

To what end is the clogging religion by multiplication of ceremonies and formalities, but to amuse the people, and maintain in them a blind reverence toward the interpreters¹ of the dark mysteries couched in them? and by seeming to encourage an

¹ Vid. *Sleid.* p. 673.

exterior show of piety (or form of godliness) to gain reputation and advantage, whereby they might oppress the interior virtue and reality of it, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, although with less designs.

Why is the veneration of images and relics, the credence of miracles and legends, the undertaking of pilgrimages, and voyages to Rome, and other places, more holy than ordinary; sprinklings of holy-water, consecrations of baubles, (with innumerable foppish knacks and trinkets,) so cherished; but to keep the people in a slavish credulity and dotage; apt to be led by them whither they please, by any sleeveless pretence; and in the mean while to pick various gains from them by such trade?

What do all such things mean but obscuring the native simplicity of Christianity, whereas it being represented intelligible to all men, would derogate from that high admiration, which these men pretend to from their peculiar and profound wisdom? And what would men spend for these toys, if they understood they might be good Christians, and get to heaven without them?

What doth all that pomp of religion serve for, but for ostentation of the dignity of those who administer it? It may be pretended for the honour of religion, but it really conduces to the glory of the priesthood; who shine in those pageantries.

Why is monkery (although so very different from that which was in the ancient times) so cried up as a superlative state of perfection; but that it fills all places with swarms of lusty people, who are vowed servants to him, and have little else to do but to advance that authority, by which they subsist in that dronish way of life?

In fine, perusing the controversies of Bellarmine, or any other champion of Romanism, do but consider the nature and scope of each doctrine, maintained by them; and you may easily discern, that scarce any of them but does tend to advance the interest of the Pope, or of his sworn vassals.

Whereas indeed our Lord had never any such design, to set up a sort of men in such distance above their brethren; perk over them, and suck them of their goods by tricks; it only did charge people to allow their pastors a competent maintenance for a sober life, with a moderate respect, as was needful for the common benefit of God's people; whom they were, with humility and meekness, to instruct and guide in the plain and simple way of piety,—

This is a grievous inconvenience ; there being nothing wherein the Church is more concerned than in the preservation of its doctrine pure and incorrupt from the leaven of hurtful errors, influential on practice.

4. The errors in doctrine, and miscarriages in practice, which this authority in favour to itself would introduce, would be established immoveably, to the irrecoverable oppression of truth and piety ; *any reformation becoming impossible*, while it stands, or so far as it shall be able to oppose and obstruct it.

While particular Churches do retain their liberty, and pastors their original co-ordination in any measure, if any Church or bishop shall offer to broach any novel doctrine or practice of bad import, the others may endeavour to stop the settlement or progress of them ; each Church at least may keep itself sound from contagion.

But when all Churches and bishops are reduced into subjection to one head, supported by the guards of his authority,—who will dare to contest, or be able to withstand, what he shall say or do ? It will then be deemed high presumption, contumacy, rebellion, to dissent from his determinations, how false soever, or tax the practices countenanced by him, however irregular and culpable.

He will assume to himself the privilege not to be crossed in any thing ; and soon will claim “ infallibility, the mother of incorrigibility ^a.”

^a This point is put very strikingly by Sir *Edwin Sandys* :

“ The first impediment to a general re-union of Christendom is the untractableness of the Papacy to this course, who in so many conferences as they have had in this age, have always, ere they departed, very plainly discovered, that they came not with such intent as to yield any thing for peace, much less for truth's sake ; but only to assay either by manifold persuasion and entreaty to reduce, or otherwise by wit to entrap and disgrace their adversaries ; and if some one of them have shown himself more flexible at any time, it hath been his utter discredit with his own party ever after. Which stern proceeding of theirs, admitting the fundamental positions whereon the Papacy is built, is good and necessary. For, if divine authority do concur with them in all their ordinances, God's Spirit assist them in all their decisions, all *possibility of erring* be exempted from their Pope and Church—what remains there but only that *they* teach, *we* believe ; *they* command, and *the world* obey ? Indeed, in *human* governments, where reason is shut out, there tyranny thrusts herself in : but where *God* commands, to ask a reason is presumption ; to oppose reason is flat rebellion. To this miserable necessity have those assertions tied them, which they have laid for their founda-

No error can be so palpable, which that authority will not protect and shroud from confutation ; no practice so enormous, which it will not palliate, and guard from reproof.

There will be legions of mercenary tongues to speak, and stipendiary pens to write in defence of its doctrines and practices ; so that whoever will undertake to oppose it shall be voted down and overwhelmed with noise ; and shall incur all the discouragement and persecution imaginable. So poor truth will become utterly defenceless, wretched virtue destitute of succour or patronage.—

This is so in *speculation*, and we see it confirmed by *experience* ; for when from the influence of this power (as Pope Adrian VI. did ingenuously confess) an apparent degeneracy in doctrine, in discipline, in practice had seized on Christendom¹, all the world

tion ; miserable to themselves, and miserable to the whole world ! For, what can be more miserable to any ingenuous and good mind than to have entangled himself in such a labyrinth of perplexity and mischief, as to have left no place of acknowledging his error, without ruining his estate ; whereas error is only purged by due acknowledging, and doubled by denying it ! And to what a miserable push have they driven the world, either in their pleading against them, or in their learning of them and joining with them, as to stop the mouth of the one, and hang the faith of the other on this unnatural paradox, ‘ I and my Church cannot possibly err, and this must you take upon our own words to be true.’

“ But now as by this means, they have debarred themselves from acknowledging, and consequently from controlling any *error in faith* and doctrine ; so, on the other side, to reform any great matter in *practice*, were to open the eyes and mouths of all men against them, who now, in the obedience of their blindness, stick fast unto them. Let them suspend from henceforward the worshipping of images, the fleeing to the patronage of angels and saints, by vows and prayers, besides the great loss which it would bring unto the train in daily offerings to their saints and images, what a jealousy would it breed in the heads of their own people, that they had led the world all this while on the blind side, and that other things perhaps were introduced for gain, and corruptly contrived as well as these ! Then for their adversaries, their own saying as respecting them is, ‘ Yield one thing to them,’ and yield all ; since all hangs upon the same pin, and by the same string that any one doth. So that it seems not to have been unwisely conceived by him who said, that to persuade the Pope to any such reformation, was to persuade him to yield up his keys and crown, and to return into the order of his predecessors and other patriarchs ;—which to do, as yet, he sheweth no intention.” *Europæ Speculum*, p. 215—17. Compare above, p. 13—4, South. Also Phelan’s *Digest of Evidence*, p. 401—4.

¹ *Steid.* lib. iv. p. 82. lib. xii. p. 322. *Hist. Conc. Trid.* p. 24. *Vid. Riv. in Castig. Nol.* p. 525.

feeling it, and crying out loudly for reformation, yet how stiff a repugnance did the adherents to this interest make thereto; with what industry and craft did Popes endeavour to decline all means of remedy?

What will not this party do rather than acknowledge themselves mistaken or liable to error? What palliations, what shifts do not they use? What evidence of light do they not outface¹?

5. The same will induce a *general corruption of manners*.

For the chief clergy partaking of its growth, and protected by its interest, (reciprocally supporting it, and being sheltered by it from any curb or control,) will swell into great pride and haughtiness, will be tempted to scrape and hoard up wealth by rapine, extortion, simony; will come to enjoy ease and sloth; will be immersed in sensuality and luxury, and will consequently neglect their charge.

The inferiors will become enamoured and ambitious of such dignity, and will use all means and arts to attain it.

Thence emulation, discord, sycophantry will spring².

Thence all ecclesiastical offices will become venal; to be purchased by bribes, flattery, favour.—

The higher ranks will become fastuous, supercilious, and domineering; the lower will basely crouch, cogg³.—

What then must the people be, the guides being such?

Were such guides like to edify the people by their doctrine? Were they not like to damnify them by their example⁴?—

That thus it has happened, *experience* does show, and history does abundantly testify. This was soon observed by a Pagan historian, Ammianus Marcellinus, by St. Basil, ὁφρους δυτική.

What mischief this, what scandal to religion, what detriment to the Church, what ruin of souls it produces, is visible.

The descriptions of Rome and of that Church by Mantuan, do in a lively manner represent the great degeneracy and corruptions of it.

6. This authority, as it would induce corruption of manners, so it would perpetuate it, and render *the state of things incorrigible*.

¹ Centum gravamina.

² Vid. ipsum *Greg.* VII. Ep. i. 42. ii. 45.

³ See the description of them in S. *Bernard.* in Cant. Sermon. 33. *Guicciard.* in Suppl.

⁴ *Alv.* Pelag. in Riv. Castig. N. cap. viii. Vid. *Bernard.* Convers. S. Paul, Sermon. i. p. 87.

For this head of the Church, and the supporters of his authority, will often need reformation, but never will endure it.

That will happen of any Pope, which the fathers of Basil complained of in Pope Eugenius¹.

If the Pope would (as Pope Adrian IV.) yet he will not be able to perform; the interests of his dependents crossing it².

If there has happened a good Pope, who desired to reform, yet he has been ridiculous when he endeavoured it; and found it impossible to reform even a few particulars in his own house,—the incorrigible Roman court.

The nature and pretended foundation of this spiritual authority does encourage it with insuperable obstinacy to withstand all reformation; for whereas if any temporal power does grow intolerable, God's providence, by wars and revolutions of state, may dispense a redress, they have prevented this by supposing that in this case God has tied his own hands; this authority being immovably fixed in the same hands, from which no revolution can take it—whence, from its exorbitancies, there can be no rescue or relief.

7. This authority *will spoil him in whom it is seated*; corrupting his mind and manners; rendering him a scandal to religion, and a pernicious instrument of wickedness by the influence of his example³.

To this an uncontrollable power (bridled with no restraint) and impunity does naturally tend, and, according has it been—⁴

How many notorious reprobates, monsters of wickedness, have been in that see⁵!

¹ —Nullâ unquam monitione, nullâ exhortatione induci jam largo tempore potuit, ut aliquam errorum emendationem Christo placentem, aut notissimorum abusuum correctionem in Ecclesiâ Sanctâ Dei efficere satageret. Conc. Basil. Sess. xxiii. p. 76. xxxi. p. 89.

“He could never be brought in this long time by any advice or exhortation, seriously to set upon any amendment of errors, or correction of the most gross abuses in the holy Church of God.”

² Vid. Conc. Trid. p. 22.

³ It will certainly render him a tyrant, according to the definition of *Aristotle*, Pol. iv. 10. Cui plus licet quàm par est, plus vult quàm licet. Unde sicut languesciente capite, reliquum postea corpus morbus invadat. Conc. Basil. Sess. xxiii. p. 64.

“Whence it comes to pass, that if the head be sick, the rest of the body afterward grows diseased.” Vid. Conc. Basil. p. 87. Conc. Const. p. 1110.

⁴ Vid. dist. xl. cap. 6. (hujus culpas, etsi.)

⁵ Vid. *Alv. Pelag.* apud Riv. Cath. Orth. p. 141. *Baron.* Pope *Marcel-*

If we survey the lives of the Popes, written by historians most indifferent, or (as most have been) partial in favour to them, we shall find, at first good ones, martyrs, confessors, saints; but after this exorbitant power had grown, how few good ones? how many extremely bad? The first Popes before Constantine were holy men—the next were tolerable, while the Papacy kept within bounds of modesty; but when they, having shaken off their Master, and renounced allegiance to the emperor, (*i. e.* after Gregory II.) few tolerable: generally they were either rake-hells, or intolerably arrogant, insolent, turbulent, and ravenous.

Bellarmino and Baronius do bob off this, by telling us that hence the providence of God is most apparent¹.

But do they call this preserving the Church, the permission of it to continue so long in such a condition, under the prevalence of such mischiefs? when has God *deserted* any people, if not *then*, *when* such impiety more than Pagan does reign in it²?

But what in the meantime became of those souls which by this means were ruined? what amends for the vast damage which religion sustained, for the introducing so pernicious customs hardly to be extirpated³?—

To what a pass of shameless wickedness must things have come, when such men as Alexander II., having visibly such an impure brood, should be placed in this chair?

Even after the Reformation began to curb their impudence, and render them more wary, yet had they the face to set Paul III. there.

How unfit must such men be to be the guides of all Christendom, to breathe oracles of truth, to enact laws of sanctity?

How improper were those vessels of Satan to be organs of that

lus II. doubted whether a Pope could be saved. *Thuan.* lib. xv. p. 566. From John VIII. to Leo IX. what a rabble of rake-hells and sots did sit in that chair! *Machiav.* Hist. lib. xvi. p. 1271. *Baron.* Ann. 912. § 8.

¹ *Baron.* Ann. 897. § 5. It was said of *Vespasian*, solus imperantium melior. —“so apt is power to corrupt men.” Solus omnium ante se principum in melius mutatus est. *Tac.* Hist. i. p. 451.

² How vain is that which Pope *Greg.* VII. cites out of P. *Symmachus*, B. Petrus perennem meritum dotem cum hæreditate innocentie misit ad postereros. *Greg.* VII. Ep. viii. 21.

³ Quod Romanus Pontifex si canonicè fuerit ordinatus, meritis B. Petri indubitanter efficitur sanctus; was one of Pope *Greg.* VII. his dictates. “That the Roman Pontiff, if canonically elected, is undoubtedly made holy by the merits of blessed Peter.”

“ holy spirit of discipline, which will flee deceit, and remove from thoughts that are without understanding, and will not abide where unrighteousness comes in ¹?”

It will engage the Popes to make the ecclesiastical authority an engine of advancing the temporal concerns of his own relations (his sons, his nephews).

What, indeed, is the Popedom now but a ladder for a family to mount unto great estate²?

What is it but introducing an old man into a place, by advantage whereof a family must make hay while the sun shines³?

8. This pretence, upon divers obvious accounts, is apt to create great mischief in the world, to *the disturbance of civil societies*, and destruction or debilitation of temporal authority, which is certainly God’s ordinance, and necessary to the well-being of mankind; so that supposing it, we may in vain “pray for kings, and all that are in authority, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godliness and honesty⁴.”

For suppose the two powers (spiritual and temporal) to be co-ordinate⁵, and independent each of the other, then must all Christians be put into that perplexed state of repugnant and incompatible obligations, concerning which our Lord says, “No man can serve two masters; for either he will hate the one and love the other, or else he will hold to the one and despise the other⁵.”

They will often draw several ways, and clash in their designs, in their laws, in their decisions; one willing and commanding that which the other dislikes and prohibits⁶.

It will be impossible by any certain bounds to distinguish their jurisdiction, so as to prevent contest between them; all temporal matters being in some respect^b spiritual, (as being referrible to

¹ Sap. i. 5.

² Vid. *Guicciard. Machiav. Hist. Fl.* p. 19. Conc. Basil. p. 65.

³ ———cùm non ob religionem, et Dei cultum appetere Pontificatum nostri Sacerdotes videantur, sed ut fratrum vel nepotum, vel familiarium ingluviem et avaritiam expleant. *Plat. in Joh. XVI.* p. 298.

“Whereas our priests seem to desire the Popedom, not for religion and the worship of God, but that they may fill the ravening appetite and covetousness of their brethren, or nephews, or familiars.”

⁴ 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2.

⁵ See *Hooker*, book viii. p. 287, &c. edit. 1793.

⁵ Matt. vi. 24.

⁶ *Bell.* v. vi. p. 1415.

^b See No. IV. above, in this vol. p. 97, and note. Also Clarendon’s Religion and Policy, p. 667—71. Oxf. 1811.

spiritual ends, and in some manner allied to religion,) and all spiritual things becoming temporal, as they conduce to the secular peace and prosperity of states; there is nothing which each of these powers will not hook within the verge of its cognizance and jurisdiction; each will claim a right to meddle in all things; one pretending thereby to further the good of the Church, the other to secure the interest of the State; and what end or remedy can there be of the differences hence arising; there being no third power to arbitrate or moderate between them?

Each will prosecute its cause by its advantages; the one by instruments of temporal power, the other by spiritual arms of censures and curses.

And in what a case must the poor people then be? how distracted in their consciences, how divided in their affections, how discordant in their practices? according as each pretence has influence upon them, by its different arguments or peculiar advantages?

How can any man satisfy himself in performing or refusing obedience to either? How many (by the intricacy of the point, and contrary pulling) will be withdrawn from yielding due compliance on the one hand or the other?

What shall a man do, while one in case of disobedience to his commands does brandish a sword, the other thunders out a curse against him; one threatens death, the other excision from the Church; both denounce damnation?

What animosities and contentions, what discomposures and confusions must this constitution of things breed in every place? and how can "a kingdom so divided in itself stand," or not "come into desolation¹?"

Such an advantage infallibly will make Popes affect to invade the temporal power.

It was the reason, which Pope Paschal² alleged against Henry IV. because he did *Ecclesiæ regnum auferre*.

It is indeed impossible, that a co-ordination of these powers should subsist; for each will be continually encroaching on the other; each for its own defence and support will continually be struggling and clambering to get above the other: there will never be any quiet till one come to subside and truckle under the other: whereby the sovereignty of the one or the other will be destroyed. Each of them soon will come to claim a supre-

¹ Matt. xii. 25.

P. Pasch. II. Ep. 7.

macy in all causes, and the power of both swords ; and one side will carry it.

It is indeed necessary, that men for a time continuing possessed with a reverence to the ecclesiastical authority, as independent and uncontrollable, it should at last overthrow the temporal ; by reason of its great advantages above it ; for,

The spiritual power does pretend an establishment purely divine ; which cannot by any accidents undergo any change, diminutions, or translation, to which temporal dominions are subject : its power therefore, being perpetual, irreversible, depending immediately of God, can hardly be checked, can never be conquered¹.

It fights with tongues and pens, which are the most perilous weapons.

It can never be disarmed ; fighting with weapons that cannot be taken away, or deprived of their edge and vigour.

It works by most powerful considerations upon the consciences and affections of men upon pain of damnation ; promising heaven, and threatening hell ; which upon some men have an infinite sway, upon all men a considerable influence ; and thereby will be too hard for those who only can grant temporal rewards, or inflict temporal punishments. It is surely a notable advantage that the Pope has above all princes, that he commands not only as a prince but as a guide : so that whereas we are not otherwise bound to obey the commands of princes, than as they appear concordant with God's law, we must observe his commands absolutely, as being therefore lawful, because he commands them, *that* involving his assertion of their lawfulness, to which (without further inquiry or scruple) we must submit our understanding, his words sufficiently authorizing his commands for just. We are not only obliged to obey his commands but to embrace his doctrines.

It has continual opportunities of conversing with men ; and thereby can insinuate and suggest the obligation to obey it, with greatest advantage, in secrecy, in the tenderest seasons.

It claims a power to have its instruction admitted with assent ; and will it not instruct them for its own advantage ? All

¹ Vid. *Mach. Hist. Flor.* p. 18.—Impeti possunt humanis præsumptionibus quæ divino sunt iudicio constituta, vinci autem quorumlibet potestate non possunt. *P. Gel. Ep. viii. Felix, P. Ep. i.* (p. 597.)

its assertions must be believed——is not this an infinite advantage?

By such advantages the spiritual power (if admitted for such as it pretends) will swallow and devour the temporal; which will be an extreme mischief to the world.

The very pretence does immediately crop and curtail the natural right of princes; by exempting great numbers of persons (the participants and dependants of this hierarchy) from subjection to them¹. By withdrawing causes from their jurisdiction. By commanding in their territories, and drawing people out of them to their judicatories. By having influence on their opinions. By draining them of wealth, &c.

To this discourse *experience* abundantly does yield its attestation; for, how often have the Popes² thwarted princes in the exercise of their power; challenging their laws and administrations as prejudicial to religion? as contrary to ecclesiastical liberty³?

Bodin (l. 9.) observes, that if any prince were a heretic (that is, if the Pope could pick occasion to call him so), or a tyrant (that is, in his opinion), or anywise scandalous; the Pope would excommunicate him; and would not receive him to favour, but upon his acknowledging himself a feudatory to the Pope⁴:—So he drew in most kingdoms to depend on him.

How often have they excommunicated them, and interdicted their people from entertaining communion with them?

How many commotions, conspiracies, rebellions, and insurrections against princes have they raised in several countries⁵?

¹ Non enim volumus aut propter principum potentiam ecclesiasticam minui dignitatem, aut pro ecclesiasticâ dignitate, principum potentiam mutilari. P. Pasch. II. Ep. xxviii, et xxix.

“For we will not that either the ecclesiastical dignity should be diminished, by reason of the prince’s power, or that the prince’s power should be curtailed for the ecclesiastical dignity.”

² Arietes furiosos. Bell. v. 7.

³ In vain did S. Bernard (de Consid. i.) cry, Quid fines alienos invaditis? quid falcem vestram in alienam messem extenditis? “Why do you invade other men’s territories? why thrust you your sickle into other men’s harvest?”

⁴ Vid. Tert. T. p. 216. Greg. VII. Ep. 1. 7. 112. 13. 63.

⁵ Vid. Plat. de Bonif. VIII. p. 467, Jul. 2. Non sine suspicione, quòd illorum pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potiùs atque nutrent. Episc. Modrus. in Conc. Lat. V. Sess. 6. (p. 72.)

“Not without suspicion, that the Popes of those times, who ought to

How have they inveigled people from their allegiance? How many massacres and assassinations have they caused? How have they depressed and vilified the temporal power?

Have they not assumed to themselves superiority over all princes? The emperor himself (the chief of Christian princes) they did call their vassal, exacting an oath from them¹, whereof you have a form in the canon law, and a declaration of Pope Clement V., that it is an oath of fealty^a.

Have they not challenged property in both swords, *Ecce duo gladii*?

How many princes have they pretended to depose, and dispossess of their authority²?

Consider the pragmatistical sanctions, provisors, compositions, concordats, &c. which princes have been forced to make against them, or with them to secure their interest.

Many good princes have been forced to oppose them, as Henry the Second of England, King Lewis the Twelfth of France³, (that just prince, *Pater Patræ*) *Perdam Babylonis nomen*.

How often have they used this as a pretence of raising and fomenting wars? confiding in their spiritual arms; interdicting princes, that would not comply with their designs, for advancing the interests not only of their see, but of their private families⁴?

Bodin observes that Pope Nicholas I.⁵ was the first who excommunicated princes. Platina does mention some before him: but it is remarkable, that although Pope Leo I. (a high spirited Pope, “*fortissimus Leo*,” as *Liberatus* calls him) was highly provoked against Theodosius Junior; Pope Gelasius and divers of

have extinguished wars, and put an end to dissensions, did rather raise them up and cherish them.”

See *Greg.* VII. Ep. 4. 2. 8. 21.

¹ Vid. Concil. Lugd. p. 851.

^a See above, p. 45 of this volume.

² *Auctoritate apostolicâ de fratrûm nostrorum consilio declaramus illa iuramenta prædicta fidelitatis existere et censeri debere. Clementin. lib. ii. Tit. ix. cap. unicum.*

“We declare out of our apostolical authority, by the advice of our brethren, that the foresaid oaths of fealty ought to be, and be so esteemed.”

³ *Thuan.* lib. i.

⁴ *Abutente Christianorum pastore Christianorum principum viribus, ut privatæ ambitioni, et suorum libidini inserviret. Thuan. lib. i. p. 42.*

“The pastor of Christians abusing the power of Christian princes, that he might gratify his private ambition, and the will and lust of his friends.”

⁵ *Observ.*

his predecessors and followers—Pope Gregory II. against Leo—Vigilius against Justinian, &c. yet none of them did presume to excommunicate the emperors.

All these dealings are the natural result of this pretence; and, supposing it well grounded, are capable of a plausible justification: for is it not fit (seeing one must yield) that temporal should yield to spiritual?

Indeed, granting the Papal supremacy in spirituals, I conceive the high-flying zealots of the Roman Church, who subject all temporal powers to them, have great reason on their side;—for co-ordinate power cannot subsist, and it would be only an eternal seminary of perpetual discords.

The quarrel cannot otherwise be well composed^a than by

^a “It remains that princes take the matter in hand, and constrain the Pope and others to yield to some such accord. Indeed, this were the only right way to effect it.” *Sandys, Europæ Speculum*, p. 218.

We next commend to the reader's consideration two extracts from the Digest of the evidence in the inquiry into the state of Ireland (1824, 5). The first is from the evidence of that noble-minded Christian prelate Archbishop Magee before the House of Lords:—

“Does your Grace think Ireland can remain quiet after all which has passed, supposing the claims of the Roman Catholics to be continued to be refused?

“I look upon that as not the principal consideration. The government, as I conceive, is to remain unmoved in its true and just position, whatever temporary disquiet may be the result of its deliberate act; and I very much fear that any appearance of a desire on the part of the government to yield, through the apprehension of disturbances that may grow out of the refusal of the Roman Catholic claims, will secure perpetual disquiet to that government.—I have no notion of a government which is not a firm one.

“Are the committee to understand your Grace to rest your apprehension of danger to arise to the Protestant Church and State from the admission of Roman Catholics to places of trust and power, chiefly on the doctrines which you have alleged to be established by the decrees of councils and rescripts of Popes, combined with the doctrine of *the immutability* of the Roman Catholic Church?

“Yes.—The only expression in that question which I should wish particularly to remark upon are the words which relate to ‘the immutability of the Roman Catholic Church.’ I do not see that this is to be other than upon the statement of Roman Catholics themselves; and I confess I cannot see *why* the system should not undergo some alteration which might enable the members of that communion to travel on with society at large, partaking of its improvement and its illumination; and why, when the darker ages of their Church have so long passed by, they should still insist upon all the follies of that gloomy period. The great difficulty in treating with Roman

wholly disclaiming the fictitious and usurped power of the Pope : for,

Two such powers (so inconsistent and cross to each other, so

Catholics is, that they will not condescend to change any thing ; that they demand every thing to be submitted to them, but that they will on their part give up nothing. So long as this principle of immutability is maintained, I conceive that nothing is *eventually safe*. Adjustments may take place for a time ; but if the perpetuity of the system be still contended for, they cannot be looked to for sincere continuance. The old claims may again be revived, and ancient contests indefinitely renewed

“ Does your Grace think it possible that the Roman Catholic Church, without abandoning the ground on which it has hitherto stood, could make such a formal contradiction of that which has already been established by authority which they hold to be infallible ?

“ I think the Roman Catholic Church would exalt itself by the step ; for now, in its present mode of proceeding, there is a kind of unworthy half-expressed denial, through *unauthorized individuals*, which reflects upon the character of the Church, and which interferes much with the respectability of its members ; and, therefore, when they, in a manner which may be termed pusillanimous, endeavour to lead the public into the idea that they do not entertain practically the belief which is imputed to them, I think it would redound much to their honour openly in the face of the world, by some authoritative act, to disclaim that belief which they profess not to hold. I allude to those points which war with the well-being of society. Immutability being the attribute of their Church, under which all its ancient mischiefs may be at any time, under favourable circumstances, revived, they owe it to society at large to make an alteration in all those points which they are desirous at this day to induce the world to believe they do not maintain ; and this being the case, if they will stand unnecessarily and obstinately upon that high ground which will not allow society to approach them, society, I think, ought not to allow them to come too near. If, as individuals of other communions do, they travelled on with society at large, and did not continue bound by those ancient shackles, I cannot see why the Protestants of every country should not embrace them as brethren in the civil communion as cheerfully as other men.

“ Speaking of *practical* danger, does your Grace think that the declarations of such authorities as the Gallican Church, under the conduct of Bossuet, the declarations of all the principal Roman Catholic universities, and the declarations of the leading persons in the Roman Catholic Church, combined with the positive oath in which they disclaim a belief of the most obnoxious of those doctrines, afford no practical security as to the conduct of the members of that Church, notwithstanding there is not, on the part of their highest authority, a positive contradiction of those doctrines ?

“ These things have apparently great weight :—and yet I am obliged to say, that the plausible colour given to some important points, representing them, as it appears to me, in a manner widely different from the truth, is even more alarming than the open declarations of ancient times. The

apt to interfere, and consequently to breed everlasting mischiefs to mankind between them) could not be instituted by God.—

He would not appoint two different vicegerents in his kingdom at the same time.—

attempts made in later days to persuade the public to admit an affinity and resemblance between two systems as opposite as light and darkness is a dangerous and treacherous attempt. The very favourable representations industriously given of what in its own nature is vitally injurious to society, supply strong reasons why we should be still more upon our guard. I am still obliged to return to the one point:—Why is it, except for the purpose of preserving a command over an immense body of men, which is always best preserved by keeping up what is mysterious, and which is, from the darkness of it, formidable, that the ancient dogmas, which are professed to be abandoned in substance, are still retained as parts of the acknowledged system? The Papal influence, supported by such means, is clearly of such a character, as that it becomes all men *to take such measures* as will operate to the modification of that system for the ends of general safety. In support of that influence the plausibility of such a man as Bossuet is a thing most of all to be feared. As to the value of his representations, it should be remembered that when he was tried upon the strong points he never failed to prove himself a staunch champion of those fundamental doctrines from which all the mischiefs of the Papal system necessarily spring. 'There seems no possibility of prevailing upon that Church to make any change which may tend to the improvement of society, so far as depends upon them, whilst its extravagant notions of *infallibility* and universal *supremacy* remain unmodified.' Digest, Part. i. p. 400—4.

The next extract is a part of the remark by the editors at the close of the last chapter, entitled "Practical Conclusion from the whole review."

" 'How happens it,' said a Scotch priest to Cardinal Barberini, 'that the French Catholics have liberties which are not allowed to the Catholics of England and Ireland?' 'Because,' replied the Cardinal, 'the French *do not consult us* upon their affairs; but when the English and Irish apply to us for advice, it is no wonder that we answer as best accords with our own views.' The English and Irish *must be taught to do* as the French did formerly. They must cease to consult Rome. The State *ought to wean them by legislative provisions*, and what was at first a matter of wholesome necessity would soon become a matter of choice. It appears in evidence that this course has been adopted, and most successfully, by the Russian and Prussian governments. They did not condescend to *treat with Rome* or with their subjects; but *they took such securities and gave such privileges* as they judged suited to their own dignity and the general welfare of their people. The Roman Catholics in their dominions submitted quietly; for they saw it was not a question of religion, but of policy, and that it did not lie between sovereign and subject, but between the legitimate prince and a foreign pretender; and the Pope was reduced to the expedient of 'taking no notice,' as Dr. Murray calls it; 'of doing in the fulness of his own authority,' what those heretical powers had *previously* done in the more substantial plenitude of theirs. Why

But it is plain that he hath instituted the civil power, and endowed it with a sword¹; that princes are his lieutenants².

That in the ancient times the Popes did not claim such authority, but avowed themselves subjects to princes.

9. Consequently this pretence is apt to engage Christian princes *against Christianity*; for they will not endure to be crossed, to be depressed, to be trampled on³.

This Popes often have complained of; not considering it was their own insolence that caused it.

10. Whereas now Christendom is split into many parcels, subject to divers civil sovereignties, it is expedient that correspondently^a there should be distinct ecclesiastical governments, independent of each other, which may comply with the respective

may not the British government imitate this firmness? A clamour would of course be raised by the titular prelacy; and as opposition would be extinct were Ireland tranquil, there is a high bounty at present upon their turbulence. They would publish their alarm for *the purity of their religion*; and Dr. Doyle, as a politician, would superadd his peculiar scruples, and protest against increasing the influence of the crown. Very few, however, would feel the force of these objections. It would be generally understood that religion might be pure, though its ministers were reduced to the condition of subjects; and that if it were *unconstitutional* to vest power in the king, it could be nothing less than *treason* to let it remain with the Pope. Government would not want support in the public opinion of the Roman Catholics, of *those* among the body who *alone* are capable of forming an opinion for themselves. Many of the priesthood, more of the gentry, all of those whom hereditary rank and fortune should have made the aristocracy, would rejoice inwardly, though afraid in the beginning to express their joy, at the new order of things. All dispassionate Irishmen, of what creed or party soever, who have reflected on the calamitous history of their country, are aware that its great curse has been the ambition of the Papal hierarchy. That order is now powerful *because* the State is supine; and if this apathy continue, their power will daily strengthen itself. But it is a power founded on fear; a power propitiated, as some evil genius, by many an act of homage from which the heart recoils. Let ministers but make a commencement, and they will soon be astonished at the rapidity of their progress. After a little time they may proceed in the *civil reformation* of Popery with all the composure which belongs to the high consciousness of wisdom and power, and benevolent intention. And when all is achieved they will find reason to say of their work, as Bacon said of Alexander's conquests, and of his own attack upon the Grecian philosophy,—*NIL ALIUD QUAM BENE AUSUS VANA CONTEMNERE.*"

¹ Tort. T. p. 210.

² P. Anast. calls the Emperor Anast. Vicarium. Epist. (p. 670.)

³ Eccles. Leod. p. 522.

^a See above, No. V., Dr. John Overall.

civil authorities in promoting the good and peace both of Church and state¹.

It is fit that every prince should in all things govern all his subjects, and none should be exempted from subordination to his authority: as philosophers and physicians of the body, so priests and physicians of the soul; not in exercising their function, but in taking care that they do exercise it duly for the honour of God, and in consistence with public good: otherwise many grievous inconveniences must ensue.

It is of perilous consequence that foreigners^a should have authoritative influence upon the subjects of any prince; or have a power to intermeddle in affairs.

Princes have a natural right to determine with whom their subjects shall have intercourse; which is inconsistent with a right of foreigners to govern or judge them in any case without their leave.

Every prince is obliged to employ the power entrusted to him to the furtherance of God's service and encouragement of all good

¹ Secundum mutationes temporum transferuntur etiam regna terrarum; unde etiam Ecclesiasticarum parochiarum fines in plerisque provinciis mutari expedit et transferri. P. *Pasch.* II. Ep. 19.

^a "The Protestants in France bear office in the state, because, though their religion be different, yet they acknowledge no other king but the King of France. The Papists in England—they must have a King of their own:—a Pope, that must do something in our kingdom. Therefore there is no reason they should enjoy the same privileges.

"Amsterdam admits all religions but Papists, and it is upon the same account: the Papists, wherever they live, have another King at Rome. All other religions are subject to the present state and have no prince elsewhere." *Selden's Table Talk*, art. "Pope," § 7.

"Here" (says the admirable Archbishop Magee) "is the great difficulty with regard to Roman Catholics. There is scarcely any other description of religionists in existence that may not be admitted into offices of the state, without introducing a new power hitherto unknown to the state. There must, in the first instance, be brought in a new supremacy before a Roman Catholic will condescend to accept any of those offices which he seems so desirous to obtain, but which, at the same time, he holds cheap and contemptible, compared with that allegiance which in *any* state is dangerous—a foreign allegiance; but which, in the Protestant state of Britain, is eminently dangerous, as being at *direct variance with the religion of the empire.*" *Phelan's, &c. Digest of Evidence*, vol. i. p. 399. Compare Secretary Cecil's Instructions to Francis Walsingham (afterwards Sir Francis) going ambassador to the court of France, A. D. 1570, in Digges's *Complete Ambassador*, p. 4. 1655. Fol.

works ; as a supreme power, without being liable to obstruction from any other power.

It would irritate his power if another should be beyond his coercion.

It is observable that the Pope, by intermeddling in the affairs of kingdoms, did so wind himself into them as to get a pretence to be master of each, princes being his vassals and feudatories¹.

11. Such an authority is needless and useless ; *it not serving the ends which it pretends* ; and they being better compassed without it.

It pretends to maintain truth ; but indeed it is more apt to oppress it.

Truth is rather (as St. Cyprian wisely observes) preserved by the multitude of bishops, whereof some will be ready to relieve it, when assaulted by others.

Truth cannot be supported merely by human authority : especially that authority is to be suspected which pretends dominion over our minds. What controversy, being doubtful in itself, will not after his decision continue doubtful ? His sentence may be eluded by interpretation as well as other testimonies or authorities.

The opinion of a man's great wisdom or skill may be the ground of assent, in defect of other more cogent arguments ; but authority of name or dignity is not proper to convince a man's understanding. Men obey, but not believe princes more than others, if not more learned than others.

It pretends to maintain order ; but how ? by introducing slavery ; by destroying all rights ; by multiplying disorders ; by hindering order to be quietly administered in each country.

It pretends to be the only means of unity and concord in

¹ Vid. *Bod. de Rep.* i. 9. (p. 195.)

“ Car les Princes Chrestiens avoient presque tous opinion, que le Pape estoit absolument seigneur souveraine de tous les Royaumes de la Chrestiente.” *Bod. ibid.* p. 196.

Tort. Tort. p. 216, &c.— *Greg.* VII. Ep. 1. 7. 2. 13. *Alex.* II. Ep. 8.

Ἡ τοσαύτη διαφωνία καὶ μάχη τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ γίνεται, ἐκάστου τῆς μὲν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰ. Χ. διδασκαλίας ἀφισταμένοι, λογισμοὺς δὲ τινὰς καὶ ὅρους ἰδίους ἐκδικοῦντος ἐξ αὐθεντίας, καὶ μᾶλλον ἄρχειν ἀπ' ἐναντίας τοῦ Κυρίου, ἢ ἄρχεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου βουλομένου. *Bas. de Jud. Dei*, tom. 2. p. 259.

“ So great a dissonancy and jarring there is among men in the Church, while every one swerves from the doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ, and asserts certain conceits and rules of his own by his own authority, and had rather rule contrary to the Lord, than be ruled by the Lord.”

opinion by determining controversies ; which its advocates affirm necessary¹.—

But how can that be necessary which never was *de facto*? not even in the Roman Church.

Has the Pope effected this? do all his followers agree in all points; do they agree about his authority? Do not they differ and dispute about infinity of questions? Are all the points frivolous, about which their divines and schoolmen dispute? Why did not the Council of Trent itself, without more ado, and keeping such a disputing, refer all to his oracular decision?

Necessary points may and will by all honest people be known and determined without him, by the clear testimony of Scripture, by consent of Fathers, by general tradition².—And other points need not to be determined.

That he may be capable of that office he must be believed appointed by God thereto; which is a question itself to be decided without him, to satisfaction. His power is apt no otherwise to knock down controversies than by depressing truth; not suffering any truth to be asserted which does not favour his interests.

Concord was maintained and controversies decided without them in the ancient Church; in synods, wherein he was not the sole judge, nor had observable influence.

The Fathers did not think such authority needful, otherwise they would have made more use of it.

A more ready way to define controversies is for every one not to prescribe to others or to persecute; for then men would more calmly see the truth, and consent³.

It pretends to maintain peace and unity. But nothing has raised more fierce dissensions or so many bloody wars in Christendom as it.

It is apt by tyrannical administration to become intolerable, and so to break the ecclesiastical state; to raise schisms and troubles.

It is like to extinguish genuine charity, which is free and un-compelled.

All the peace and charity which it endures is by force and compulsion, not out of choice and good affection.

¹ Necessè est, ut omnes fideles idem sentiant. *Bell.* i. 9.

“It is necessary that all the faithful should be of the same opinion.”

² Ἱκανωτέρα ἢ θεία γραφή. *Ath.*

³ Nemini præscribentes.

VIII.

THE ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF THE PAPAL PRETENSIONS AND POWER ACCOUNTED FOR^a.

HAVING shown at large that this universal sovereignty and jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome over the Christian Church has no real foundation either in Scripture or elsewhere, it will be requisite to show by what ways and means so groundless a claim and pretence should gain belief and submission to it, from so considerable a part of Christendom ;—and that from so very slender roots (from slight beginnings and the slimmest pretences one can well imagine) this bulk of exorbitant power did grow¹, the vastest that ever man on earth did attain, or did ever aim at, will be the less wonderful, if we do consider the many causes which did concur and contribute thereto : some whereof are proposed in the following observations^b.

1. Eminency of any kind (in wealth, honour, in reputation, in might, in place, or mere order of dignity,) does easily pass into advantages of real power and command over those who are inferior in those respects, and have any dealings or common transactions with such superiors.

For to persons endowed with such eminency by voluntary deference the conduct of affairs is wont to be allowed ; none presuming to stand in competition with them, every one rather yielding place to them than to their equals.

The same conduct of things, upon the same accounts, and by reason of their possession, does continue fast in their hands, so long as they do retain such advantages.

^a From Dr. *Isaac Barrow*, Works, vol. vi. p. 292—312.

¹ De pusillo crescere. P. *Leo*, Ep. 55.

^b Compare Casaubon's Exercitationes in Baronii Annales, Exercit. xv. §. 11.

Then from a custom of managing things does spring up an opinion or a pretence of right thereto; they are apt to assume a title, and others ready to allow it.

Men naturally do admire such things, and so are apt to defer extraordinary respect to the possessors of them.

Advantages of wealth and might are not only instruments to attain, but incentives spurring men to affect the getting authority over their poorer and weaker neighbours; for men will not be content with bare eminency, but will desire real power and sway, so as to obtain their wills over others, and not to be crossed by any. Pope Leo had no reason to wonder, that Anatolius, bishop of Constantinople¹, was not content with dry honour. Men are apt to think their honour is precarious, and stands on an uncertain foundation, if it be not supported with real power; and therefore they will not be satisfied to let their advantages lie dead, which are so easily improvable to power, by inveigling some, and scaring or constraining others to bear their yoke; and when they are able to benefit and gratify some, and thereby render them willing to submit, those afterwards become serviceable to bring others under, who are disaffected or refractory.

So the bishops of Constantinople and of Jerusalem at first had only privileges of honour; but afterward they soon hooked in power.

Now the Roman bishops from the beginning were eminent above all other bishops in all kinds of advantages.

He was seated in the imperial city, the place of general resort; thence obvious to all eyes, and his name sounding in all mouths. He had a most numerous, opulent, splendid flock and clergy. He had the greatest income (from liberal oblations) to dispose of². He lived in greatest state and lustre³. He had opportunities to assist others in their business, and to relieve them in their wants. He necessarily thence did obtain great respect and veneration. Hence, in all common affairs the conduct and presidency were naturally devolved on him, without contest.

No wonder then, that after some time the Pope did arrive to some pitch of authority over poor Christians, especially those

¹ Quid illi satisfaciet, si tantæ urbis magnificentia et claritudo non sufficit? *Leo*, Ep. 55.

² *Euseb.* vi. 43. (Anno 254.) Oblationibus matronarum ditati. Circumspectè vestiti. *Amm. Marc.* l. xxvii. p. 337. An. 367.

³ *Euseb.*

who lay nearest to him ; improving his eminency into power, and his pastoral charge into a kind of empire ; according to that observation of Socrates, that “ long before his time the Roman episcopacy had advanced itself beyond the priesthood into a potentacy ¹.”

And the like he observes to have happened in the Church of Alexandria, upon the like grounds, or by imitation of such a pattern ².

2. Any small power is apt to grow and spread itself ; a spark of it soon will expand itself into a flame ; it is very like to “ the grain of mustard seed, which indeed is the least of all seeds ; but when it is grown, it is the greatest among herbs, and becomes a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof³.” “ Encroaching (as Plutarch says) is an innate disease of potentacies ⁴.” Whoever has any pittance of it, will be improving his stock, having tasted the sweetness of having his will (which extremely gratifies the nature of man) he will not be satisfied without having more ; he will take himself to be straitened by any bounds, and will strive to free himself of all restraints.

Any pretence will serve to ground attempts of enlarging power, and none will be baulked. For power is bold, enterprizing, restless : it always watches, or often finds, never passes opportunities of dilating itself ⁵. Every accession does beget farther advantages to amplify it ; as its stock grows, so it with ease proportionably does increase ; being ever out at use ⁶. As it grows, so its strength to maintain and enlarge itself does grow ; it gaining more wealth, more friends, more associates, and dependents ⁷.

None can resist or obstruct its growth without danger and manifold disadvantages ; for as its adherents are deemed loyal and faithful, so its opposers are branded with the imputations of rebellion, contumacy, disloyalty ; and not succeeding in their resistance they will be undone.

¹ Τῆς Ῥωμαίων Ἐπισκοπῆς πέρα τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἐπὶ δυναστείαν ἤδη πάλαι προελθούσης. *Socr.* vii. 11.

² *Socr.* vii. 7.

³ *Matt.* xiii. 32.

⁴ Τὸ σύμφυτον νόσημα ταῖς δυναστείαις, ἡ πλεονεξία. *Plut.* in *Pyrrh.*

⁵ Subrependi occasiones non prætermittit ambitio—*P. Leo* I. *Ep.* 62.

⁶ Facilius crescit dignitas quam incipit. *Sen.* *Ep.* 101.

⁷ Primæ dominandi spes in arduo ; ubi sis ingressus, adsunt studia et ministri. *Tac. Ann.* 4, (p. 143.)

None ever does enterprize more than to stop its career ; so that it seldom loses by opposition ; and it ever gains by composition. If it be checked at one time, or in one place, it will, like the sea, at another season, in another point, break in. If it is sometimes overthrown in a battle, it is seldom conquered in the war.

It is always on its march forward, and gains ground ; for one encroachment does countenance the next, and is alleged for a precedent to authorize or justify it. It seldom moves backward ; for every successor thinks he may justly enjoy what his predecessor did gain, or which is transmitted into his possession, so that there hardly can ever be any restitution of ill-gotten power.

Thus have many absolute kingdoms grown ; the first chief was a leader of volunteers ; from thence he grew to be a prince with stated privileges ; after he became a monarch invested with high prerogatives ; in fine he creeps forward to be a grand seignior usurping absolute dominion : so did Augustus Cæsar first only assume the style of prince of the senate, demeaning himself modestly as such ; but he soon drew to himself the administration of all things ; and upon that foundation his successors very suddenly did erect a boundless power. If you trace the footsteps of most empires to the beginning, you may perceive the like.

So the Pope, when he had got a little power, continually did swell it. The puny pretence of the succeeding Saint Peter, and the name of the apostolical see ; the precedence by reason of the imperial city ; the honorary privileges allowed him by councils : the authority deferred to him by one synod of revising the causes of bishops ; the countenance given to him in repressing some heresies, he did improve to constitute himself sovereign lord of the Church.

3. Spiritual power especially is of a growing nature, and more especially that which derives from divine institution : for it has a great awe upon the hearts and consciences of men ; which engages them to a firm and constant adherence. It uses the most subtle arms, which it has always ready, which need no time or cost to furnish, which cannot be extorted from its hand ; so that it can never be disarmed. And its weapons make strong impression, because it proposes the most effectual encouragements to its abettors, and discouragements to its adversaries ; alluring the one with promises of God's favour and eternal happiness, terrifying the other with menaces of vengeance from heaven and endless mi-

sery; the which do ever quell religious, superstitious, weak people, and often daunt men of knowledge and courage.

It is presumed unchangeable, and unextinguishable by any human power; and thence is not (as all other power) subject to revolutions. Hence like Achilles it is hardly vincible, because almost immortal. If it be sometimes rebuffed or impaired, it soon will recover greater strength and vigour.

The Popes derive their authority from divine institution; and their weapons always are sentences of Scripture¹; they pretend to dispense remission of sins; and promise heaven to their abettors. They excommunicate, curse, and damn the opposers of their designs.

They pretend they never can lose any power that ever did belong to their see: they are always stiff, and they never recede or give back. "The privileges of the Roman Church can sustain no detriment²."

4. Power is easily attained and augmented upon occasion of dissensions. Each faction usually does make itself a head, the chief in strength and reputation which it can find inclinable to favour it; and that head it will strive to magnify, that he may be the abler to promote its cause; and if the cause does prosper, he is rewarded with accession of privileges and authority: especially those who were oppressed, and find relief by his means, do become zealously active for his aggrandizement.

Thus usually in civil broils the captain of the prevalent party grows a prince, or is crowned with great privileges (as Cæsar, Octavian, Cromwell, &c.).

So upon occasion of the Arian faction, and the oppression of Athanasius, Marcellus, Paulus, and other bishops, the Pope, who, by their application to him had occasion to head the Catholic party, did grow in power; for thereupon the Sardican synod^a did decree to him that privilege, which he infinitely enhanced, and which became the main engine of rearing himself so high.

And by his interposal in the dissensions raised by the Nestorians, the Pelagians, the Eutychians, the Acatians, the Monothe-

¹ Dist. 21, cap. 2, 3.

² Privilegia Romanæ Ecclesiæ nullum possunt sustinere detrimentum.—*P. Nic. I. Ep. 36. (32—)*

^a Compare above in this volume, No. IV. p. 121.

lites, the Image-worshippers, the Image-breakers, &c. his authority was advanced; for he adhering in those causes to the prevailing party, was by them extolled, obtaining both reputation and sway.

5. All power is attended by dependencies of persons sheltered under it, and by it enjoying subordinate advantages; the which proportionably do grow by its increase.

Such persons therefore will ever be inciting their chief and patron to amplify his power: and in aiding him to compass it, they will be very industriously, resolutely, and steadily active; their own interest moving them thereto.

Wherefore their mouths will ever be open in crying him up, their heads will be busy in contriving ways to further his interests, their care and pains will be employed in accomplishing his designs: they with their utmost strength will contend in his defence against all oppositions.

Thus the Roman clergy first, then the bishops of Italy, then all the clergy of the west became engaged to support, to fortify, to enlarge the Papal authority; they all sharing with him in domination over the laity; and enjoying wealth, credit, support, privileges, and immunities thereby. Some of them especially were ever putting him on higher pretences, and furthering him by all means in his acquist and maintenance of them.

6. Hence if a potentate himself should have no ambition, nor much ability to improve his power; yet it would of itself grow; he need only be passive therein; the interest of his partizans would effect it; so that often power does no less thrive under sluggish and weak potentates, especially if they are void of goodness, than under the most active and able. Let the ministers alone to drive on their interest.

7. Even persons otherwise just and good seldom scruple to augment their power by undue encroachment, or at least to uphold the usurpations of their foregoers; for even such are apt to favour their own pretences, and afraid of incurring censure and blame, if they should part with any thing left them by their predecessors. They apprehend themselves to owe a dearness to their place, engaging them to tender its own weal and prosperity, in promoting which they suppose themselves not to act for their own private interest; and that it is not out of ambition or avarice, but out of a regard to the grandeur of their office that they stickle and bustle; and that in so doing they imitate Saint Paul who did magnify his office. They are encouraged hereto by the applause

of men, especially of those who are allied with them in interest, and who converse with them; who take it for a maxim “*Boni principis est ampliare imperium.*” The extenders of empire are admired and commended however they do it, although with cruel wars, or by any unjust means.

Hence usually the worthiest men in the world’s eye are greatest enlargers of power; and such men, bringing appearances of virtue, ability, reputation to aid their endeavours, do most easily compass designs of this nature, finding less obstruction to their attempts; for men are not so apt to suspect their integrity, or to charge them with ambition and avarice; and the few, who discern their aims and the consequences of things, are overborne by the number of those, who are favourably conceited and inclined toward them.

Thus Julius I., Damasus I., Innocent I., Gregory I., and the like Popes, whom history represents as laudable persons, did yet confer to the advancement of papal grandeur. But they who did most advance that interest, as Pope Leo I., Gelasius I., Pope Nicholas I., Pope Gregory VII., in the esteem of true zealots pass for the best Popes. Hence the distinction between a good man, a good prince, a good Pope¹.

8. Men of an inferior condition are apt to express themselves highly in commendation of those who are in a superior rank, especially upon occasion of address and intercourse; which commendations are liable to be interpreted for acknowledgments or attestations of right, and thence do sometimes prove means of creating it.

Of the generality of men it is truly said, that it “does fondly serve fame, and is stunned with titles and images²,” readily ascribing to superiors whatever they claim, without scanning the grounds of their title. Simple and weak men out of abjectedness or fear are wont to crouch, and submit to any thing upon any terms. Wise men do not love brangling, nor will expose their quiet and safety without great reason; thence being inclinable to comply with greater persons. Bad men, out of design to procure advantages or impunity, are prone to flatter and gloze with them. Good men, out of due reverence to them, and in hope of fair usage from them, are ready to compliment them, or treat

¹ Sixtus V.

² —qui famæ servit ineptus,
Ac stupet in titulis et imaginibus. *Hor.*

them with the most respectful terms. Those who are obliged to them will not spare to extol them; paying the easy return of good words for good deeds.

Thus all men conspire to exalt power; the which snatches all good words as true, and construes them to the most favourable sense, and alleges them as verdicts and arguments of unquestionable right. So are the compliments or terms of respect used by Hierome, Austin, Theodoret, and divers others toward Popes, drawn into argument for Papal authority; whenas the actions of such fathers, and their discourses upon other occasions, do manifest their serious judgment to have been directly contrary to his pretences; wherefore the emperor of Constantinople in the Florentine Synod had good reason to decline such sayings for arguments; for “if (says he) any of the saints does in an epistle honour the Pope, shall he take that as importing privileges¹?”

9. Good men commonly (out of charitable simplicity, meekness, modesty and humility, love of peace, and averseness from contention) are apt to yield to the encroachments of those who anywise do excel them; and when such men do yield, others are ready to follow their example. Bad men have little interest to resist, and no heart to stand for public good, but rather strike in presently, taking advantage by their compliance to drive a good market for themselves. Hence so many of all sorts in all times did comply with Popes, or did not obstruct them; suffering them without great obstacle to raise their power.

10. If in such cases a few wise men do apprehend the consequences of things, yet they can do little to prevent them. They seldom have the courage with sufficient zeal to bustle against encroachments; fearing to be overborne by its stream, to lose their labour, and vainly to suffer by it. If they offer at resistance, it is usually faint and moderate: whereas power does act vigorously, and push itself forward with mighty violence; so that it is not only difficult to check it, but dangerous to oppose it.

Ambiguity of words (as it causes many debates, so) yields much advantage to the foundation and amplification of power²: for whatever is said of it, will be interpreted in favour of it, and

¹ Κατὰ ῥητὰ τῶν ἁγίων. Μήπως, φησὶ, τις τῶν ἁγίων ἐν ἐπιστολῇ τιμᾷ τὸν Πάπαν, καὶ ἐκλάβῃ τοῦτο ἀντὶ προνομίων; Syn. Flor. Sess. 25. p. 848.

² Ita de vocabulorum occasionibus plurimum quæstiones subornantur, sicut et de verborum in communionibus. *Tertul.* de Resur. Carn. 54.

will afford colour to its pretences. Words innocently or carelessly used are by interpretation extended to signify great matters, or what you please. For instance,

The word *bishop* may import any kind of superintendency or inspection; hence St. Peter came to be reckoned bishop of Rome, because in virtue of his apostolical office he had inspection over that Church founded by him, and might exercise some episcopal acts.

The word *head* does signify any kind of eminency, the word *prince* any priority, the word to *preside*, any kind of superiority or pre-eminence¹; hence some fathers attributing those names to St. Peter, they are interpreted to have thought him sovereign in power over the apostles. And because some did give like terms to the Pope, they infer his superiority in power over all bishops; notwithstanding such fathers did express a contrary judgment.

The word *successor* may import any derivation of power; hence because St. Peter is said to have founded the Church of Rome, and to have ordained the first bishop there, the Pope is called his successor.

The word *authority* does often import any kind of influence upon the opinions or actions of men (grounded upon eminence of place, worth, reputation, or any such advantage). Hence because the Pope of old sometimes was desired to interpose his authority, they will understand him to have had right to command or judge in such cases²; although authority is sometimes opposed to command, as where Livy says, that “Evander did hold those places by authority rather than by command³,” and Tacitus of the German princes, says, “They are heard rather according to their authority of persuading, than power of commanding⁴.” “The word *judge*,” says Canus, “is frequently used to signify

¹ Καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι κεφαλὴν. Can. Apost. 34.

² Quia duobus episcopis, quorum eâ tempestate summa autoritas erat, non illuserat. *Sulpit. Sev.* ii. 63.

“Because he had not deluded the two bishops who had the greatest authority in those times.”

Non mediocris autoritatis episcopus Carthag. *Aug. Epist.* 162.

“The Bishop of Carthage was of no mean authority.”

³ Evander——eâ autoritate magis quàm imperio retinebat loca. *Liv.* i.

⁴ ——audiuntur autoritate suadendi potiùs quàm jubendi potestate. *Tac. de Mor. Germ.* p. 640.

no more than I do think or conceive¹ ;” whereby he does excuse divers Popes from having decreed a notable error (for Alexander III. says of them, “that they judged that after a matrimony contracted, not consummated ; another may be valid, that being dissolved.”) Yet if the Pope is said to have judged so or so in any case, it is alleged for a certain argument of proper jurisdiction.

11. There is a strange enchantment in words ; which being (although with no great colour of reason) assumed, do work on the fancies of men, especially of the weaker sort. Of these power does ever arrogate to itself such as are most operative, by their force sustaining and extending itself.

So divers prevalent factions did assume to themselves the name of Catholic ; and the Roman Church particularly has appropriated that word to itself, even so as to commit a bull^a, implying Rome and the universe to be the same place ; and the perpetual canting of this term has been one of its most effectual charms to weak people. “I am a Catholic,” that is, “an universal, therefore all I hold is true,” this is their great argument.

The words “successor of Peter, apostolic see, prima sedes,” have been strongly urged for arguments of Papal authority ; the which have beyond their true force (for indeed they signify nothing) had a strange efficacy upon men of understanding and wisdom.

12. The Pope’s power was much amplified by the importunity of persons condemned or extruded from their places, whether upon just accounts, or wrongfully and by faction ; for they finding no other more hopeful place of refuge and redress, did often apply to him ; for what will not men do, whither will not they go in straits² ?

Thus did Marcion go to Rome, and sue for admission to com-

¹ Verbum *judico* frequenter in eâ significatione usurpatur, ut idem sit quod sentio seu opinor. Can. loc. 6. cap. 8. (comp.lib. vi. 1.)

^a “*Catholica* universalis est, tota est, per orbem omnem diffusa ac disseminata : *Romana* pars solum est, particularis est, et Romæ pomœriis circumscripta. Cum *Catholicam Romanam* dicis, idem dicis ac universalem particularem, totam partem, id est, Catholicam non Catholicam. Crackanthorp contra Spalatinum, p. 15.

² —ut ad domini mei tanti pontificis et piissimi patris, omnium ad se confugientium tutissimi defensoris ac protectoris, &c. *Rothaldi* appell. (in P. Nich. I. Ep. 37. p. 563.)

“—my Lord so great a pontiff, and most pious a father, the safe defender and protector of all those that flee unto him for succour.”

munion there¹. So Fortunatus and Felicissimus in St. Cyprian, being condemned in Afric did fly to Rome for shelter, of which absurdity St. Cyprian does so complain². So likewise Martianus and Basilides, in St. Cyprian, being outed of their sees for having lapsed from the Christian profession, did fly to Stephen for succour, to be restored. So Maximus (the Cynic) went to Rome, to get a confirmation of his election at Constantinople. So Marcellus, being rejected for heterodoxy, went thither to get attestation to his orthodoxy (of which St. Basil complains). So Apiarius, being condemned in Afric for his crimes, did appeal to Rome.

And on the other side, Athanasius being with great partiality condemned by the synod of Tyre; Paulus and other bishops being extruded from their sees for orthodoxy³; St. Chrysostom being condemned and expelled by Theophilus and his complices; Flavianus being deposed by Dioscorus, and the Ephesine Synod; Theodoret being condemned by the same, did cry out for help to Rome. Chelidonius, bishop of Resanon, being deposed by Hilarius of Arles, (for crimes) did fly to Pope Leo. Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople, being extruded from his see by Photius, did complain to the Pope⁴.

13. All princes are forward to heap honour on the bishop of their imperial city; it seeming a disgrace to themselves, that so near a relation be an inferior to any other; who is as it were their spiritual pastor, who is usually by their special favour advanced. The city itself and the court will be restless in assisting him to climb.

Thus did the bishop of Constantinople arise to that high pitch of honour, and to be second Patriarch, who at first was a mean suffragan to the bishop of Heraclea; this, by the synods of Constantinople and Chalcedon, is assigned for the reason of his advancement. And how ready the emperors were to promote the dignity of that bishop, we see by many of their edicts to that purpose, as particularly that of Leo⁵.

So, for the honour of their city, the emperors usually did favour the Pope, assisting him in the furtherance of his designs, and ex-

¹ *Cypr.* Ep. 68.

² *Epist.* 55.

³ *Calendion* of Antioch, *Liber.* cap. 18.

⁴ *P. Leo*, Ep. 89. *Marc.* v. 32. *P. Nich.* I. Ep. 38. p. 564. *Rothaldus.*

⁵ *Cod. Lib.* i. tit. ii. cap. 16.

tending his privileges by their edicts at home, and letters to the eastern emperors, recommending their affairs.

So in the synod of Chalcedon we have the letters of Valentinian, together with those of Placidia and of Eudoxia, the empresses, to Theodosius in behalf of Pope Leo, for retractation of the Ephesine synod, wherein they do express themselves engaged to maintain the honour of the Roman see: "Seeing that (says Placidia, mother of Theodosius) it becomes us in all things to preserve the honour and dignity of this chief city, which is the mistress of all others ¹."

So Pope Nicholas confesses, that the emperors had "extolled the Roman see with divers privileges, had enriched it with gifts, had enlarged it with benefits ²" (or benefices), &c.

14. The Popes had the advantage of being ready at hand to suggest what they pleased to the court, and thereby to procure his edicts (directed or dictated by themselves) in their favour, for extending their power, or repressing any opposition made to their encroachments.

Baronius observes that the bishops of Constantinople did use this advantage for their ends; for thus he reflects on the edict of the emperor Leo, in favour of that see: "These things Leo, but questionless conceived in the words of Acacius, swelling with pride ³."

And no less unquestionably did the Popes conceive words for the emperor in countenance of their authority.

Such was that edict of Valentinian ⁴ in favour of Leo, against Hilarius, bishop of Arles ⁵, (in an unjust cause as Binius confesses,) who contested his authority to undo what was done in a Gallican synod. And we may thank Baronius himself for this observation: "By this, reader, thou understandest that when the emperors ordained laws concerning religion, they did it by transcribing and

¹ Ὅποτε πρέπει ἡμᾶς ταύτῃ τῇ μεγίστῃ πόλει, ἣτις δέσποινα πασῶν ὑπάρχει τῶν γεῶν, ἐν πᾶσι τὸ σέβας παραφυλάττει. Syn. Chalc. (p. 27.)

² Qualiter (imperatores) eam diversis beneficiis extulerint, donis ditaverint, beneficiis ampliaverint, qualiter illam, &c. P. Nick. I. Ep. viii. (p. 513.)

"—— Romanus tempore prisco

Pauper erat præsul, regali munere crevit," &c.

Gunth. Lig. lib. vi.

³ Hæc Leo, sed Acacii fastu tumentis proculdubio verbis concepta, et stylo superbiæ exarata. Baron. Ann. 473. § 4.

⁴ Apud Marc. v. 32.

⁵ Bin. ad P. Hil. Ep. xi. p. 576.

enacting the laws of the Church, upon the admonition of the holy bishops requiring them to do their duty¹." It was a notable edict which Pope Hilarius alleges; "It was also decreed by the laws of Christian princes, that whatsoever the bishop of the apostolic see should, upon examination, pronounce concerning Churches and their governors, &c. should with reverence be received and strictly observed²," &c.

Such edicts, by crafty suggestions being at opportune times from easy and unwary princes procured, did hold, not being easily reversed; and the power which the Pope once had obtained by them, he would never part with—fortifying it by higher pretences of divine immutable right³.

The emperor Gratian, having gotten the world under him, did order the Churches to those who would communicate with Pope Damasus. This and the like countenances did bring credit and authority to the Roman see.

15. It is, therefore, no wonder that Popes being seated in the metropolis of the western empire (the head of all the Roman state) should find interest sufficient to make themselves by degrees what they would be, for they not only surpassing the provincial bishops in wealth and repute, but having power in court, *who* dared to pull a feather with them, or to withstand their encroachments? What wise man would not rather bear much, than contest upon such disadvantages, and without probable grounds of success?

16. Princes who favoured them with such concessions, and abetted their undertakings, did not foresee what such increase of power in time would arise to, or suspect the prejudice thence done to imperial authority. They little thought that in virtue thereof Popes would check and mate princes, or would claim superiority over them; for the Popes at that time did behave and express themselves with modesty and respect to emperors.

17. Power once rooted does find seasons and favourable junctures for its growth; the which it will be intent to embrace.

The confusions of things, the eruptions of barbarians, the

¹ Ex his intelligis, Lector, cùm de rebus sacris imperatores leges sanxivere, id ipsum admonitione ss. Præsulum requirementium eorum officium ex scriptis legibus statuisset. *Baron. Ann.* 458. § 4.

² Christianorum quoque principum lege decretum est, etc. *P. Hilarius, Ep. xi.* (p. 576.)

³ *P. Nich. I. Ep. xxxvi. Theod. v. 2.*

straits of emperors, the contentions of princes, &c. did all turn to account for him; and in confusion of things he did snatch what he could to himself.

The declination and infirmity of the Roman empire gave him opportunity to strengthen his interests, either by closing with it, so as to gain somewhat by its concession; or by opposing it, so as to head a faction against it. As he often had opportunity to promote the designs of emperors and princes, so those did return to him increase of authority; so they trucked and bartered together. For when princes were in straits, or did need assistance from his reputation at home to the furtherance of their designs, or support of their interest in Italy, they were content to honour him, and grant what he desired; as in the case of Acacius, which had caused so long a breach, the emperor to engage Pope Hormisdas, did consent to his will. And at the Florentine synod, the emperor did bow to the Pope's terms, in hopes to get his assistance against the Turks.

When the eastern emperors, by his means chiefly, were driven out of Italy, he snatched a good part of it to himself, and set up for a temporal prince¹.

When princes did clash, he, by yielding countenance to one side, would be sure to make a good market for himself; for this pretended successor to the fisherman was really skilled to angle in troubled waters.

They have been the incendiaries of Christendom, the kindlers and fomenters of war; and would often stir up wars, and inclining to the stronger part, would share with the conqueror—as when he stirred up Charles against the Lombards. They would, upon spiritual pretence, be interposing in all affairs².

He did oblige princes, by abetting their cause when it was unjust or weak; his spiritual authority satisfying their conscience: whence he was sure to receive good acknowledgment and recompense. As when he did allow Pepin's usurpation³.

He pretended to dispose of kingdoms, and to constitute princes; reserving obeisance to himself. Gregory VII. granted to Robert

¹ Δρυὸς πεσούσης πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλλίζεται.—“When the oak is fallen every one gets some wood.”

² *Anast.* in Vit. Zach. P. Nich. I. Ep. 25. 30, &c. Non sine suspitione, quod illorum temporum Pontifices, qui bella extinguere, discordias tollere debuissent, suscitarent ea potius atque nutrent. *Modruviensis* Episc. in Conc. Lat. sub Leone X. Sess. vi. (p. 72.)

³ Ann. 752.

Guislard, Naples and Sicily, *beneficiario jure*¹. Innocent II. gave to Roger the title of king².

There is scarce any kingdom^a in Europe which he has not claimed the sovereignty of, by some pretence or other. Princes sometimes for quiet sake have desired the Pope's consent and allowance of things appertaining of right to themselves, whence the Pope took advantage to claim an original right of disposing such things.

The proceeding of the Pope upon occasion of wars is remarkable; when he did enter league with a prince to side with him in a war against another, he did covenant to prosecute the enemy with spiritual arms, (that is, with excommunications and interdicts,) engaging his confederates to use temporal arms. So making ecclesiastical censures tools of interest.

When princes were in difficulties, (by the mutinous disposition of princes, the emulation of antagonists,) he would, as served his interest, interpose; hooking in some advantage to himself.

In the tumults against our King John, he struck in, and would have drawn the kingdom to himself.

He would watch opportunity to quarrel with princes, upon pretence they did intrench on his spiritual power; as about the point of the investiture of bishops, and receiving homage from them.

Gregory VII. did excommunicate Henry III. . *Ann.* 1076.

Calixtus II. Henry IV. . — 1120.

Adrian IV. Frederick, . — 1160.

Celestinus III. Henry V. . — 1195.

Innocent III. Otho, . . — 1219.

Honorius III. and Gregory IX. . Frederick II. — 1220.

Innocent IV. in the Lugd. Conc. Frederick II. — 1245.

18. The ignorance of times did him great service; for then, all the little learning which was, being in his clients and factors, they could instil what they pleased into the credulous people.

¹ Ann. 1060.

² Ann. 1139.

^a "Baronius labours to prove that every country in Europe is a province of these *royalties*, (*regalia Sancti Patri*;) but among them all there is not one, if we except the Neapolitan dominions, which has been claimed with so much pertinacity as Ireland.

"Scotland is the only country to which he is unable to adduce a Papal title."—*Phelan's Digest*, part ii. 31. Alas! poor unhappy Scotland! England, meanwhile, never ceased to be the Pope's "*hortus deliciarum*," his very Paradise of dainty devices! Compare above, p. 45, n. 49.

Then his dictates would pass for infallible oracles, and his decrees for inviolable laws ; whence his veneration was exceedingly increased.

19. He was forward to support factious Churchmen against princes, upon pretence of spiritual interest and liberty¹. And usually by his importunity and arts getting the better in such contests, he thereby did much strengthen his authority.

20. He making himself the head of all the clergy, and carrying himself as its protector and patron, did engage thereby innumerable most able heads, tongues, and pens ; who were devoted to maintain whatever he did, and had little else to do.

21. So great a party he cherished with exorbitant liberties, suffering none to rule over them or touch them beside himself.

22. He did found divers militias and bands of spiritual janisaries^a, to be combatants for his interests ; who, depending immediately upon him, subsisting by his charters, enjoying exemptions by his authority from other jurisdictions, being sworn to a special obeisance of him, were entirely at his devotion, ready with all their might to advance his interests, and to maintain all the pretences of their patron and benefactor.

These had great sway among the people, upon account of their religious guises and pretences to extraordinary heights of sanctimony, austerity, contempt of the world. And learning being mostly confined to them, they were the chief teachers and guides of Christendom ; so that no wonder, if he did challenge and could maintain any thing by their influence.

They did cry up his power as superior to all others. They did attribute to him titles strangely high, vice-god, spouse of the Church, &c. strange attributes of omnipotency, infallibility, &c.

23. Whereas wealth is a great sinew of power, he did invent divers ways of drawing great store thereof to himself².

¹ Anselme, *Ann.* 1102.—Becket, *Ann.* 1154.—*Eadmer.* Matt. Par.

^a “ But the benefit which the Papacy draws further from these friars, stands in the multitude of hearts and hands, of tongues and pens, dispersing in all countries, but united in his service ; men of most fiery and furious zeal, who with incessant industry, and resoluteness incredible, give over no travail, leave no exploit how difficult and dangerous soever unattempted, for the upholding of the Papacy, and advancing of that religion, on which all their comfort and credit in this life, all their hope of prerogative in the life to come depends.” *Sandys's Europæ Speculum*, p. 69.

² Pro pallio omnino aliquid dare prohibeo. *Greg.* I. Ep. 4. 44.

By how many tricks did he proll money from all parts of Christendom? as by

Dispensations for marriage within degrees prohibited, or at uncanonical times; for vows and oaths; for observance of fasts and abstinences; for pluralities and incompatible benefices, non-residences, &c.

Indulgences, and pardons, and freeing souls from the pains of purgatory.

Reservations, and provisions of benefices, not bestowed gratis¹.

Consecrated presents; "*Agnus Dei*'s, swords, roses," &c.²

Confirmations of bishops³; sending palls.

Appeals to his court.

Tributes of Peter-pence⁴, *Annates*, tithes—introduced upon occasion of holy wars, and continued.

Playing fast and loose, tying knots, and undoing them for gain.

Sending legates to drain places of money.

Commutations of penance for money.

Inviting to pilgrimage at Rome.

Hooking in legacies. What a mass of treasure did all this come to—what a trade did he drive⁵!

24. He did indeed easily by the help of his mercenary divines transform most points of divinity in accommodation to his interests of power, reputation, and gain.

25. Any pretence, how slender soever, will in time get some validity; being fortified by the consent of divers authors, and a current of suitable practice.

Any story, serving the designs of a party, will get credit by being often told, especially by writers bearing a semblance of gravity; whereof divers will never be wanting to abet a flourishing party.

26. The histories of some ages were composed only by the Pope's clients, friars and monks, and such people; which therefore are partial to him, addicted to his interests, and under awe of him.

For a long time none dared open his mouth to question any

¹ Vendit plumbum pro auro.

² *Taxa Camerariæ*—

³ In the times of Henry I., the Bishop of York did pay ten thousand pounds sterling for his pall. *Matt. Par.* (p. 274.)

⁴ Peter-pence. *Plat.* p. 257.

⁵ *Quantas nobis divitias peperit hæc fabula Christi?*

of his pretences, or reprehend his practices, without being called heretic, and treated as such.

27. Whereas the Pope had two sorts of opposites to subdue, temporal princes and bishops; his business being to overtop princes, and to enslave all bishops; or to invade and usurp the rights of both; he used the help of each to compass his designs on the other: by the authority of princes oppressing bishops, and by the assistance of bishops mating princes.

28. When any body would not do as he would have them, he did incessantly clamour or whine, that “St. Peter was injured¹.”

29. The forgery of the decretal epistles (wherein the ancient Popes are made expressly to speak and act according to some of his highest pretences, devised long after their times, and which they never thought of, good men) did hugely conduce to his purpose; authorising his encroachments by the suffrage of ancient doctrine and practice: a great part of his canon law is extracted out of these, and grounded on them.

The donation of Constantine^a, fictitious acts of councils, and the like counterfeit stuff, did help thereto; the which were soon embraced, as we see in Pope Gregory II.

As also legends, fables of miracles, and all such “deceivableness of unrighteousness².”

30. Popes were so cunning as to form grants, and impute that to privileges derived from them, which princes did enjoy by right or custom.

31. Synods of bishops called by him at opportune seasons, consisting of his votaries or slaves. None dared therein to whisper any thing to the prejudice of his authority³. He carried whatever he pleased to propose, without check or contradiction. Who dared to question any thing done by such numbers of pastors styling themselves the representatives of Christendom?

32. The having hampered all the clergy with strict oaths^b of

¹ Quando et apostolica præceptio ad injuriam B. Petri in illis partibus non observatur, et à te spernitur et violatur. P. *Nich.* I. Ep. xxvii.

^a See *Inett's* History of the English Church, vol. i. p. 196, 7; and *Lewis's* Life of Bishop Pecock, chap. iii. § 36—8.

² Ἀπάτη τῆς ἀδικίας, 2 Thess. ii. 10. *Twisd.* p. 17. Non necessitatis, sed honoris causâ peto.

³ Extortis assentationibus. P. *Leo*, Epist. (ad Syn. Chalc.)

^b See above in this volume, No. IV. p. 125.

universal obedience to him (beginning about the times of Pope Gregory VII.) did greatly assure his power.

33. When intolerable oppressions and exactions did constrain princes to struggle with him, if he could not utterly prevail, things were brought to composition; whereby he was to be sure for that time a gainer, and gained establishment in some points, leaving the rest to be got afterward in more favourable junctures.

Witness the Concordates between

HENRY II. and P. ALEX. III. *Ann.* 1172.

EDW. III. — P. GREG. XI. — 1373.

HENRY V. — P. MART. V. — 1418.

34. When princes were fain to curb their exorbitancies by pragmatistical sanctions, they were restless till they had got those sanctions revoked. And when they found weak princes, or any prince in circumstances advantaging their design, they did obtain their end. So Pope Leo X. got Lewis XI. to repeal the pragmatistical sanctions of his ancestors.

35. The power he did assume^a to absolve men from oaths and vows, to dispense with prohibited marriages, &c. did not only bring much grist to his mill; but did enable him highly to oblige divers persons (especially great ones) to himself. For to him they owed the quiet of their conscience from scruples. To him they owed the satisfaction of their desires, and legitimation of their issue, and title to their possessions.

36. So the device of indulgences did greatly raise the veneration of him; for who would not adore him that could loose his bands, and free his soul from long and grievous pains?

^a See *Sir Edwin Sandys*, above in this volume, p. 82—8.

IX.

THE PAPAL SUPREMACY NOT INDEFECTIBLE.

POPISH ERRORS AND CORRUPTIONS IN DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE^a.

A FARTHER grand assertion of the Roman party is this, that the Papal supremacy is indefectible, and unalterable.

But good reasons may be assigned why, even supposing that the Pope had an universal sovereignty in virtue of his succession to St. Peter conferred on him, it is not assuredly consequent, that it must always, or does now belong to him. For it might be settled on him not absolutely, but upon conditions, the which failing, his authority may expire. It might be God's will that it should only continue for a time. And there are divers ways whereby, according to common rules of justice, he might be dis-seised thereof.

1. If God had positively declared his will concerning this point, that such a sovereignty was by Him granted irrevocably and immutably, so that in no case it might be removed or altered, then, indeed, it must be admitted for such; but if no such declaration does appear, then, to assert it for such, is to derogate from his power and providence, by exemption of this case from it. It is the ordinary course of Providence so to confer power of any kind or nature on men, as to reserve to Himself the liberty of transferring it, qualifying it, extending or contracting it, abolishing it, according to his pleasure, in due seasons and exigencies of

^a From Dr. *Isaac Barrow*. Works, vol. vi. p. 459—91.

things. Whence no human power can be supposed absolutely stable, or immoveably fixed in one person or place.

2. No power can have a higher source, or firmer ground, than that of the civil government has, for "all such power is from heaven¹," and in relation to that it is said, "There is no power but from God, the powers that are, are ordained by God²:" but yet such power is liable to various alterations, and is like the sea, having ebbs and flows, and ever changing its bounds, either personal or local.

Any temporal jurisdiction may be lost by those revolutions and vicissitudes of things, to which all human constitutions are subject; and which are ordered "by the will and providence of the Most High, who ruleth in the kingdom of men, appointing over it whom he pleaseth; putting down one and setting up another³."

Adam, by God's appointment, was sovereign of the world; and his first-born successors derived the same power from him: yet in course of time that order has been interrupted, and divers independent sovereignties do take place.

Every prince has his authority from God, or by virtue of divine ordination within his own territory; and according to God's ordinance the lawful successor has a right to the same authority; yet by accidents such authority does often fail totally, or in part, changing its extent.

Why then may not any spiritual power be liable to the same vicissitudes? why may not a prelate be degraded as well as a prince? why may not the Pope, as well as the emperor, lose all, or part of his kingdom?

Why may not the successor of Peter, no less than the heir of Adam, suffer a defailer of jurisdiction?

That spiritual corporations, persons, and places are subject to the same contingencies with others, as there is like reason to suppose, so there are examples to prove. God removed his sanctuary from Shiloh; "Go ye now unto my place, which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at first⁴," &c. He deserted Jerusalem. He removes the candlesticks. He placed Eli (of the family of Ithamar) in the high-priesthood⁵, and displaced his race from it: "I said indeed," (says God,) "that thy house and the

¹ John xix. 11.

² Rom. xiii. 1.

³ Dan. v. 21. Psal. lxxv. 7.

⁴ Jer. vii. 12. 14.

⁵ Apoc. ii. 5.

house of thy father should walk before me for ever, but now the Lord saith, Be it far from me ¹," &c.

3. The reason and exigency of things might be sufficient ground for altering a universal jurisdiction : for when it should prove very inconvenient or hurtful, God might order ^a such an alteration to happen, and men be obliged to allow it.

As God first did institute one universal monarchy, but that form (upon the multiplication of mankind, and peopling of the earth) proving incommodious, Providence gave way for its change, and the setting up of particular governments ; to which men are bound to submit ; so God might institute a singular presidency of the Church ; but when the Church grew vastly extended, so that such a government would not conveniently serve the whole, He might order a division, in which we should acquiesce.

4. It has ever been deemed reasonable, and accordingly been practised, that the Church in its exterior form and political administrations should be suited to the state of the world, and constitution of worldly governments ; that there might be no clashing or disturbance from each to other.

Wherefore seeing the world is now settled under so many civil sovereignties, it is expedient that ecclesiastical discipline should be so modelled, as to comply with each of them.

And it is reasonable, that any pretence of jurisdiction should veil to the public good of the Church and the world.

That it should be necessary for the Church to retain the same form of policy or measure of power affixed to persons or places, can no wise be demonstrated by sufficient proof, and it is not consistent with experience ; which shows the Church to have subsisted with variations of that kind.

There has in all times been found much reason or necessity to make alterations as well in the places and bounds of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as of secular empire.

Wherefore St. Peter's monarchy, reason requiring, might be cantonized into divers spiritual supremacies ; and as other ecclesiastical jurisdictions have been chopped and changed, enlarged or diminished, removed and extinguished, so might that of the Roman bishop. The Pope cannot retain power in any state against the will of the prince. He is not bound to suffer corres-

¹ 1 Sam. ii. 30. 1 Kings ii. 27.

^a See *Hooker*, book i. chap. xv. § 3. above, vol. i. p. 176, 7.

pondences with foreigners, especially such who apparently have interests contrary to his honour and the good of his people.

5. Especially that might be done, if the continuance of such a jurisdiction should prove abominably corrupt, or intolerably grievous to the Church.

6. That power is defectible, which, according to the nature and course of things, does sometimes fail.

But the Papal succession has often been interrupted by contingencies (of sedition, schism, intrusion, simoniacal election, deposition, &c. as before showed^a) and is often interrupted by vacancies from the death of the incumbents.

7. If leaving their dubious and false suppositions, (concerning divine institution, succession to St. Peter, &c.) we consider the truth of the case, and indeed the more grounded plea of the Pope, that Papal pre-eminence was obtained by the wealth and dignity of the Roman city, and by the collation or countenance of the imperial authority;—then by the defect of such advantages it may cease or be taken away: for when Rome has ceased to be the capital city, the Pope may cease to be head of the Church. When the civil powers, which have succeeded the imperial, each in its respective territory, are no less absolute than it; they may take it away, if they judge it fit; for whatever power was granted by human authority, by the same may be revoked; and what the emperor could have done, each sovereign power now may do for itself.

An indefectible power cannot be settled by man, because there is no power ever extant at one time greater than there is at another; so that whatever power one may raise, the other may demolish; there being no bonds whereby the present time may bind all posterity. However, no human law can exempt any constitution from the providence of God; which at pleasure can dissolve whatever man has framed. And if the Pope were divested of all adventitious power, obtained by human means, he would be left very bare; and hardly would take it worth his while to contend for jurisdiction.

8. However or whencesoever the Pope had his authority, yet it may be forfeited by defects and defaults incurred by him.

If the Pope does encroach on the rights and liberties of others, usurping a lawless domination, beyond reason and measure, they

^a See vol. vi. 173—5. edit. 1818.

may in their own defence be forced to reject him, and shake off his yoke.

If he will not be content to govern otherwise than by infringing the sacred laws, and trampling down the inviolable privileges of the Churches, either granted by Christ, or established by the sanctions of general synods; he thereby deprives himself of all authority; because it cannot be admitted upon tolerable terms, without greater wrong of many others (whose right outweighs his) and without great mischief to the Church, the good of which is to be preferred before his private advantage.

This was the maxim of a great Pope, a great stickler for his own dignity; for when the bishop of Constantinople was advanced by a general synod above his ancient pitch of dignity, that Pope opposing him did say, that "whoever does affect more than his due, does lose that which properly belonged to him¹;" the which rule if true in regard to another's case, may be applied to the Pope, for "with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again."

On such a supposition of the Papal encroachment, we may return his words upon him; "It is too proud and immoderate a thing to stretch beyond one's bounds, and in contempt of antiquity, to be willing to invade other men's right, and to oppose the primacies of so many metropolitans, on purpose to advance the dignity of one²."

"For the privileges of Churches, being instituted by the canons of the holy Fathers, and fixed by the decrees of the venerable synod of Nice, cannot be plucked up by any wicked attempt, nor altered by any innovation³."

"Far be it from me, that I should in any Church infringe the decrees of our ancestors made in favour of my fellow-priests; for I do myself injury, if I disturb the rights of my brethren⁴."

The Pope surely (according to any ground of Scripture, or

¹ *Propria perdit, qui indebita concupiscit.* P. Leo I. Ep. 54.

² *Superbum nimis est et immoderatum ultra fines proprios tendere, et antiquitate calcata alienum jus velle præripere; utque unius crescat dignitas, tot metropolitanorum impugnare primatus* —. P. Leo I. Ep. 55.

³ *Privilegia enim Ecclesiarum, sanctorum Patrum canonibus instituta, et venerabilis Nicenæ synodi fixa decretis, nullâ possunt improbitate convelli, nullâ novitate mutari.* Ibid.

⁴ *Absit hoc à me, ut statuta majorum con-sacerdotibus meis in quâlibet Ecclesiâ infringam, quia mihi injuriam facio, si fratrum meorum jura perturbo.* Greg. I. Ep. 2. 37.

tradition, or ancient law) has no title to greater principality in the Church, than the Duke of Venice has in that state; now if the Duke of Venice, in prejudice to the public right and liberty, should attempt to stretch his power to an absoluteness of command, or much beyond the bounds allowed him by the constitution of that commonwealth, he would thereby surely forfeit his supremacy, (such as it is) and afford cause to the state of rejecting him:—the like occasion would the Pope give to the Church by the like demeanor.

9. The Pope, by departing from the doctrine and practice of St. Peter, would forfeit his title of successor to him; for in such a case no succession in place or in name could preserve it; “The Popes themselves had swerved and degenerated from the example of Peter¹.”

“They are not the sons of the saints, who hold the places of the saints, but they that do their works².” (Which place is rased out St. Hierome.)

“They have not the inheritance of Peter, who have not the faith of Peter, which they tear asunder by ungodly division³.”

So Gregory Nazianzen says of Athanasius, that “he was successor of Mark, no less in piety than presidency; the which we must suppose to be properly succession⁴:” otherwise the Mufti of Constantinople is successor of St. Andrew, of St. Chrysostom, &c.; the Mufti of Jerusalem to St. James.

If then the bishop of Rome instead of teaching Christian doctrine does propagate errors contrary to it; if instead of guiding into truth and godliness, he seduces into falsehood and impiety; if instead of declaring and pressing the laws of God, he delivers and imposes precepts opposite, prejudicial, destructive of God’s laws; if instead of promoting genuine piety, he does (in some instances) violently oppose it; if instead of maintaining true religion, he does pervert and corrupt it by bold defalcations, by superstitious additions, by foul mixtures and alloys; if he coins

¹ Pontifices ipsi à Petri vestigiis discesserant. *Plat.* in John x. (p. 275.)

² Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum—. *Hieron.* ad Heliod. apud Grat. Dist. xl. cap. 2.

³ Non habent Petri hæreditatem qui Petri fidem non habent, quam impiâ divisione discernunt. *Ambr.* de Pæn. i. 6.

⁴ Οὐχ ἡπτον τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἣ τῆς προεδρίας διάδοχος—ἦν δὲ καὶ κυρίως ὑποληπτέον διαδοχὴν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὁμόγνωμον καὶ ὁμόθρονον· τὸ δὲ ἀντίδοξον καὶ ἀντίθρονον. *Greg. Naz. Or.* 21.

new creeds, articles of faith, new Scriptures, new sacraments, new rules of life, obtruding them on the consciences of Christians; if he conforms the doctrines of Christianity to the interests of his pomp and profit; “making gain godliness;” if he prescribe vain, profane, superstitious ways of worship, turning devotion into foppery and pageantry; if instead of preserving order and peace, he foment discords and factions in the Church; being a make-bate and incendiary among Christians; if he claims exorbitant power, and exercises oppression and tyrannical domination over his brethren; cursing and damning all that will not submit to his dictates and commands; if instead of being a shepherd, he is a wolf, worrying and tearing the flock by cruel persecution:—he by such behaviour *ipso facto* deprives himself of authority and office; he becomes thence no guide or pastor to any Christian; there does in such case rest no obligation to hear or obey him; but rather to decline him, to discost from him, to reject and disclaim him¹.

This is the reason of the case, this the holy Scripture does prescribe, this is according to the primitive doctrine, tradition, and practice of the Church. For,

10. *In reason*, the nature of any spiritual office consisting in instruction, in truth and guidance, in virtue toward attainment of salvation; if any man does lead into pernicious error or impiety, he thereby ceases to be capable of such office: as a blind man, by being so, does cease to be a guide; and much more he, that declares a will to seduce; for, “Who so blind as he that will not see²?”

No man can be bound to “follow any one into the ditch³,” or to obey any one in prejudice to his own salvation; “to die in his iniquity⁴.” Seeing God says in such a case, *μάτην σέβονται με*, “in vain do they worship Me, teaching for doctrines the precepts of men⁵.”

They themselves do acknowledge that heretics cease to be

¹ Non facit Ecclesiastica dignitas Christianum. *Hier.*

“Ecclesiastical dignity makes not a Christian.”

Non omnes episcopi episcopi sunt. *Ibid.*

“All bishops are not bishops.”

Οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῖς κατάσκοποι, οὐ γὰρ Ἐπίσκοποι. *Athan. Const. Ap. viii. 2.*

“They with them are scouts or spies, not overseers or bishops.”

² Luke vi. 39. *Μήτι δύνανται τυφλὸς τυφλὸν ὁδηγεῖν;*

³ Matt. xv. 14.

⁴ Ezek. iii. 18.

⁵ Matt. xv. 9.

bishops; and so to be Popes. Indeed they cease to be Christians; for ἐξέστραπται ὁ τοιοῦτος, “such a one is subverted¹.”

11. According to their principles, the Pope has the same relation to other bishops and pastors of the Church, which they have to their people; he being pastor of pastors: but if any pastor should teach bad doctrine, or prescribe bad practice, his people may reject and disobey him; therefore in proportion, the pastors may desert the Pope misguiding or misgoverning them. In such cases any inferior is exempted from obligation to comply with his superior, either truly or pretendedly such.

12. The case may be that we may not hold communion with the Pope, but may be obliged to shun him; in which case his authority does fail, and no man is subject to him.

13. This is the *doctrine of the Scripture*. The high priest and his fellows, under the Jewish economy, had no less authority than any Pope can now pretend unto²; they did “sit in the chair of Moses³,” and therefore all their true doctrines and lawful directions the people were obliged to learn and observe; but their false doctrines and impious precepts they were bound to shun⁴; and consequently to disclaim their authority so far as employed in urging such doctrines and precepts: “Ἀφετε αὐτοὺς,” “Let them alone,” says our Saviour, “they are blind leaders of the blind⁵.” Under the Christian dispensation, the matter is no less clear; our Lord commands us “to beware of false prophets;” and to “see that no man deceives us⁶;” although he wear the clothing of a sheep, or come under the name of a shepherd (“coming in his name——⁷.”) St. Paul informs us, that if “an apostle, if an angel from heaven⁸” does preach beside the old apostolical doctrine (introducing any new gospel, or a divinity devised by himself) he is to be held accursed by us. He affirms, that even the apostles themselves were not “lords of our faith⁹,” nor might challenge any power inconsistent with the maintenance of Christian truth and piety; “We” (says he) “can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth¹⁰;” the which an ancient writer does

¹ Bell. de P. R. ii. 30. (p. 1083.)

² Matt. xxiii. 2.

³ Matt. xv. 6.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 6. Ὁρᾶτε καὶ προσέχετε ἀπὸ τῆς ζύμης——ἀπὸ τῆς διδαχῆς. Verse 12.

“Beware and take heed of the leaven——of the doctrine.”

⁵ Matt. xv. 14.

⁶ Matt. vii. 15.

⁷ Matt. xxiv. 4.

⁸ Gal. i. 8, 9.

⁹ 2 Cor. i. 24.

¹⁰ 2 Cor. xiii. 7, 8.

well apply to the Pope, saying, that he “could do nothing against the truth more than any of his fellow-priests could do¹ ;” which St. Paul did in practice show, when he resisted St. Peter, “declining from the truth of the Gospel².” He charges, that if any one does ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖν, “teach heterodoxies³,” we should “stand off from him ;” that, “if any brother walketh disorderly, and not according to apostolical tradition, we should withdraw from him⁴ ;” that if any one does “raise divisions and scandals beside the doctrine received from the apostles, we should decline from him⁵ ;” that we are “to refuse any heretical person⁶.” He tells us that “grievous wolves should come into the Church, not sparing the flock⁷ ;” that “from among Christians there should arise men speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them⁸ ;” but no man surely ought to follow, but to shun them.

These precepts and admonitions are general, without any respect or exception of persons great or small, pastor or layman ; nay, they may in some respect more concern bishops than others ; for that they declining from truth, are more dangerous and contagious.

14. *The Fathers* (in reference to this case) do clearly accord, both in their *doctrine* and *practice*.—St. Cyprian tells us, that “a people obedient to the Lord’s commandments, and fearing God, ought to separate itself from a sinful bishop⁹,” that is, from one guilty of such sins which unqualify him for Christian communion or pastoral charge ; and “Let not” (adds he) “the common people flatter itself, as if it could be free from the contagion of guilt, if it communicate with a sinful bishop¹⁰ ;” whose irreligious doctrine or practice does render him incapable of communion ; for

¹ Nec aliquid contra veritatem, sed pro veritate, plus suis con-sacerdotibus potest. *Fac. Hermian.* ii. 6.

² Gal. ii. 11. 14. Ὅτι οὐκ ὀρθοδοδοῦσι πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν τοῦ εὐαγγελίου.

³ 1 Tim. vi. 3. 5. εἴ τις ἐτεροδιδασκαλεῖ — ἀφίστασο ἀπὸ τῶν τοιούτων.

⁴ 2 Thess. iii. 6. στέλλεσθαι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀδελφοῦ —

⁵ Rom. xvi. 17. ἐκκλίνειν ἀπὸ αὐτῶν.

⁶ Tit. iii. 10.

⁷ Acts xx. 29. εἰσελεύσονται εἰς ὑμᾶς.

⁸ Acts xx. 30.

⁹ Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis et Deum metuens à peccatore præposito separare se debet. *Cypr. Ep.* 68.

¹⁰ Nec sibi plebs blandiatur, quasi immunis esse à contagio delicti possit cum sacerdote peccatore communicans. *Ibid.*

“how” (says he elsewhere) “can they preside over integrity and continence, if corruptions and the teaching of vices do begin to proceed from them¹?”

“They who reject the commandment of God, and labour to establish their own tradition, let them be strongly and stoutly refused and rejected by you².”

St. Chrysostome, commenting on St. Paul’s words, “If I or an angel ——” says that “St. Paul meaneth to show, that dignity of persons is not to be regarded where truth is concerned³ ;” that, “if one of the chief angels from heaven should corrupt the Gospel, he were to be accursed⁴ ;” that, “not only if they shall speak things contrary, or overturn all, but if they preach any small matter beside the apostolical doctrine, altering the least point whatever, they are liable to an anathema⁵.”

And elsewhere, very earnestly persuading his audience to render due respect and obedience to their bishop, he yet interposes this exception, “If he hath a perverse opinion, although he be an angel do not obey him ; but if he teacheth right things, regard not his life but his words⁶.”

“Ecclesiastical judges as men are for the most part deceived⁷.”

“For neither are Catholic bishops to be assented to, if peradventure in any case they are mistaken, so as to hold any thing contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God⁸.”

“If there be any Church which rejects the faith, and does not

¹ Quomodo enim possunt integritati et continentiae præesse. si ex ipsis incipiant corruptelæ et vitiorum magisteria procedere? *Cypr. Ep.* 62.

² Qui mandatum Dei rejiciunt, et traditionem suam statuere conantur, fortiter à vobis et firmiter respuantur. *Cypr. Ep.* 40. (p. 73.)

³ Ἀλλὰ δεῖξαι βουλόμενος, ὅτι ἀξίωμα προσώπων οὐ προσίεται, ὅταν περὶ ἀληθείας ὁ λόγος ᾖ. *Chrys. in Gal.* i. 9.

⁴ Κὰν γὰρ τῶν πρώτων Ἀγγέλων ᾗ τις τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, διαφθείρων τὸ κήρυγμα, ἀνάθεμα ἔστω. *Ibid.* i. 8.

⁵ Καὶ οὐκ εἶπεν, ἐὰν ἐναντία καταγγέλλωσιν, ἢ ἀνατρέπωσι τὸ πᾶν, ἀλλὰ κὰν μικρόν τι εὐαγγελίζωνται παρ’ ὃ εὐηγγελισάμεθα, κὰν τὸ τυχὸν παρακινήσωσι, ἀνάθεμα ἔστωσαν. *Ibid.*

⁶ Εἰ μὲν γὰρ δόγμα ἔχει διεστραμμένον, κὰν Ἀγγελος ᾖ, μὴ πείθου· εἰ δὲ ὁρθὰ διδάσκει, μὴ τῷ βίῳ πρόσσεχε, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ῥήμασι. *Chrys. in 2 Tim. Orat.* 2.

⁷ Ecclesiastici judices ut homines plerunque falluntur——. *Aug. c. Cresc.* ii. 21.

⁸ Quia nec Catholicis Episcopis consentiendum est, sicubi fortè falluntur, ut contra canonicas Dei Scripturas aliquid sentiant. *August. de Unit. Eccl.* cap. 10.

hold the fundamentals of the apostolical doctrine, it ought to be forsaken, lest it infect others with its heterodoxy¹.”

If in such a case we must desert any Church, then the Roman ; if any Church, then much more any bishop, particularly him of Rome.

This has been the doctrine of divers Popes.

“ Which not only the apostolical prelate, but any other bishop may do, *viz.* discriminate and sever any men, and any place from the Catholic communion, according to the rule of that fore-condemned heresy².”

“ Faith is universal, common to all, and belongs not only to clergymen but also to laics, and even to all Christians³.”

“ Therefore the sheep which are committed to the cure of their pastor, ought not to reprehend him, unless he swerve and go astray from the right faith⁴.”

15. That this was the current *opinion*, common *practice* does show, there being so many instances of those who rejected their superiors, and withdrew from their communion, in case of their maintaining errors, or of their disorderly behaviour ; such practice having been approved by general and great synods ; as also by divers Popes.

When Nestorius Bishop of Constantinople did introduce new and strange doctrine, “ divers of his presbyters did rebuke him, and withdrew communion from him⁵ ;” which proceeding is approved in the Ephesine Synod.

Particularly Charisius did assert this proceeding in those remarkable words presented to that same synod ; “ It is the wish

¹ Si qua est Ecclesia, quæ fidem respuat, nec apostolicæ prædicationis fundamenta possideat, ne quam labem perfidiæ possit aspergere deserenda est. *Ambr. in Luc. ix. (p. 85.)*

² Quod non solùm præsuli apostolico facere licet, sed cuicunque pontifici, ut quoslibet et quemlibet locum, secundum regulam hæreseos ipsius ante damnatæ à Catholicâ communione discernant. *P. Gelas. 1. Ep. 4.*

³ Fides, universalis est, omnium communis est, non solùm ad clericos, verùm etiam ad laicos, et ad omnes omnino pertinet Christianos. *P. Nich. I. Ep. viii. p. 506.*

⁴ Oves ergò quæ pastori suo commissæ fuerint, eum nec reprehendere, nisi à rectâ fide exorbitaverit, debent——. *P. John I. Ep. i. (apud Bin. tom. iii. p. 812.)*

⁵ Ἐν τῷ συνεδρίῳ πολλάκις τινὲς τῶν εὐλαβεστάτων πρεσβυτέρων ἤλεγξαν αὐτὸν, καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀπειθειαν αὐτοῦ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοινωνίας αὐτοὺς ἐξέβαλον——. *Conc. Eph. part. i. p. 220.*

and desire of all well-affected persons, to give always all due honour and reverence, especially to their spiritual fathers and teachers: but if it should so happen that they who ought to teach, should instil into those who are set under them such things concerning the faith, as are offensive to the ears and hearts of all men, then of necessity the order must be inverted, and they who teach wrong doctrine must be rebuked of those who are their inferiors¹.”

Pope Celestine I. in that case did commend the people of Constantinople, deserting their pastor; “happy flock,” (said he) “to whom the Lord did afford to judge about its own pasture².”

St. Hierome did presume to write very briskly and smartly in reproof of John, Bishop of Jerusalem, in whose province he, a simple presbyter, did reside.

“Who makes a schism in the Church? we, whose whole house in Bethlehem communicate with the Church, or thou, who either believest aright, and proudly concealest the truth, or art of a wrong belief, and really makest a breach in the Church? Art thou only the Church? and is he who offends thee excluded from Christ³?”

Malchion, presbyter of Antioch, disputed against Paulus Samosatenus his bishop⁴.

Beatus, presbyter, confuted his bishop, Elipandus of Toledo.

“But if the rector swerve from the faith, he is to be reprovèd by those who are under him⁵.”

16. The case is the same of the Pope; for if other bishops,

¹ Εὐχὴ μὲν ἅπασιν τοῖς εὖ φρονοῦσι, τιμὴν αἰεὶ καὶ πρόπονσαν αἰδῶ πνευματικοῖς μάλιστα πατράσι καὶ διδασκάλοις ἀπονέμειν· εἰ δὲ που συμβῇ τοὺς διδάσκειν ὀφείλοντας τοιαῦτα τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ἐνηχεῖν περὶ τῆς πίστεως, ὅλα τὰς ἀπάντων ἀκοὰς καὶ καρδίας καταβλάπτει, ἀνάγκη τὴν τάξιν ἀνταλλάττεσθαι, καὶ τοὺς κακῶς διδάσκειν ἐλομένους ὑπὸ τῶν ἡσόνων διελέγχεσθαι. *Charis. in Conc. Eph. Act. vi. p. 358.*

² Μακάριος δὲ ὅμως ἡ ἀγέλῃ ᾗ παρέσχεν ὁ Κύριος κρίνειν περὶ τῆς ἰδίας νομῆς. *Celest. I. in Conc. Eph. p. 190.*

³ Quis scindit Ecclesiam? nos quorum omnis domus in Bethlehem in Ecclesiâ communicat; an tu qui aut benè credis, et superbè de fide taces, aut malè et verè scindis Ecclesiam?—An tu solus Ecclesia es; et qui te offenderit à Christo excluditur? *Hier. Ep. lxi. cap. 16. Ep. lxii.*

⁴ *Malchion* disertissimus Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ presbyter, adversus Paulum Samosatenum, qui Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ episcopus dogma Artemonis instaurarat disputavit. *Hieron. in Catal.*

⁵ Quòd si à fide exorbitaverit rector, tunc arguendus erit à subditis. *Isid. Hisp. de Offic. iii. 39. Vid. Thomam Aq. in iv. Dist. 19. Art. 2.*

who are reckoned successors of the apostles, and vicars of Christ within their precinct; if other patriarchs, who sit in apostolical sees, and partake of a like extensive jurisdiction, by incurring heresy or schism, or committing notorious disorder and injustice, may be deprived of their authority, so that their subjects may be obliged to forsake them, then may the Pope lose his: for truth and piety are not affixed to the Chair of Rome more than to any other; there is no ground of asserting any such privilege either in Holy Scripture or in old tradition; there can no promise be alleged for it, having any probable show (that of *Oravi pro te*, being a ridiculous pretence) it cannot stand without a perpetual miracle;—there is in fact no appearance of any such miracle: from the ordinary causes of great error and impiety (that is, ambition, avarice, sloth, luxury) the Papal state is not exempt, yea apparently it is more subject to them than any other; all ages have testified and complained thereof.

17. Most eminent persons have in such cases withdrawn communion from the Pope; as elsewhere we have showed by divers instances.

18. The Canon law itself does admit the Pope may be judged if he be a heretic.—“Because he that is to judge all persons is to be judged of none, except he be found to be gone astray from the faith¹.”

The supposition does imply the possibility; and therefore the case may be put that he is such, and then he does (according to the more current doctrine ancient and modern) cease to be a bishop, yea a Christian; hence no obedience is due to him; yea no communion is to be held with him.

19. This in fact was acknowledged by a great Pope; allowing the condemnation of Pope Honorius for good, because he was erroneous in point of faith: “for” (says he, in that which is called the Eighth Synod) “although Honorius was anathematized after his death by the Oriental bishops, it is yet well known that he was accused for heresy; for which alone it is lawful for inferiors to rise up against superiors².”

¹ Quia cunctos ipse judicaturus à nemine est judicandus, nisi deprehendatur à fide devius. *Gra. dist. xl. cap. 6.* Vid. *P. Innoc. III. apud Laun. contr. Baron.*

² Καὶ γὰρ εἰ καὶ τῷ Ὁνωρίῳ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν μετὰ θάνατον ἀνάθεμα ἐβρέθη, ὅμως γνωστόν ἐστιν, ὅτι ἐπὶ αἰρέσει κατηγορήθη, δι’ ἣν καὶ μόνον ἔξεστι τοὺς ὑποδεστέρους τῶν μειζόνων κατεξάνιστασθαι. *Syn. VIII. Act. 7. p. 963.*

Now that the Pope (or Papal succession) does pervert the truth of *Christian doctrine*, in contradiction to the Holy Scripture, and primitive tradition; that he does subvert *the practice of Christian piety*^a, in opposition to the divine commands; that he teaches falsehoods, and maintains impieties, is notorious in many particulars, some whereof we shall touch.

We justly *might* charge him with all those extravagant doctrines and practices which the high-flying doctors do teach, and which the fierce zealots upon occasion do act; for the whole succession of Popes of a long time has most cherished and encouraged such folks, looking squintly on others, as not well-affected to them; but we shall only touch those new and noxious or dangerous positions, which great synods, managed and confirmed by their authority, have defined; or which they themselves have magisterially decreed; or which are generally practised by their influence or countenance.

It is manifest, that the Pope does support and cherish as his special favourites the vendors of wicked errors; such as those who teach the Pope's infallibility, his power over temporal princes, to cashier and depose them, to absolve subjects from their allegiance—the doctrine of equivocation, breach of faith with heretics, &c. the which doctrines are heretical, as inducing pernicious practice:—whence whoever does so much as communicate with the maintainers of them, according to the principles of ancient Christianity, are guilty of the same crimes.

The holy Scripture and Catholic antiquity do teach and enjoin us “to worship and serve God alone,” our Creator; forbidding us to worship any creature, or “fellow-servant¹,” even not angels. “For I, who am a creature, will not endure to worship one like to me².”

But the Pope and his clients do teach and charge us to wor-

^a With the whole of what follows the reader will do well to compare Bp. Taylor's *Dissuasive from Popery*, part i. chap. ii. and iii. Works, vol. x. p. 186—262, 8vo. and the further proofs and illustrations in part ii. vol. x. and xi.: the author's great object in the former chapter being to prove that “the Church of Rome teaches doctrines and uses practices which are direct impieties, and gives warrant to a wicked life: and in the latter, that she teaches doctrines in many things destructive of Christian society in general, and of monarchy in special.”

¹ Matt. iv. 10. Apoc. xix. 10. xxii. 9. Col. ii. 18. Rom. i. 25.

² Κτίσμα γὰρ ὧν οὐκ ἀνέξομαι τὸν ὅμοιον προσκυνεῖν. Bas. apud Sozom. vi. 16.

ship angels, and dead men; yea even to venerate “the reliques and dead bodies of the saints¹.”

The holy Scripture teaches us “to judge nothing” (about the present or future state of men, absolutely) “before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of hearts, and then each man shall have praise of God².”

But the Pope notoriously, in repugnance to those precepts, anticipating God’s judgment, and arrogating to himself a knowledge requisite thereto, does presume to determine the state of men, canonizing them, declaring them to be saints, and proposing them to be worshipped; and on the other side, he damneth, curseth, and censureth his fellow-servants.

God in his law does command us not to “bow down ourselves unto any image,” or worship “the likeness of any thing in heaven or earth, or under the earth³,” the which law (whether moral or positive) the gospel does ratify and confirm, charging us to “keep ourselves from idols,” and “to fly worshipping of idols⁴,” that is, to observe the second commandment; the validity whereof the Fathers most expressly assert; and divers of them were so strict in their opinion about it, that they deemed it unlawful so much as to make any image⁵.

But the Pope and his adherents (in point-blank opposition to divine law and primitive doctrine) does require us to “fall down before,” and to worship images. “Moreover we decree that the images of saints be especially had and retained in Churches, and that due honour and veneration be imparted to them —— so that by those images which we kiss, and before which we uncover the head and fall down, we adore Christ, and venerate the saints, whose likeness they bear⁶.”

⁴ Similiter et sanctos unà cum Christo regnantes venerandos atque invocandos esse.——Atque horum reliquias esse venerandas. *Pii IV. Profess. fid.* Bonum atque utile esse eos invocare——sanctorum quoque corpora——à fidelibus veneranda esse. *Conc.*

² 1 Cor. iv. 5. Rom. xiv. 4.

³ Exod. xx. 4. οὐ ποιήσεις σεαυτῷ εἰδωλον, οὐδὲ παντὸς ὁμοίωμα.

⁴ 1 John v. 21. 1 Cor. x. 14. vii.

⁵ *Clem. Alex. Tertull.*

⁶ Imagines porrò——Sanctorum in templis præsertim habendas, et retinendas, eisque debitum honorem et venerationem impertiendam —— ità ut per imagines, quas osculamur, et coram quibus caput aperimus, et procumbimus, Christum adoremus, et sanctos quorum illæ similitudinem gerunt, veneremur. *Conc. Trid. Sess. 25.*

Neither is he satisfied to recommend and decree these unwarrantable venerations, but (with a horrible strange kind of uncharitableness and ferity) does he “anathematise those who teach or think any thing opposite to his decrees concerning them¹,” so that if the ancient Fathers should live now, they would live under this curse.

The holy Scripture, under condition of repentance and amendment of life, upon recourse to God and trust in his mercy, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, does offer and promise remission of sins, acceptance with God, justification and salvation; this is the tenor of the evangelical covenant: nor did the primitive Church know other terms².

But the Pope does preach another doctrine, and requires other terms as necessary for remission of sins and salvation; for he has decreed the confession of all and each mortal sin which a man by recollection can remember, to a priest, to be necessary thereto—anathematising all who shall say the contrary; although the Fathers (particularly St. Chrysostome, frequently) have affirmed the contrary³.

The which is plainly preaching another Gospel, (forged by himself and his abettors,) as offering remission upon other terms than God has prescribed; and denying it upon those which Christianity proposes.

He teaches that no sin is pardoned, without absolution of a priest.

He requires satisfaction imposed by a priest, besides repentance and new obedience, as necessary. Which is also another Gospel⁴.

¹ Siquis autem his decretis contraria docuerit, aut senserit, anathema sit. Conc. Trid. Sess. 25.

² Ezek. xviii. Luke xv. Rom. x. 9. Mark i. 15.

³ Si quis dixerit in sacramento pœnitentiæ ad remissionem peccatorum necessarium non esse jure divino confiteri omnia et singula peccata mortalia, quorum memoria cum debitâ et diligenti præmeditatione habeatur—ana-thema sit. Sess. 14. de Pœn. Can. 7.

“If any one shall say, that in the sacrament of penance it is not necessary by divine right to confess all and singular mortal sins, the remembrance whereof may be had by due and diligent premeditation—let him be anathema.”

⁴ Si quis negaverit ad integram et perfectam peccatorum remissionem requiri—contritionem, confessionem, et satisfactionem. Sess. 14. Can. 4.

“If any shall deny that contrition, confession, and satisfaction is required to the entire and perfect remission of sin.”

He dispenses pardon of sin upon condition of performances unnecessary and insufficient; such as undertaking "pilgrimages to the shrines of saints, visiting Churches, making war upon infidels or heretics, contributing money, repeating prayers, undergoing corporeal penances¹," &c. Which is likewise to frame and publish another Gospel.

These doctrines are highly presumptuous, and well may be reputed heretical.

God has commanded that "every soul should be subject to the higher powers temporal, as to God's ministers²," so as to obey their laws, to submit to their judgments, to pay tribute to them. And the Fathers expound this law to the utmost extent and advantage. "If every soul, then yours; if any attempt to except you, he goes about to deceive you³."

But the Pope countermands and exempts all clergymen from those duties, by his canon law, excommunicating lay judges, who shall perform their office in regard to them. "Because, indeed, some lay persons constrain ecclesiastics, yea, and bishops themselves, to appear before them, and to stand to their judgment; those that henceforth shall presume to do so, we decree that they shall be separate from the communion of the faithful⁴."

The Scriptures do represent the king (or temporal sovereign) as supreme over his subjects, to whom all are obliged to yield special respect and obedience. The Fathers yield him the same place, above all, next to God, and subject to God alone. The ancient good Popes did acknowledge themselves servants, and subjects to the emperor⁵.

¹ Et qui Hierosolymam proficiscuntur, et ad Christianam gentem defendendam, et tyrannidem infidelium debellandum efficaciter auxilium præbuerint, quorum peccatorum remissionem concedimus—. Conc. Lat. i. can. 11.

"And whoever go to Jerusalem and powerfully afford help to defend Christian people, and to subdue the tyranny of infidels, to them we grant forgiveness of their sins."

² Rom. xiii. 1. Tit. iii. 1. 1 Pet. *κάν ἀπόστολος.* *Chrys.*

³ Si omnis et vestra—si quis tentat excipere, conatur decipere. *Bern.* Ep. 42.

⁴ Lex canonica simpliciter eos eximit. *Bell. de Cler. cap. 1.* Sanè quia laici quidam ecclesiasticas personas et ipsos etiam episcopos suo judicio stare compellunt, eos qui de cætero id præsumperint, à communione fidelium decernimus segregandos. Conc. Lat. iii. can. 14. Conc. Lat. ii. can. 15. *Steph.* VI. Ep. i. (tom. i. p. 130.) *Nichol.* I. Ep. viii. (tom. vi. p. 513.)

⁵ *Tertul. Opt. Cyrill. &c. alibi. Greg. Ep. ii. 62. Agatho, &c.*

But later Popes, like “the man of sin” in St. Paul, have advanced themselves above all civil power, claiming to themselves a supereminency not only of rank but of power, over all Christian princes—even to depose them. “Christ has committed the rights both of terrestrial and celestial government to that blessed man who bears the keys of eternal life ².”

“If the secular power be believers, God would have them subject to the priests of the Church——Christian emperors ought to submit, and not prefer the execution of their laws to the rulers of the Church ³.”

God by indispensable law has obliged us to retain our obedience to the king, even Pagan: charging us, under pain of damnation, to be subject to him, and not to resist him.—

But the Pope is ready on occasion to discharge subjects from that obligation, to absolve them from their solemn oaths of allegiance, to encourage insurrection against him, to prohibit obedience.—“We, observing the decrees of our holy predecessors, by our apostolical authority absolve those from their oath who were bound by their fealty and oath to excommunicated persons; and we forbid them by all means that they yield them no allegiance till they come and make satisfaction ⁴.”

Thus does he teach and prescribe rebellion, perjury, together with all the murders and rapines consequent on them; which is a far greater heresy than if he should teach adultery, murder, or theft to be lawful. “For they are enjoined by no authority to perform the allegiance which they have sworn to a Christian prince, who is an adversary to God and his saints, and contemns their commands ⁵.”

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 4.

² Christus beato æternæ vitæ clavigero terreni simul et cœlestis imperii jura commisit. P. *Nich.* II. apud Grat. dist. xxii. cap. i. *Greg.* VII. Ep. viii. 21. Caus. xv. qu. 6 cap. 3.

³ Seculi potestates si fideles sunt, Deus Ecclesiæ sacerdotibus voluit esse subjectas——Imperatores Christiani subdere debent executiones suas Ecclesiasticis præsulibus, non præferre. P. *Joh.* VIII. apud Grat. dist. xvi. cap. 11.

⁴ Nos sanctorum prædecessorum nostrorum statuta tenentes, eos qui excommunicatis fidelitate aut sacramento constricti sunt, Apostolicâ auctoritate à sacramento absolvimus; et ne eis fidelitatem observent omnibus modis prohibemus, quousque ipsi ad satisfactionem veniant. *Greg.* VII. in Syn. Rom. *Grat.* Caus. xv. qu. 6. cap. 4.

⁵ Fidelitatem enim quam Christiano principi jurârunt, Deo ejusque sanctis

Not only the holy Scripture, but common sense does show it to be an enormous presumption to obtrude for the inspirations, oracles, and dictates of God, any writings or propositions, which are not really such¹.

This the Pope does notoriously, charging us to admit divers writings, (which the greatest part of learned men, in all ages, have refused for such,) as sacred and canonical, anathematising all those who do not hold each of them for such. Even as they are extant in a translation, not very exact, and framed partly out of Hebrew, partly out of Greek, upon divers accounts liable to mistake, as its author St. Hierome does avow².

According to which decree, all who consent with St. Hierome, St. Austin, St. Athanasius, &c. with common sense, with the author of the Second of Maccabees himself, must incur a curse.—What can be more uncharitable, more unjust, more silly than such a definition?

He pretends to infallibility, or encourages them who attribute it to him; which is a continual enthusiasm and profane bold imposture.

The Scripture does avow a singular reverence due to itself, as containing the oracles of God.

But the Pope does obtrude the oral traditions of his Church (divers of which evidently are new, dubious, vain——) to be worshipped with equal reverence as the holy Scripture. “And also receives and venerates with the like pious respect and reverence the traditions themselves, which have been preserved by continual succession in the Catholic Church³.”

Among which traditions they reckon all the tricks and trum-

adversanti, eorum præcepta calcanti, nullâ cohibentur auctoritate persolvere—
P. *Urb.* II. apud Grat. Caus. xv. qu. 6. cap. 5.

¹ Ezek. xiii. 3, &c.

² Si quis autem libros ipsos integros cum suis partibus, prout in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ legi consueverunt, et in veteri vulgatâ Latinâ editione habentur pro sacris et canonicis non suscepit——anathema sit. Conc. Trid. Sess. 4.

“But if any shall not receive for sacred and canonical, those whole books with the parts of them, according as they have been wont to be read in the Catholic Church, and are had in the old vulgar Latin edition, let him be anathema.”

³ ——nec non traditiones ipsas——continuâ successione in Ecclesiâ Catholicâ conservatas pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit, et veneratur. Syn. Trid. Sess. 4.

pery of their mass service, together with all their new notions about purgatory, extreme unction, &c. He also used several ceremonies, as mystical benediction, lights, incensings, garments, and many other such things, from apostolical discipline and tradition¹.

The Scriptures affirm themselves to be written for common instruction, comfort, edification in all piety; they do therefore recommend themselves to be studied and searched by all people, as the best and surest means of attaining knowledge and finding truth. The Fathers also do much exhort all people (even women and girls) constantly to read, and diligently to study the Scriptures².

But the Pope does keep them from the people, locked up in languages not understood by them³, prohibiting translations of them to be made or used.—The Scripture teaches, and common sense shows, and the Fathers do assert (nothing indeed more frequently or more plainly) that all necessary points of faith and good morality are with sufficient evidence couched in holy Scripture, so that “a man of God,” or pious men may thence “be perfectly furnished to every work⁴ :” but they contrariwise blaspheme the Scriptures as obscure, dangerous, &c.

Common sense dictates that devotions should be performed with understanding and affection; and that consequently they should be in a known tongue: and St. Paul expressly teaches that it is requisite for private and public edification. “From this doctrine of Paul it appears that it is better for the edification of the Church that public prayers, which are said in the audience

¹ Cæremonias item adhibuit, ut mysticas benedictiones, lumina, thymiamata, vestes, aliaque id genus multa ex Apostolicâ disciplinâ et traditione——. Conc. Trid. Sess. 22. cap. 5. 11, de Sacrif. Miss.

² 2 Tim. iii. 15. Rom. xv. 4. 1 Cor. ix. 10. x. 11. 2 Pet. i. 20. *ἐκ βρῆ-φοῦς*. John v. 39. Act. xvii. 11. Psalm cxix.

Hier. ad Læt. Epitaph. Paul. vit. Hilar.

Chrys. in Coloss. Or. 9.

Aug. Serm. 55. de temp.

³ N. P. Pius IV. did authorize certain rules for prohibition and permission of books, in which it is permitted to bishops to grant a faculty of reading the Scriptures translated; but to this rule there is added an observation, that “this power was taken from bishops by command of the Roman Universal Inquisition.” Ind. Lib. Prohib. à Clem. VIII.

⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 17.

of the people, should be said in a tongue common to the clergy and the people, than that they should be said in Latin¹."

All ancient Churches did accordingly practise; and most others do so, beside those which the Pope does ride.

But the Pope will not have it so, requiring the public liturgy to be celebrated in an unknown tongue, and that most Christians shall say their devotions like parrots. He anathematizes those who think the mass should be celebrated in a vulgar tongue²; that is all those who are in their right wits, and think it fit to follow the practice of the ancient Church.

The Holy Scripture teaches us that there is but one Head of the Church; and the Fathers do avow no other (as we have elsewhere shown^a).

But the Pope assumes to himself the headship of the Church, affirming all power and authority to be derived from him into the subject members of the Church³.

"We decree that the Roman Pontiff is the true vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church⁴."

The Scripture declares that God did institute marriage for remedy of incontineny and prevention of sin, forbidding the use of it to none who should think it needful or convenient for them, reckoning the "prohibition of it" among heretical doctrines, implying it to be "imposing a snare⁵" upon men.

But the Pope and his complices do prohibit it to whole orders of men, (priests, &c.) engaging them into dangerous vows⁶.

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 14.—Ex hac Pauli doctrinâ habetur, quod melius est ad Ecclesiæ ædificationem orationes publicas, quæ audiente populo dicuntur, dici linguâ communi clericis et populo, quam dici Latinè. *Cajet.* in 1 Cor. xiv.,

² —aut linguâ tantum vulgari missam celebrari debere—anathema sit. Sess. 22. Can. 9.

^a See vol. vi. p. 203—18.

³ A quo tanquam capite omnis in subjecta membra potestas et autoritas derivetur. P. *Pius II.* in Bull. Retract.

⁴ Definimus Romanum Pontificem—verum Christi Vicarium, totiusque Ecclesiæ caput—, Defin. Syn. Flor.

⁵ Matt. xix. 11.

Μὴ οὐκ ἔχομεν ἐξουσίαν; 1 Cor. ix. 5.—Κωλύόντων γαρμῖν· 1 Tim. iv. 3.—Βρόχον ἐπιβάλλειν· 1 Cor. vii. 35.

⁶ Vid. tom. vii. Conc. p. 465.

Syn. Trid. Sess. 24. de matr. can. 9.

Our Lord forbids any marriage lawfully contracted to be dissolved, otherwise than in case of adultery¹.

But the Pope commands priests married to be divorced. "And that marriages contracted by such persons should be dissolved²."

He dissolves matrimony agreed, by the profession of monkery of one of the espoused. "If any shall say that matrimony confirmed, not consummate, is not dissolved by the solemn profession of religion of either party, let him be anathema³."

Our Saviour did institute and enjoin us (under pain of damnation, if we should wilfully transgress his order) to eat of his body, and drink of his blood, in participation of the Holy Supper⁴.

The Fathers did accordingly practise, with the whole Church, till late times.

But "notwithstanding Christ's institution⁵" (as they express it) Papal synods do prohibit all laymen, and priests not celebrating, to partake of Christ's blood; so maiming and perverting our Lord's institution: "and yet they decline to drink the blood of our redemption⁶."

In defence of which practice they confound body and blood⁷; and under a curse would oblige us to believe that one kind does contain the other, or that a part does contain the whole.

Whereas our Lord says, that "whoso eateth his flesh and drinketh his blood hath eternal life⁸;" and consequently sup-

¹ Matt. v. 32. xix. 7. 1 Cor. vii. 10.

² Contracta quoque matrimonia ab hujusmodi personis disjungi—. Conc. Lat. i. cap. 21. Lat. ii.

Trid. Sess. 24. Can. 9.

³ Si quis dixerit matrimonium ratum, non consummatum, per solennem religionis professionem alterius conjugum non dirimi, anathema sit. Sess. 24. Can. 6.

⁴ Πίετε ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντες. Matt. xxvi. 27. ἐὰν μὴ—πίητε αὐτοῦ τὸ αἷμα, οὐκ ἔχετε ζωὴν. John vi. 53.

⁵ Non obstante. Conc. Const. Sess. 13.

Conc. Trid. Sess. 13. cap. 8. et Can. 3. Sess. 21. cap. 4. et Can. 3.

⁶ This P. Leo I. condemneth. De Quadr. Serm. iv. p. 38. "Sanguinem redemptionis nostræ haurire declinant"—. P. Gelasius calls the division of the sacrament a grand sacrilege. Gratian. in De Consecr. dist. 2. cap. 12.

⁷ Conc. Trid. Sess. 21. Can. 3. Sess. 13. Can. 3.

⁸ John vi. 54.

Si quis dixerit tantum in usu, &c.

Trid. Conc. Sess. 13. cap. 8. et Can. 4.

poses that bad men do not partake of his body and blood; yet they condemn this assertion under a curse.

The holy Scripture, and the Fathers after it, commonly do call the elements of the eucharist, after consecration, bread and wine¹; affirming them to retain their nature².

But the Popish cabal anathematizes those who say, "that bread and wine do then remain."

"If any shall say that in the Holy Sacrament of the Eucharist the substance of bread and wine remain——let him be anathema³."

The nature of the Lord's Supper does imply communion and company; but they forbid any man to say that a priest "may not communicate alone⁴;" so establishing the belief of nonsense and contradiction.

The Holy Scripture teaches us that our Lord has departed, and is absent from us in body, until that he shall come to judge, which is "called his presence;" that heaven, whither he ascended, and where he sits at God's right hand, must "hold him till the times of the restitution of all things⁵."

But the Pope with his Laterane and Tridentine complices, draw him down from heaven, and make him corporally present every day, in numberless places here.

The Scripture teaches us, that our Lord is a man, "perfectly like to us, in all things⁶."

But the Pope and his adherents make him extremely different from us, as having a body at once present in innumerable places; insensible, &c., divested of the properties of our body; thereby destroying his human nature, and in effect agreeing with Eutyches, Apollinarius, and other such pestilent heretics.

The Scripture represents him born once for us: but they affirm him every day made by a priest uttering the words of con-

¹ ἄρτον τοῦτον. 1 Cor. xi. 26.

² Theod. Gelas.

³ Si quis dixerit in Sacrosancto Eucharistiæ Sacramento remanere substantiam panis et vini——anathema sit. Trid. Conc. de Euch. Sess. 13. Can. 2.

⁴ Si quis dixerit Missas in quibus sacerdos solus sacramentaliter communicat, illicitas esse, anathema sit.

Sess. 22. de sacr. Miss. Can. 8. Sess. 13. Can. 8.

⁵ 2 Cor. v. 6. Acts ii. 33. Col. iii. 1.

Εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς ἐκάθισε. Heb. x. 12. Ὅν δὲ οὐρανὸν δέχεται—. Acts iii. 21.

⁶ Ὡφείλε κατὰ πάντα τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὁμοιωθῆναι. Heb. ii. 17.

secration; as if that which before did exist could be made; as if a man could make his Maker.

The Scripture teaches that our Lord was “once offered for expiation of our sins¹;” but they pretend every day to offer him up as “a propitiatory sacrifice.”

These devices, without other foundation than a figurative expression (which they resolve to expound in a proper sense, although even in that very matter divers figurative expressions are used, as they cannot but acknowledge), they with all violence and fierceness obtrude upon the belief as one of the most necessary and fundamental articles of the Christian religion.

The Scripture teaches us humbly to acknowledge the rewards assigned by God to be gratuitous and free; and that we, “after we have done all, must acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants².”

But the Papists curse those who, although out of humility and modesty, will not acknowledge the good works of justified persons to be truly meritorious; “deserving the increase of grace, eternal life, and augmentation of glory³ :” so forcing us to use saucy words and phrases, if not impious in their sense.

The Scripture teaches one Church diffused over the whole world; whereof each part is bound to maintain charity, peace, and communion with the rest, upon brotherly terms.

But the Romanists arrogate to themselves the name and privilege of the only Church; condemning all other Churches beside their own, and censuring all for apostatical who do not adhere to them or submit to their yoke; just like the Donatists, who said that “the world had apostatized⁴,” excepting those who upon their own terms did communicate with them; only the communion of Donatus remained the true Church.

The holy Scripture bids us take care of persons pretending to extraordinary inspirations; charging on the Holy Spirit their own conceits and devices⁵.

Such have been their synods, boldly fathering their decrees on God’s Spirit——. And their Pope is infallible, by virtue of inspiration communicated to him, when he pleases to set himself

¹ Heb. ix. 26. x. 10. 12. 14. ἐφάπαξ. μιᾷ προσφορᾷ.

² Eph. ii. 8, 9. Tit. iii. 5. Rom. iii. 24. Luke xvii. 10.

³ Sess. 6. de Justif. Can. 32.

⁴ Orbis terrarum apostatavit, et sola remansit Donati communio. *Aug. de Unit. 12.*

⁵ 1 John iv. 1. Jer. xxix. 8.

right in his chair. Whence we may take them for bodies of enthusiasts and fanatics: the difference only is, that other enthusiasts pretend singly, they conjunctly and by conspiracy. Others pretend it in their own direction and defence, these impose their dreams on the whole Church.

If they say that God has promised his Spirit to his Church; it is true, but He has no less plainly and frequently promised it to single Christians, who should seek it earnestly of Him¹.

The ancient Fathers could in the Scriptures hardly discern more than two sacraments or mysterious rites of our religion, by positive law and institution of our Saviour to be practised.

But the Popes have devised others, and under uncharitable curses propound them to be professed for such; affirming them to confer grace by the bare performance of them².

Every clergyman and monk is bound by Pius IV. to profess "there are just seven of them³;" and the Tridentine synod "anathematizeth all those, who do say there are more or fewer⁴;" although the ancients did never hit on that number.

"But these our sacraments both contain grace, and also confer it upon those who worthily receive them⁵."

They require men to believe under a curse that each of those were instituted of Christ, and confer grace by the bare performance⁶.

Particularly, they curse those, who do not hold "matrimony for a sacrament, instituted by Christ, and conferring grace⁷."

¹ Luke xi. 13. James i. 5. 1 John ii. 27. Heb. viii. 11. Rom. viii. 9. Acts v. 32. *Aug. Doctr. Christ. Ep. ad Jen.*

² Si sacramenta essent pauciora, magna impietas fuisset, et superstitio, etc. *Bell. de Sacr. ii. 25.*

"If the sacraments were fewer, there would have been great impiety and superstition," &c.

³ Profiteor quoque septem esse propriè et verè sacramenta. *Bulla Pii IV.*

⁴ Si quis dixerit—esse plura vel pauciora quàm septem—anathema sit. *Syn. Trid. Sess. 7. Can. 1.*

⁵ Hæc verò nostra et continent gratiam, et ipsam dignè suscipientibus conferunt. *P. Eug. in Instr. Arm.*

⁶ Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam—anathema sit. *Ibid. Can. 8.*

⁷ Si quis dixerit matrimonium non esse verè ac propriè unum ex septem legis evangelicæ sacramentis, à Christo Domino institutum — neque gratiam conferre, anathema sit. *Sess. 24. Can. 1.*

What can be more ridiculous than to say, that marriage was instituted by Christ, or that it does confer grace?

Yet with another anathema they prefer virginity before it : and why forsooth is not that another sacrament? And then they must be comparing the worth of these sacraments, condemning those heavily, who may conceive them equal, as being divine institutions¹.

“ If any shall say that these seven sacraments are so equal one to another, that one is in no respect of more worth than another, let him be anathema². ”

The first, as it seems, who reckoned the sacraments to be seven, was Peter Lombard³; whom the schoolmen did follow; and Pope Eugenius IV. followed them; and afterward the Trent men formed it into an article backed with an anathema.

Upon which rash and peremptory sentence, touching all ancient divines, we may note;

1. Is it not strange that an article of faith should be formed upon an ambiguous word, or a term of art, used with great variety?

2. Is it not strange to define a point, whereof it is most plain that the Fathers were ignorant, wherein they never did agree or resolve any thing?

3. Yea whereof they speak variously.

4. Is it not odd and extravagant to damn or curse people for a point of so little consideration or certainty?

5. Is it not intolerable arrogance and presumption to define, nay indeed to make an article of faith, without any manner of ground or colour of authority either from Scripture or the tradition of the ancient Fathers⁴?”

The holy Scripture forbids us “ to call any man master upon earth⁵, ” or absolutely to subject our faith to the dictates of any man; it teaches us, that the apostles themselves are “ not lords of

¹ Sess. 24. Can. 10.

² Si quis dixerit hæc septem sacramenta ita esse inter se paria, ut nullâ ratione aliud sit alio dignius, anathema sit. Sess. 7. Can. 3.

³ Novæ legis septem sunt sacramenta, etc. P. *Eug.* in Instr. Arm. Bellarmine could find none before him. Vid. de Sacram. 2. 25.

⁴ Multa dicuntur à veteribus sacramenta præter ista septem. *Bell.* de Sacram. 2. 24.

“ Many things are by the ancients called sacraments besides these seven.”

⁵ Matt. xxiii. 8. 2 Cor. i. 24. 1 Thess. v. 21. Col. ii. 8. Matt. xv. 9.

our faith," so as to oblige us to believe their own inventions; it forbids us to swallow whole the doctrines and precepts of men, without examination of them. It forbids us to admit "various and strange doctrines¹."

But the Pope and Roman Church exact from us a submission to their dictates, admitting them for true, without any farther inquiry or discussion, barely upon his authority. "They who are provided of any benefices whatever, having cure of souls, let them promise and swear obedience to the Roman Church²."

They require of us without doubt to believe, to profess, to assert innumerable propositions, divers of them new and strange, no wise deducible from Scripture or apostolical tradition, the very terms of them being certainly unknown to the Primitive Church, devised by human subtilty, curiosity, contentiousness—divers of them being (in all appearance, to the judgment of common sense) uncertain, obscure, and intricate; divers of them bold and fierce; divers of them frivolous and vain; divers of them palpably false. Namely all such propositions, as have been taught by their great juntos, allowed by the Pope, especially that of Trent.

"Moreover all other things delivered, defined, and declared by the sacred canons and œcumenical councils, and especially by the holy synod of Trent, I undoubtedly receive and profess; and also all things contrary thereunto, and all heresies whatsoever condemned and rejected, and anathematized by the Church, I in like manner do condemn, reject, and anathematize—. This is the true Catholic faith, out of which there can be no salvation³."

This usurpation upon the consciences of Christians (none like whereto was ever known in the world) they proseeute with most uncharitable censures, cursing and damning all who do not in heart and profession submit to them, obliging all their consorts to join therein, against all charity and prudence.

¹ Διδαχαῖς ποικίλαις, καὶ ξέναις μὴ περιφέρεισθε. Heb. xiii. 9.

² Provisi de beneficiis quibuscunque curam animarum habentibus—in Romanæ Ecclesiæ obedientiam spondeant ac jurent. Conc. Trid. Sess. 24. cap. 12. de Ref. — nec non veram obedientiam summo Pontifici spondeant et profiteantur. Sess. 25. cap 2. de Ref.

³ Cætera item omni à sacris canonibus et œcumenicis conciliis, ac præcipuè à sacrosanctâ Tridentinâ synodo tradita, definita, et declarata, indubitanter recipio atque profiteor; simulque contraria omnia, atque hæreses quascunque ab Ecclesiâ damnatas et rejectas et anathematizatas ego pariter damno, respuo, et anathematizo. P. Pii IV. profess. Hanc veram Catholicam fidem, extra quam nulla salus esse potest. Ibid.

The Scripture enjoins us to bear with those who are weak in faith, and err in doubtful or disputable matters ¹.

But the Popes, with cruel uncharitableness, not only do censure all that cannot assent to their devices, which they obtrude as articles of faith; but sorely persecute them with all sorts of punishments, even with death itself; a practice inconsistent with Christian meekness, with equity, with reason; and of which the Fathers have expressed the greatest detestation.

“They have unwoven and altered all theology from head to foot, and of divine have made it sophistical ².”

The Pope, with his pack of mercenary clients at Trent, did indeed establish a scholastical or sophistical, rather than a Christian theology; framing points, devised by the idle wits of latter times, into definitions and peremptory conclusions, backed with curses and censures: concerning which conclusions it is evident,

That the apostles themselves would not be able to understand many of them ³.

That the ancient Fathers did never think any thing about them ⁴.

That divers of them consist in application of artificial terms and phrases devised by human subtilty ⁵.

That divers of them are in their own nature disputable; were before disputed by wise men, and will ever be disputed by those who freely use their judgment.

That there was no need of defining many of them.

That they blindly lay about them, condemning and cursing they know not whom, fathers, schoolmen, divines, &c. who have expressly affirmed points so damned by them.

That many truths are uncharitably backed with curses, which disparages them; (seeing a man may err pardonably—*ἐν πολλοῖς πταίομεν ἅπαντες*) “in many things we offend all.”

For instance; what *need* was there of defining, what *need* of cursing those who think concupiscence “to be truly and properly sin ⁶,” upon St. Paul’s authority, calling it so ⁷?

¹ Rom. xiv. 1. xv. 1. 7.

² Totam theologiam à capite usque ad calcem retexuerunt, et ex divinâ sophisticam fecerunt. *Erasm.* præf. ad Hieron.

³ Formaliter justos. Sess. 6. Can. 10.

⁴ Ex opere operato. Sess. 7. Can. 8.

⁵ Character. Sess. 7. Can. 9.

⁶ Rom. vii.

⁷ Sess. 5. Can. 5.

That “Adam presently upon his transgression did lose the sanctity and justice in which he was constituted¹?”

What need of cursing those, who say that men are justified “by the sole remission of sins,” according to St. Paul’s notion, and use of the word justification²?

What need of cursing those, who say “the grace of God by which we are justified, is only the favour of God,” whereas it is plain enough that God’s grace there in St. Paul does signify nothing else, applied to that case³.

Or, that faith is “nothing else, but a reliance in God’s mercy, remitting sins for Christ;” seeing it is plain that St. Paul does by faith chiefly mean the belief of that principal point of the Gospel⁴.

Or, that good works “do not cause an increase of justification;” seeing St. Paul does exclude justification by works; and it is a free work of God—uncapable of degrees⁵.

Or, that after remission of sin in justification, “a guilt of paying temporal pain doth abide⁶.”

Or, that a man cannot “by his works merit increase of grace, and glory, and eternal life;” seeing a man is not to be blamed, who does dislike the use of so saucy a word; the which divers good men have disclaimed⁷.

What need of cursing those, who do not take the sacraments to be *precisely seven*? or who conceive that some one of the seven may not be truly and properly a sacrament; seeing the word *sacrament* is ambiguous, and by the Fathers applied to divers other things, and defined generally by St. Austin *signum rei sacræ*; and that before Peter Lombard ever did mention that number⁸.

What need of damning those, who do conceive the sacraments equal in dignity⁹?

¹ Cùm mandatum Dei in paradiso fuisset transgressus, statim sanctitatem et justitiam in quâ constitutus fuerat amisisse. Ibid. Can. 1.

² Sess. 6. Can. 11.

³ Sess. 6. Can. 11. Aut etiam gratiam quâ justificamur esse tantum favorem Dei.

⁴ Sess. 6. Can. 12.

⁵ Sess. 6. Can. 24. Non autem ipsius augendæ causam.

⁶ Ut nullus remaneat reatus pœnæ temporalis exolvendæ —. Sess. 6. Can. 30. Sess. 14. de Pœnit. Can. 15.

⁷ Sess. 6. Can. 32.

⁸ De sacramentis. Si quis dixerit—esse plura vel pauciora quam septem. Sess. 7. Can. 3.

⁹ Sess. 7. Can. 3.

What need of defining, that sacraments do confer grace *ex opere operato* ; which is an obscure scholastical phrase ¹.

What need of cursing those who say, that a "character is not impressed in the soul" of those who take "baptism, confirmation, or orders;" seeing what this character is (or "this spiritual and indelible mark") they do not themselves well understand or agree ².

What need of cursing those, who do not think that the validity of sacraments (and consequently the assurance of our being Christians) depends on the intention of the minister ³?

What need of cursing those, who think that a pastor of the Church may change the ceremonies of administering the sacraments: seeing St. Cyprian often teaches that every pastor has full authority in such cases within his own precinct ⁴?

What need of defining the Second Book of Maccabees to be canonical, against the common opinion of the Fathers (most expressly of St. Austin himself) of the most learned in all ages, of Pope Gelasius himself (*in Decret.*), which the author himself (calling his work an epitome, and asking pardon for its errors) disclaims? and which common sense therefore disclaims ⁵.

Their new creed ^a of Pius IV. contains these novelties and heterodoxies. 1. Seven sacraments. 2. Trent doctrine of justification and original sin. 3. Propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. 4. Transubstantiation. 5. Communicating under one kind. 6. Purgatory. 7. Invocation of saints. 8. Veneration of relics. 9. Worship of images. 10. The Roman Church to be the mother and mistress of all churches. 11. Swearing obedience to the Pope. 12. Receiving the decrees of all synods and of Trent.

¹ Sess. 7. Can. 8. Non imprimi characterem in animâ.

² Sess. 7. Can. 9. Hoc est signum quoddam spirituale, et indelebile. Ibid.

³ Sess. 7. Can. 11.

⁴ Sess. 7. Can. 13.

⁵ Sess. 4.

Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus

Ut quisque linguâ nequior.

Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula

Per syllogismos plectiles.—

Prudent. in Apotheos.

^a See this creed in Sylloge Confession. sub tempus Reformandæ Ecclesiæ editarum, p. 3—5. Oxf. 1804. 8vo. Compare also *Crackanthorp's Defensio Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, c. xv. p. 76—82; Bishop *Bull's* Corruptions of the Church of Rome, sect. iii. throughout.

X.

TWO LETTERS TO A LADY.

- I. Seduced to the Church of Rome.
 - II. Reconciled to the Church of England^a.
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LETTER I.

M. B.

I WAS desirous of an opportunity in London to have discoursed with you concerning something of nearest concernment to you, but the multitude of my little affairs hindered me, and have brought upon you this trouble to read a long letter, which yet I hope you will be more willing to do, because it comes from one who has a great respect to your person, and a very great charity to your soul.

I must confess I was on your behalf troubled when I heard you were fallen from the communion of the Church of England, and entered into a voluntary, unnecessary schism, and departure from the laws of the king, and the communion of those with whom you have always lived in charity, going against those laws in the defence and profession of which your husband died, going from the religion in which you were baptized, in which for so many years you lived piously, and hoped for heaven, and all this without any sufficient reason, without necessity or just scandal ministered to you. And to aggravate all this, you did it in a time when the Church of England was persecuted, when she was marked with

^a From Bishop *Taylor*. Works, vol. xi. p. 183—207. 8vo.

the characteristics of her Lord, the marks of the cross of Jesus ; that is, when she suffered for a holy cause and a holy conscience ; when the Church of England was more glorious than at any time before ; even when she could show more martyrs and confessors than any Church this day in Christendom ; even then when a king died in the profession of her religion ; and thousands of priests, learned and pious men, suffered the spoiling of their goods, rather than they would forsake one article of so excellent a religion. So that seriously it is not easily to be imagined that any thing should move you, unless it be that which troubled the perverse Jews, and the heathen Greeks, *scandalum crucis*, the scandal of the cross. You stumbled at that rock of offence ; you left us because we were afflicted, lessened in outward circumstances, and wrapped in a cloud ;—but give me leave only to remind you of that sad saying of the Scripture, that you may avoid the consequent of it ; “ They that fall on this stone shall be broken in pieces, but they on whom it shall fall shall be grinded to powder.”

And if we should consider things but prudently, it is a great argument that the sons of our Church are very conscientious and just in their persuasions, when it is evident, that we have no temporal end to serve, nothing but the great end of our souls, all our hopes of preferment are gone^a, all secular regards, only we still have truth on our sides, and we are not willing, with the loss of truth, to change from a persecuted to a prosperous Church, from a reformed to a Church that will not be reformed ; lest we give scandal to good people that suffer for a holy conscience, and weaken the hands of the afflicted ; of which, if you had been more careful, you would have remained much more innocent.

But I pray, give me leave to consider for you, because you in your change considered so little for yourself, what fault, what false doctrine, what wicked and dangerous proposition, what defect, what amiss did you find in the doctrine, and liturgy, and discipline of the Church of England ?

1. *For its doctrine*, it is certain it professes the belief of all that is written in the Old and New Testament ; all that which is in the three Creeds, the Apostolical, the Nicene, and that of Athanasius ; and whatsoever was decreed in the four general councils,

^a These letters are not dated ; but were evidently written after the downfall of the Monarchy and Church of England.

or in any other truly such; and whatsoever was condemned in these, our Church has legally declared^a it to be heresy. And upon these accounts above four whole ages of the Church went to heaven; they baptized all their catechumens into this faith, their hopes of heaven were upon this and a good life; their saints and martyrs lived and died in this alone; they denied communion to none that professed this faith. "This is the Catholic faith," so says the creed of Athanasius; and unless a company of men have power to alter the faith of God, whosoever live and die in this faith, are entirely Catholic and Christian. So that the Church of England has the same faith without dispute that the Church had for 400 or 500 years; and, therefore, there could be nothing wanting here to saving faith, if we live according to our belief.

2. *For the Liturgy* of the Church of England, I shall not need to say much, because the case will be very evident:—First, because the disputers of the Church of Rome have not been very forward to object anything against it; they cannot charge it with any evil. 2. Because for all the time of King Edward VI., and till the eleventh year^b of Queen Elizabeth, your people came to our Churches, and prayed with us till the bull of Pius V.^c came out upon temporal regards, and made a schism by forbidding the queen's subjects to pray as by law was here appointed, though the prayers were good and holy, as themselves did believe.—That

^a By Act of 1 Eliz. chap. i.

^b "From the first year of Elizabeth unto the eleventh, all Papists came to our Church and service without scruple. I myself have seen Cornwallis, Beddingfield, and others at Church; so that then, for the space of ten years, they made no conscience nor doubt to communicate with us in prayer. But when once the bull of Pope Pius V. was come and published, wherein the queen was accursed and deposed, and her subjects discharged of their obedience and oath, yea, cursed if they did obey her; then did they all forthwith refrain the Church; then would they have no more society with us in prayer: so that recusancy in them is not for religion, but in an acknowledgment of the Pope's power, and a plain manifestation what their judgment is concerning the right of the prince respecting regal power and place." Sir *Edward Coke*, Attorney-General, in the Trial of the Conspirators in the Gunpowder Plot. 2 *Howell's State Trials*, 178. Compare also *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iv. 11, 12. (iii. 316—20. edit. 3. 1839.) *Andrews's Tortura Torti*, 130—3. *Cottoni Posthuma*, 147, 8.

^c See *Barrow* in this volume, p. 100, above. Also Bishop *Barlow's* *Brutum Fulmen*; or the Bull of Pope Pius V. concerning the excommunication, &c. of Queen Elizabeth, with observations and animadversions upon it. 1681. 4to.

bull enjoined recusancy, and made that which was an act of rebellion, and disobedience, and schism, to be the character of your Roman Catholics.—And after this, what can be supposed wanting in order to salvation? We have the word of God, the faith of the apostles, the creeds of the primitive Church, the articles of the four first general councils, a holy Liturgy, excellent prayers, perfect sacraments, faith and repentance, the Ten Commandments, and the Sermons of Christ, and all the precepts and counsels of the Gospel. We teach the necessity of good works, and require and strictly exact the severity of a holy life. We live in obedience to God, and are ready to die for Him, and do so when He requires us so to do. We speak honourably of his most holy name; we worship Him at the mention of his name; we confess his attributes; we love his servants; we pray for all men; we love all Christians, even our most erring brethren; we confess our sins to God and to our brethren whom we have offended, and to God's ministers in cases of scandal, or of a troubled conscience. We communicate often, we are enjoined to receive the holy sacrament thrice every year at least. Our priests absolve the penitent; our bishops ordain priests, and confirm baptized persons, and bless their people and intercede for them;—and what could here be wanting to salvation? What necessity forced you from us?—I dare not suspect it was a temporal regard that drew you away; but I am sure it could be no spiritual.

But now that I have told you, and made you to consider *from whence* you went, give me leave to represent to you, and tell you *whither* you are gone, that you may understand the nature and conditions of your change.—For do not think yourself safe because they tell you that you are come to the Church. You are indeed gone from one Church to another, from a better to a worse, as will appear in the induction,—the particulars of which before I reckon, give me leave to give you this advice:—if you mean in this affair to understand what you do, it were better you inquired what your *religion* is, than what your *Church* is; for that which is a true religion to-day, will be so to-morrow and for ever: but that which is a holy Church to-day, may be heretical at the next change, or may betray her trust, or obtrude new articles in contradiction to the old, or by new interpretations may elude ancient truths, or may change your creed, or may pretend to be the spouse of Christ when she is idolatrous; that is, adulterous to God. Your *religion* is that which you *must*, and therefore *may* competently under-

stand. You must live in it, and grow in it, and govern all the actions of your life by it; and in all questions concerning the Church, you are to choose your Church by the religion, and therefore this ought first and last to be inquired after.

Whether the Roman Church be the Catholic Church, must depend upon so many uncertain inquiries, is offered to be proved by so long, so tedious a method, has in it so many intrigues and labyrinths of question, and is (like a long line) so impossible to be perfectly straight, and to have no declination in it when it is held by such a hand as yours, that unless it be by material inquiries into the articles of the *religion*, you can never hope to have just grounds of confidence. In the meantime you can consider this; if the Roman Church were the Catholic, that is, so as to *exclude* all that are not of her communion, then the Greek Churches had as good turn Turks, as remain damned Christians; and all that are in the communion of all the other Patriarchal Churches in Christendom, must also perish like heathens; which thing before any man can believe he must have put off all reason, and all modesty, and all charity.—And who can with any probability think that “the communion of saints” in the Creed is nothing but the communion of Roman subjects; and that the Article of the Catholic Church was made up to dispark the enclosures of Jerusalem, but to turn them into the pale of Rome; and that the Church is as limited as ever it was, save only that the synagogue is translated to Rome;—which I think you will easily believe was a proposition the apostles understood not.

But though it be hard to *trust* to it, it is also so hard to *prove* it, that you shall never be able to understand the measures of that question;—and therefore your salvation can never depend upon it. For no good or wise person can believe that God has tied our salvation to impossible measures, or bound us to an article that is not by us cognoscible, or intends to have us conducted by that which we cannot understand.—And when you shall know that learned men, even of the Roman party, are not agreed concerning the Catholic Church that is infallibly to guide you,—some saying that it is the *virtual* Church, that is, the Pope; some, that it is the *representative* Church, that is, a council; some, that it is the Pope *and* the council—the virtual Church and the representative Church *together*; some, that neither of these, nor both together are infallible; but only the *essential* Church, or the *diffusive* Church is the Catholic, from whom we must at no hand dissent,—

you will quickly find yourself in a wood, and uncertain whether you have more than a word in exchange for your soul, when you are told you are in the Catholic Church.

But I will tell you what you *may* understand, and see and feel, something that yourself can tell whether I say true or no concerning it. You are now gone to a Church that protects itself by arts of subtilty and arms, by violence and persecuting all that are not of their minds; to a Church in which you are to be a subject of the king so long as it pleases the Pope; in which you may be absolved from your vows made to God, your oaths to the king, your promises to men, your duty to your parents in some cases; a Church in which men pray to God, and to saints in the same form of words in which they pray to God,—as you may see^a in the offices of saints, and particularly of our Lady; a Church in which men are taught by most of the principal leaders to worship images with the same worship with which they worship God and Christ, or him or her whose image it is; and in which they usually picture God the Father, and the holy Trinity, to the great dishonour of that sacred mystery, against the doctrine and practice of the primitive Church, against the express doctrine of Scripture, against the honour of a divine attribute—I mean the immensity and spirituality of the divine nature. You are gone to a Church that pretends to be infallible, and yet is infinitely deceived in many particulars; and yet endures no contradiction, and is impatient her children should inquire into anything her priests obtrude. You are gone from receiving the whole sacrament to receive it but half; from Christ's institution to a human invention; from Scripture to uncertain traditions, and from ancient traditions to new pretences; from prayers which you understood to prayers which you understand not; from confidence in God to rely upon creatures; from entire dependence upon inward acts to a dangerous temptation of resting too much in outward ministries, in the external work of sacraments and of sacramentals. You are gone from a Church whose worshipping is simple, Christian, and apostolical, to a Church where men's consciences are loaded with a burden of ceremonies greater than that in the days of the Jewish religion, (for the ceremonial of the Church of Rome is a great

^a See Reflections upon the Devotions of the Roman Church, with the prayers, hymns, and lessons, taken out of their authentic books. 1686. 8vo. and Bishop *Taylor's* Dissuasive from Popery, chap. xi. sect. 8—10.

book in folio,) greater, I say, than all the ceremonies of the Jews contained in Leviticus, &c. You are gone from a Church where you were exhorted to read the word of God, the Holy Scriptures, from whence you found instruction, institution, comfort, reproof, a treasure of all excellences, to a Church that seals up that fountain from you, and gives you drink by drops out of such cisterns as they first make, and then stain, and then reach out. And if it be told you that some men abuse Scripture, it is true; for if your priests had not abused Scripture, they could not thus have abused you;—but there is no necessity they should, and you need not, unless you list; any more than you need to abuse the sacraments or decrees of the Church, or the messages of your friend, or the letters you receive, or the laws of the land, all which are liable to be abused by evil persons, but not by good people and modest understandings.—It is now become a part of your religion to be ignorant, to walk in blindness, to believe the man that hears your confessions, to hear none but him, not to hear God speaking but by him, and so you are liable to be abused by him as he pleases, without remedy. You are gone from us, where you were only taught to worship God through Jesus Christ;—and now you are taught to worship saints and angels with a worship at least dangerous, and in some things proper to God; for your Church worships the Virgin Mary with burning incense and candles to her, and you give her presents, which by the consent of all nations used to be esteemed a worship peculiar to God, and it is the same thing which was condemned for heresy in the Collyridians, who offered a cake to the Virgin Mary; a candle and a cake make no difference in the worship; and your joining God and the saints in your worship and devotions, is like the device of them that fought for king and parliament, the latter destroys the former.—I will trouble you with no more particulars, because if these move you not to consider better, nothing can.

But yet I have two things more to add of another nature, one of which at least may prevail upon you, whom I suppose to have a tender and a religious conscience.

The first is, that all *the points of difference* between us and your Church are such as do evidently serve the ends of covetousness and ambition, of power and riches, and so stand vehemently suspected of design and art, rather than truth of the article and designs upon heaven.—I instance in the Pope's power over princes

and all the world ; his power of dispensation ; the exemption of the clergy from jurisdiction of princes ; the doctrine of purgatory and indulgences, which was once made the means to raise a portion for a lady, the niece of Pope Leo the tenth ; the priests' power advanced beyond authority of any warrant from Scripture, a doctrine apt to bring absolute obedience to the Papacy ;—but because this is possibly too nice for you to suspect or consider, that which I am sure ought to move you is this.

That you are gone to a religion in which though, through God's grace prevailing over the follies of men, there are I hope, and charitably suppose, many pious men that love God and live good lives,—yet there are very many doctrines taught by your men, which are very ill friends to a good life¹. I instance in your indulgences and pardons, in which vicious men put a great confidence, and rely greatly upon them. The doctrine of purgatory, which gives countenance to a sort of Christians who live half to God and half to the world ; and for them this doctrine has found out a way that they may go to hell and to heaven too. The doctrine that the priest's absolution can turn a trifling repentance into a perfect and a good, and that suddenly too, and at any time, even on our death-bed, or the minute before our death, is a dangerous heap of falsehoods, and gives license to wicked people, and teaches men to reconcile a wicked debauched life with the hopes of heaven.—And then for penances and temporal satisfaction, which might seem to be as a plank after the shipwreck of the duty of repentance, to keep men in awe, and to preserve them from sinking in an ocean of impiety,—it comes to just nothing by your doctrine ; for there are so many easy ways of indulgences and getting pardons, so many confraternities, stations, privileged altars, little offices, *agnus Dei's*, amulets, hallowed devices, swords, roses, hats, church-yards, and the fountain of these annexed indulgences the Pope himself, and his power of granting what, and when, and to whom he list, that he is a very unfortunate man that needs to smart with penances ; and after all, he may choose whether to suffer any at all ; for he may pay them in purgatory if he please, and he may come out of purgatory upon reasonable terms, in case he should think it fit to go thither ;—so that all the whole duty of repentance seems to be destroyed with devices of men that seek power and gain, and find error and folly ; insomuch

^a Compare above, p. 32, and n.

that if I had a mind to live an evil life, and yet hope for heaven at last, I would be of your religion above any in the world.

But I forget I am writing a letter: I shall therefore desire you to consider upon the premises, *which is the safer way*.—For surely it is lawful for a man to serve God without images; but that to worship images is lawful, is not so sure. It is lawful to pray to God alone, to confess Him to be true, and every man a liar, to call no man master upon earth, but to rely upon God teaching us. But it is at least hugely disputable and not at all certain that any man, or society of men, can be infallible; that we may put our trust in saints, in certain extraordinary images, or burn incense, and offer consumptive oblations to the Virgin Mary, or make vows to persons, of whose state, or place, or capacities, or condition we have no certain revelation. We are sure we do well when in the holy communion we worship God and Jesus Christ our Saviour; but they who also worship what seems to be bread, are put to strange shifts to make themselves believe it to be lawful. It is certainly lawful to believe what we see and feel; but it is an unnatural thing, upon pretence of faith, to disbelieve our eyes, when our sense and our faith can better be reconciled;—as it is in the question of the real presence, as it is taught by the Church of England.

So that unless you mean to prefer a danger before safety, temptation to unholiness before a severe and a holy religion; unless you mean to lose the benefit of your prayers by praying what you perceive not, and the benefit of the sacrament in great degrees by falling from Christ's institution, and taking half instead of all; unless you desire to provoke God to jealousy by images, and man to jealousy in professing a religion in which you may in many cases have leave to forfeit your faith and lawful trust; unless you will still continue to give scandal to those good people with whom you have lived in a common religion, and weaken the hearts of God's afflicted ones; unless you will choose a catechism without the second commandment^a; and a faith that

^a Two extracts may here be given from Sir *Edwin Sandys*; the first of which will indicate the grounds and principles on which this mutilation of the divine law was committed; and the other may serve to supply an apt example of how little (it is probable) these time-serving expediency-men calculate, for what injuries and wrongs, what "scandals and offences," they may have to be answerable.

Speaking of the policy which led to the expedient of the "Indices Expur-

grows bigger or less as men please, and a hope that in many degrees relies on men and vain confidences, and a charity that damns all the world but yourselves;—unless you will do all this, that is, suffer an abuse in your prayers, in the sacrament, in the commandments, in faith, in hope, in charity, in the communion of saints, and your duty to your Supreme;—you must return to the bosom of your mother the Church of England from whence you have fallen,—rather weakly than maliciously,—and I doubt not but you will find the comfort of it all your life, and in the day of your death, and in the day of judgment.—If you will not, yet I have freed mine own soul, and done an act of duty and charity, which at least you are bound to take kindly if you will not entertain it obediently.

Now let me add this, that although most of these objections are such things as are the open and avowed doctrines or practices of your Church, and need not to be proved as being either notorious or confessed;—yet if any of your guides shall seem to question any thing of it, I will bind myself to verify it to a tittle, and

gatorii,” he remarks; “there remained then only the rectifying of St. Paul and other places of Scripture, whose authority, being set beneath the Church’s already, it were no such great matter to submit them also to her moderate censures; especially *for so good an intent*, as the weeding out of heresies, and the preserving of the faith Catholic in her purity and glory; but above all other, the *second commandment*,—as the Protestants, the Grecians, and the Jews reckon it, must needs abide such censure; which already in their vulgar *catechisms* is discarded, as *words superfluous*, or at least as *unfit* or unnecessary for these times.” *Europæ Speculum*, p. 141.

In the second passage he is enumerating the obstacles to the conversion of the Jews, as occasioned by the Roman Catholics. “But the greatest scandal of all,” says he, “is their worshipping of images; for which both Jews and Turks call them the *idolatrous Christians*. And this is so much the greater and of more indignity, for that these parties hence conceive it to be a thing which Christ Himself expressly commanded; and that in the Gospel of Christ, written by the Evangelists themselves, the decalogue is recited with omission of the second precept. And this one of their greatest rabbins *contested with me*; being induced into that error by some *catechisms* of the Christians, which he had seen with that fault. Now when they come to conference with the priests and friars, as sometimes they do, and upbraid this as a peremptory exception against Christ, *those good men deny it not*, for fear of scandalizing their own people; but letting it pass for current, seek to salve up the gash which they have made in the plain words of the law, which was written by the finger of God, with their speculative plaisters and distinctions.—*Ibid.* p. 245.

See also *Baxter’s Catechizing*, above, vol. i. p. 392, and note.

in that too for which I intend it ;—that is, so as to be an objection obliging you to return, under the pain of folly or heresy, or disobedience, according to the subject matter.—And though I have propounded these things now to your consideration, yet, if it be desired, I shall represent them to your eye, so that even yourself shall be able to give sentence in the behalf of truth.—In the mean time, give me leave to tell you of how much folly you are guilty in being moved by such mock-arguments as your men use when they meet with women, and tender consciences, and weaker understandings.

The first is ; “ Where was your Church before Luther^a ? ”—Now if you had called upon them to speak something against your religion from Scripture, or right reason, or universal tradition,—you had been secure as a tortoise in her shell ; a cart pressed with sheaves could not have oppressed your cause or person, though you had confessed you understood nothing of the mysteries of succession doctrinal or personal.—For if we can make it appear, That our religion was that which Christ and his apostles taught,—let the truth suffer what eclipses or prejudices can be supposed ; let it be hid like the holy fire in the captivity ; yet what Christ and his apostles taught us, is eternally true, and shall by some means or other be conveyed to us ; even the enemies of truth have been conservators of that truth, by which we can confute their errors.—But if you still ask where it was before Luther ? “ I answer, it was there where it was after ; even in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament ; ” and I know no warrant for any other religion.—And if you will expect I should show any society of men who professed all the doctrines which are now expressed in the confession of the Church of England ; I shall tell you it is unreasonable ; because some of our truths are now brought into our public confessions that they might be opposed against your errors : before the occasion of which there was no need of any such confessions, till you made many things necessary to be professed which are not lawful to be believed. For if we believe your superinduced follies, we shall do unrea-

^a Compare Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. p. 43. 304. (iv. 95, 285—6, and n. edit. 1839).

“ Papist. Where was your religion before Luther ; a hundred years ago ? —Protestant (in answer). Where was America, a hundred or six score years ago ?—Our religion was where the rest of the Christian Church was.” *Selden's Table Talk*, art. Religion, §. 9.

sonably, unconscionably, and wickedly ;—but the questions themselves are so useless, abstracting from the accidental necessity which your follies have brought upon us, that it had been happy if we had never heard of them, more than the saints and martyrs did in the first ages of the Church ; but because your clergy have invaded the liberty of the Church, and multiplied the dangers of damnation, and pretend new necessities, and have introduced new articles, and affright the simple upon new pretensions, and slight the very institution and the commands of Christ and of the apostles, and invent new sacramentals, constituting ceremonies of their own head, and promise grace along with the use of them, as if they were not ministers but lords of the Spirit, and teach for doctrines the commandments of men¹, and make void the commandment of God by their tradition², and have made a strange body of divinity ;—therefore it is necessary that we should immure our faith by the *refusal* of such vain and superstitious dreams :—but our faith was completed at first ; it is no other than that which was delivered to the saints, and can be no more for ever³.

So that it is a foolish demand to require that we should show before Luther a system of articles declaring our sense in these questions.—It was long before they were questions at all ; and when they were made questions, they remained so a long time ; and when by their several pieces they were determined, this part of the Church was oppressed with a violent power ; and when God gave opportunity, then the yoke was broken ; and this is the whole progress of this affair.—But if you will still insist upon it, then let the matter be put into equal balances, and let them show any Church whose confession of faith was such as was obtruded upon you at Trent : and if your religion be Pius the Fourth's creed at Trent^a, then we also have a question to ask, and that is,

“ Where was your religion before Trent ? ”

The Council of Trent determined that the souls departed, before the day of judgment, enjoy the beatifical vision.—It is certain this article could not be shown in the confession of any of the ancient Churches : for most of the Fathers were of another opinion. But that which is the greatest offence of Christendom is not only that these doctrines, which we say are false, were yet affirmed, but that those things which the Church of God did

¹ Matt. xv. 9.

² Matt. xv. 6.

³ Jude 3.

^a See *Barrow*, above, in this volume, p. 248, and note.

always reject, or held as uncertain, should be made articles of faith, and so become parts of your religion. And of these it is that I again ask the question which none of your side shall ever be able to answer for you: "Where was your religion before Trent?"—I could instance in many particulars; but I shall name one to you, which because the thing of itself is of no great consequence, it will appear the more unreasonable and intolerable that your Church should adopt it into the things of necessary belief, especially since it was only a matter of fact, and they took the false part too. For in Sess. 21. cap. 4. it is affirmed, that "although the holy Fathers did give the sacrament of the Eucharist to infants, yet they did it without any necessity of salvation;" that is, they did not believe it necessary to their salvation:—which is notoriously false, and the contrary is marked out with the black-lead of every man almost that reads their works; and yet your councils say this is "*sine controversiâ credendum*;" to be believed without all controversy; and all Christians forbidden to believe or teach otherwise. So that here it is made an article of faith amongst you, that a man shall neither believe his reason nor his eyes. And who can show any confession of faith in which all the Trent doctrine was professed, and enjoined under pain of damnation? And before the council of Constance¹, the doctrine touching the Pope's power was so new, so decried, that as Gerson says, *he* hardly should have escaped the note of heresy that would have said so much as was there defined: so that in *that* article which now makes a great part of your belief,—“Where was your religion before the council of Constance?” And it is notorious that your council of Constance determined the doctrine of the half-communication with a "*non obstante*" to Christ's institution, that is, with a defiance to it, or a noted, observed neglect of it, and with a profession it was otherwise in the Primitive Church. Where then was your religion before John Huss and Hierom of Prague's time, against whom that council was convened?—But in this instance it appears most certainly that your Church cannot show her confessions immediately after Christ, and therefore if we could not show ours immediately before Luther, it were not half so much; for since you receded from Christ's doctrine we might well recede from yours; and it matters not who or how many or how long they professed your doctrine, if neither Christ nor his apostles

¹ De Potest. Eccles. cons. 12.

did teach it : so that if these articles constitute your Church, your Church was invisible at the first ;—and if ours was invisible afterwards, it matters not ;—“ For yours was invisible in the days of light, and ours was invisible in the days of darkness.” For our Church was always visible in the reflections of Scripture, and he that had his eyes of faith and reason might easily have seen these truths all the way which constitute our Church.—But I add yet farther, that our Church before Luther was there where your Church was, in the same place and in the same persons ; for divers of the errors which have been amongst us reformed, were not the constituent articles of your Church before Luther’s time ; for before the last councils of your Church a man might have been of your communion upon easier terms ; and indulgences were indeed a practice, but no article of faith before your men made it so, and that very lately : and so were many other things besides. So that although your men cozen the credulous and the simple by calling yours “ the old religion,” yet the difference is vast between truth and their affirmative, even as much as between old errors and new articles. For although ignorance and superstition had prepared the ore, yet the councils of Constance and Basil, and Trent especially, were the forges and the mint.

Lastly, if your men had not by all the vile and violent arts of the world stopped the mouths of dissenters, the question would quickly have been answered, or our articles would have been so confessed, so owned, and so public, that the question could never have been asked ;—but in despite of all opposition, there were great numbers of professors who did protest and profess and practise our doctrines contrary to your articles ; as it is demonstrated by the divines of Germany in Illyricus’s “ *Catalogus testium veritatis*,” and in Bishop Morton’s Appeal.

But with your next objection you are better pleased, and your men make most noise with it. “ For you pretend that by our confession salvation may be had in your Church ; but your men deny it to us ; and therefore by the confession of both sides you may be safe, and there is no question concerning you ; but of us there is great question, for none but ourselves say that we can be saved ^a.”

^a Compare *Laud’s* Conference with Fisher, p. 184—204. § 34, 5.

“ Catholics say, ‘ We, out of our charity believe they of the Church of Rome may be saved ; but they do not believe so of us :—therefore, their Church is better, according to ourselves.’ First, some of them, no doubt,

I answer, 1. That salvation may be had in your Church, is it ever the truer because we say it? If it be not, it can add no confidence to you, for the proposition gets no strength by our affirmative. But if it be, then our *authority* is good, or else our *reason*; and if *either* be, then we have more reason to be believed speaking of ourselves; because we are concerned to see that ourselves may be in a state of hope; and therefore we would not venture on *this* side if we had not *greater* reason to believe well of *ourselves* than of *you*. And therefore believe us when it is more likely that we have greater reason, because we have greater concerns, and therefore greater considerations.

2. As much charity as your men pretend us to speak of you, yet it is a clear case our hope of your salvation is so little, that we dare not venture ourselves on your side:—The Burger of Old-water having to pass a river in his journey to Daventry, bade his man try the ford; telling him he hoped he should not be drowned, for though he was afraid the river was too deep, yet he thought his horse would carry him out, or at least, the boats would fetch him off.—*Such* a confidence we may have of you; but you will find that but little warranty, if you remember how great an interest it is that you venture.

3. It would be remembered, that though the best ground of your hope is not the goodness of your own *faith*, but the greatness of our *charity*; yet we that charitably *hope* well of you, have a fulness of *assurance* of the truth and certainty of *our* own way;—and however you can please yourselves with images of things, as having no firm footing for your trifling confidence, yet you can never with your tricks outface us of our just and firm adherencies; and if you were not empty of supports, and greedy of bulrushes,

believe as well of us, as we do of them; but they must not say so. Besides, is that an argument their Church is better than ours, because it has less charity?" *Selden's Table Talk*, art. Church of Rome, § 2.

"Among the tracts most extensively circulated by the Roman Catholic priesthood (in Ireland), read at Sunday schools, lent out from parish libraries, and occasionally dispersed among the lower classes of Protestants, is one called 'Fifty Reasons for becoming a Catholic.' One of the reasons is the following: 'Because, even in the judgment of Protestants, we must be on the safer side. They allow that our Church does not err in fundamentals: that she is a part, at least, of the Church of Christ; that there is salvation in our communion; and consequently, that our Church wants nothing necessary to salvation. We can allow *them* nothing of it at all; without doing wrong to truth, and our own consciences.' " *Phelan's, &c. Digest*, part ii. p. 271, 2.

snatching at any thing to support your sinking cause, you would with fear and trembling consider the direct dangers which we demonstrate to you to be in your religion rather than flatter yourselves with collateral, weak, and deceitful hopes of accidental possibilities, that some of you may escape.

4. If we be more charitable to you than you are to us, acknowledge in us the beauty and essential form of the Christian religion;—be sure you love, as well as make use of our charity;—but if you make our charity an argument against us, remember that you render us evil in exchange for good¹;—and let it be no brag to you that you have not that charity to us; for therefore the Donatists were condemned for heretics and schismatics, because they damned all the world, and afforded no charity to any that was not of their communion.

5. But that our charity may be such indeed, that is, that it may do you a real benefit, and not turn into wormwood and coloquintida, I pray take notice in what sense it is that we allow salvation may possibly be had in your Church. We warrant it not to any; we only hope it for some; we allow it to them as to the Sadducees in the law², and to the Corinthians in the Gospel³ who denied the resurrection; that is, till they were sufficiently instructed, and competently convinced, and had time and powers to out-wear their prejudices and the impresses of their education and long persuasion.—But to them amongst you who can and do consider, and yet determine for error and interest, we have *a greater* charity, even so much as to labour and pray for their conversion, but not so much fondness as to flatter them into boldness and pertinacious adherences to matters of so great danger.

6. But in all this affair, though your men are very bold with God and leap into his judgment-seat before Him, and give wild sentences concerning the salvation of your own party and the damnation of all that disagree,—yet that which is our charity to you, is indeed the fear of God, and the reverence of his judgments. We do not say that all Papists are certainly damned; we wish and desire vehemently that none of you may perish; but then this charity of judgment relates not to you, nor is derived from any probability which we see in your doctrines that differ from ours; but because we know not what rate and value God puts upon the article. It concerns neither you nor us to say, this or

¹ Rom. xii. 17. Prov. xvii. 13.

² 2 Tim. ii. 18.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 12.

that man shall be damned for his opinion ; for besides that this is a bold intrusion into that secret of God which shall not be opened till the day of judgment¹, and besides that we know not what allays and abatements are to be made by the good meaning and the ignorance of the man ; all that can concern us is, to tell you that you are in error, that you depart from Scripture, that you exercise tyranny over souls, that you leave the Divine institution, and prevaricate God's commandment, that you divide the Church without truth and without necessity, that you tie men to believe things under pain of damnation which cannot be made very probable, much less certain ; and therefore that you sin against God and are in danger of his eternal displeasure ;—but in giving the final sentence as *we* have no more to do than *your men* have, yet so we refuse to follow your evil example ; and we follow the glorious precedent of our blessed Lord, who decreed and declared against the *crime*, but not against the *criminal* before the day.—He that does this, or that, is in danger of the Council, or in danger of judgment, or liable and obnoxious to the danger of hell-fire² ; so we say of your greatest errors ; they put you in the danger of perishing ; but that you shall or shall not perish, we leave it to your Judge³ ; and if you call this charity, it is well. I am sure it is piety and the fear of God.

7. Whether you may be saved, or whether you shall be damned for your errors, does neither depend upon our affirmative nor your negative, but according to the rate and value which God sets upon things. Whatever we talk, things are as they are, not as we dispute, or grant, or hope ; and therefore it were well if your men would leave abusing you and themselves with these little arts of indirect support. For many men that are warranted, yet do eternally perish, and you in your Church damn millions who, I doubt not, shall reign with Jesus eternally in the heavens.

8. I wish you would consider that if any of our men say salvation may be had in your Church, it is not for the goodness of your *new* propositions, but only because you do keep so much of that which is *our* religion, that upon the confidence of that we hope well concerning you. And we do not hope *any thing at all* that is good of you or your religion *as it distinguishes* from us and ours : we hope that the good which you have *common* with us may obtain pardon directly or indirectly, or may be an anti-

¹ Deut. xxix. 29. ² Matt. v. 22. ³ Rom. xiv. 4. 1 Cor. v. 12, 13.

dote of the venom, and an amulet against the danger of your very great errors;—so that if you can derive any confidence from our concession, you must remember where it takes root; not upon any thing of yours, but wholly upon the excellency of ours. You are not at all safe, or warranted for being Papists, but we hope well of some of you for having so much of the Protestant;—and if that will do you any good proceed in it, and follow it whithersoever it leads you.

9. The safety that you dream of, which we say to be on your side, is nothing of allowance or warranty, but a hope that is collateral, indirect, and relative. We do not say anything whereby you can conclude yours to be safer than ours, for it is not safe at all, but extremely dangerous. We affirm those errors in themselves to be damnable, some to contain in them impiety, some to have sacrilege, some idolatry, some superstition; some practices to be conjuring and charming and very like to witchcraft, as in your hallowing of water, and baptizing bells, and exorcising demoniacs;—and what safety there can be in these, or what you can fancy we should allow to you, I suppose you need not boast of. Now because we hope some are saved amongst you, you must not conclude yours to be safe;—for our hope relies upon this.—There are many of your propositions in which we differ from you, that thousands amongst you understand and know nothing of^a: it is to them as if they were not; it is to them now as it was before the council; they hear not of it. And though your priests have taken a course that the most ignorant do practise some of your abominations most grossly, yet we hope this will not be laid upon them who (as St. Austin's expression is) "*cautâ sollicitudine quæerunt veritatem, corrigi parati cùm invenerint*:" do according as they are able, warily and diligently seek for truth, and are ready to follow it when they find it; men who live good lives, and repent of all their evils known and unknown. Now if we are not deceived in our hopes, these men shall rejoice in the eternal goodness of God, which prevails over the malice of them that misguide you;—but if we be deceived in our hopes of you your guides have abused you; and the blind leaders of the blind will fall together¹. For,

10. If you will have the secret of this whole affair, this it is:

^a Compare *Hooker's Discourse of Justification*, chaps. xii. xx. xxxv. &c.

¹ Luke vi. 39.

The hopes that we have of any of you, (as it is known) principally rely upon the hopes of your repentance. Now we say that a man may repent of an error which he knows not of; as he that prays heartily for the pardon of *all* his sins and errors known and unknown, by his *general* repentance may obtain many degrees and instances of mercy.—Now thus much also your men allow to us;—those who live well, and die in a true, though but general repentance of their sins and errors, even amongst us, your best and wisest men pronounce to be in a savable condition. Here, then, we are equal, and we are as safe by your confession as you are by ours. But because there are some bigots of your faction fierce and fiery, who say that a general repentance will not serve our turns, but it must be a particular renunciation of Protestancy;—these men deny not only to us, but to themselves too, all that comfort which they derive from our concession, and indeed which they can hope for from the mercies of God. For be sure we think as ill of your errors as you can suppose of our Articles;—and therefore if for errors (be they on which side it chances) a general repentance will not serve the turn, without an actual dereliction, then flatter not yourselves by any thing of our kindness to your party; for you must have a particular, if a general be not sufficient. But if it be sufficient for you, it is so for us, in case we be in error as your men suppose us;—but if it will not suffice us for remedy to those errors you charge us with, neither will it suffice you; for the case must needs be equal as to the value of repentance and malignity of the error: and therefore these men condemn themselves and will not allow us to hope well of them; but if they will allow us to hope, it must be by affirming the value of a general repentance; and if they allow that, they must hope as well of ours as we of theirs: but if they deny it to us, they deny it to themselves, and then they can no more brag of any thing of our concession.—This only I add to this consideration; that your men do not, cannot charge upon us any doctrine that is in its matter and effect impious; there is nothing *positive* in our doctrine, but is either true or innocent;—but we are accused for *denying* your superstructures. Ours therefore (if we be deceived) is but like a sin of *omission*; yours are sins of *commission* in case you are in the wrong (as we believe you to be) and therefore you must needs be in a greater danger than we can be supposed, by how much sins of omission are less than sins of commission.

11. Your very way of arguing from our charity is a very fallacy and a trick that must needs deceive you if you rely upon it. For whereas your men argue thus: "The Protestants say, we Papists may be saved; and so say we too; but we Papists say that you Protestants cannot, therefore it is safest to be a Papist;" consider, that of this argument, if it shall be accepted, any bold heretic can make use, against any modest Christian of a true persuasion. For, if he can but out-face the modesty of the good man, and tell him he shall be damned, unless that modest man say as much of him, you see impudence shall get the better of the day.—But it is thus in every error. Fifteen bishops of Jerusalem in immediate succession were circumcised, believing it to be necessary so to be; with these other Christian Churches who were of the uncircumcision did communicate. Suppose now that these bishops had not only thought it necessary for themselves but for others too: this argument you see was ready; "you of the uncircumcision who do communicate with us think that we may be saved though we are circumcised;—but we do not think that you who are not circumcised can be saved, therefore it is the safest way to be circumcised." I suppose you would not have thought their argument good, neither would you have had your children circumcised.—But this argument may serve the Presbyterians as well as the Papists. We are indeed very kind to them in our sentences concerning their salvation; and they are many of them as unkind to us. If they should argue so as you do, and say, "you Episcopal men think we Presbyterians, though in errors, can be saved, and we say so too; but we think you Episcopal men are enemies of the kingdom of Jesus Christ; and therefore we think you in a damnable condition; therefore it is safer to be a Presbyterian;" I know not what your men would think of the argument in their hands,—I am sure *we* had reason to complain that we are used very ill on *both* hands, for no other cause but because we are charitable.—But it is not our case alone; but the old Catholics were used just so by the Donatists in this very argument, as we are used by your men. The Donatists were so fierce against the Catholics, that they would re-baptize all them who came to their Churches from the other; but the Catholics, as knowing the Donatists did give right baptism, admitted their converts to repentance, but did not re-baptize them. Upon this score the Donatists triumphed, saying, "You Catholics confess our baptism to be good; and so

say we: but we Donatists deny your baptism to be good; therefore it is safer to be of our side than yours." Now what should the Catholics say or do? Should they lie for God and for religion¹, and to serve the ends of truth say the Donatists' baptism was not good? That they ought not.—Should they damn all the Donatists, and make the rent wider? It was too great already. What then? They were quiet, and knew that the Donatists sought advantages by their own fierceness, and trampled upon the others' charity; but so they hardened themselves in error, and became evil, because the others were good².

I shall trouble you no further now, but desire you to consider of these things with as much caution as they were written with charity.

Till I hear from you I shall pray to God to open your heart and your understanding, that you may return from whence you are fallen, and repent³, and do your first works. Which that you may do is the hearty desire of

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

JER. TAYLOR.

LETTER II.

MADAM,

I BLESS God I am safely arrived where I desired to be after my unwilling departure from the place of your abode and danger. And now, because I can have *no other* expression of my tenderness, I account that I have a treble obligation to signify it by my care of your biggest and eternal interest. And because it has pleased God to make me an instrument of making you to understand in some fair measure the excellences of a true and holy religion, and that I have pointed out such follies and errors in the Roman Church, at which your understanding, being forward and pregnant, did of itself start as at imperfect ill-looking propositions,—give me leave to do that now which is the purpose of my charity, that is, teach you to turn this to the advantage of a holy life, that you may not only be changed but converted. For the Church of England, whither you are now come, is not in condition to boast herself in the reputation of changing the opinion of a single person, though never so excellent; she has no temporal ends to serve which must stand upon fame and noises; all

¹ Job xiii. 7.

² Matt. xx. 15.

³ Rev. ii. 5.

that she can design, is to serve God, to advance the honour of the Lord, and the good of souls, and to rejoice in the cross of Christ.

First, therefore, I desire you to remember, that as now you are taught to pray both publicly and privately, in a language understood, so it is intended your *affections* should be forward, in proportion to the advantages which your prayer has in the *understanding* part. For though you have been often told and have heard, that “ignorance is the mother of devotion,” you will find that the proposition is unnatural and against common sense and experience; because it is impossible to desire that of which we know nothing, unless the desire itself be fantastical and illusive. It is necessary that in the same proportion in which we understand any good thing, in the same we shall also desire it; and the more particular and minute your notices are, the more passionate and material also your affections will be towards it; and if they be good things for which we are taught to pray, the more you know them the more reason you have to love them. It is monstrous to think that devotion, that is, passionate desires of religious things, and the earnest prosecutions of them, should be produced by any thing of ignorance, or less perfect notices in any sense. Since therefore you are taught to pray, so that your *understanding* is the præcentor, or the master of the quire, and you know what you say; your desires are made human, religious, express, material; (for these are the advantages of prayers and liturgies well understood;) and be pleased also to remember, that now if you be not also passionate and devout for the things you mention, you will want the spirit of prayer, and be more inexcusable than before. In many of your prayers before (especially the public) you heard a voice, but saw and perceived nothing of the sense, and what you understood of it was like the man in the Gospel that was half blind; he saw men walking like trees; and so you possibly might perceive the meaning of it in general. You knew when they came to the epistle, when to the gospel; when the *introit*, when the *pax*, when any of the other more general periods were; but you could have nothing of the spirit of prayer, that is, nothing of the devotion and the holy affections to the particular excellences which could or ought there to have been represented; but now you are taught how you may be really devout; it is made facile and easy, and there can want nothing but your consent and observation.

2. Whereas now you are taken off from all human confidences, from relying wholly and almost ultimately upon the priest's power and external act, from reckoning prayers by numbers, from forms and outsides,—you are not to think that the priest's power is less, that the sacraments are not effective, that your prayers may not be repeated frequently;—but you are to remember, that all outward things and ceremonies, all sacraments and institutions, work their effect in the virtue of Christ, by some moral instrument. The priests in the Church of England can absolve you as much as the Roman priests could fairly pretend; but then we teach that you must first be a penitent and a returning person; and our absolution does but *manifest the work of God*^a, and comfort and instruct your conscience, di-

^a “What is then the force of absolution? What is it which the act of absolution *worketh* in a sinful man? Does it by any operation derived *from itself* alter the state of the soul? Does it really take away sin; or but *ascertain* us of God's most gracious and merciful pardon?—The latter of which two is our assertion, the former theirs (the Romanists') . . .

“Now, albeit, we willingly confess with St. Cyprian, ‘The sins which are committed against Him, He only hath power to forgive, who hath taken upon Him our sins; He which hath sorrowed, and suffered for us; He, whom God hath given for our offences.’ Yet neither did St. Cyprian intend to deny the power of the minister otherwise than if he presume beyond his commission to remit sin, where God's own will is it should be retained;—for against such absolutions he speaketh, which being granted to whom they ought to have been denied, are of no validity;—and, if rightly it be considered, how higher causes in operation use to concur with inferior means, his grace with our ministry, God really performing the same which man is authorized to act as in his name,—there shall need for decision of this point no great labour.

“To remission of sins there are two things necessary; grace, as the only *cause* which taketh away iniquity; and repentance as a duty or *condition* required in us. To make repentance such as it should be, what doth God demand but inward sincerity, joined with fit and convenient offices for that purpose; the one, referred wholly to our own consciences; the other, best discerned by them whom God hath appointed judges in his court. So that having first the promises of God for pardon *generally* unto all offenders *penitent*; and particularly, for our own unfeigned meaning the infallible testimony of a good conscience, the sentence of God's appointed officer and vice-gerent to approve with impartial judgment the quality of that we have done, and as from his tribunal in that respect, to assail us of any crime;—I see no cause but by the rules of our faith and religion, we may rest ourselves very well assured touching God's most merciful pardon and grace, who, especially for the strengthening of weak, timorous, and fearful minds, hath so far endued his Church with power to absolve sinners.” *Hooker*, book vi. p. 74—

6. Edit. 1793.

rect and manage it. You shall be absolved here, but not unless you live a holy life; so that in this you will find no change but to the advantage of a strict life. We will not flatter you and cozen your dear soul by pretended ministries, but we so order our discourses and directions that all our ministrations may be really effective; and when you receive the holy sacrament of the eucharist, or the Lord's Supper, it does more good here than they do there, because if they consecrate rightly, yet they do not communicate you fully; and if they offer the whole representative sacrifice, yet they do not give you the whole sacrament. Only, we enjoin that you come with so much holiness, that the grace of God in your heart may be the principal, and the sacrament in our hands may be the ministering and assisting part. We do not promise great effects to easy, trifling dispositions, because we would not deceive, but really procure to you great effects; and therefore you are now to come to our offices with the same expectations as before, of pardon, of grace, of sanctification; but you must do something more of the work yourself, that we may not do less in effect than you have in your expectation. We will not, to advance the reputation of our power, deceive you into a less blessing.

3. Be careful that you do not flatter yourself, that in our communion you may have more ease and liberty of life; for though I know your pious soul desires passionately to please God and to live religiously, yet I ought to be careful to prevent a temptation, lest it at any time should discompose your severity. Therefore as to confession to a priest (which how it is usually practised among the Roman party, yourself can very well account, and you have complained sadly that it is made an ordinary act, easy and transient, sometimes matter of temptation, oftentimes impertinent; but) suppose it free from such scandal to which some men's folly did betray it, yet the same severity you will find among us; for though we will not tell a lie to help a sinner, and say that is necessary which is only appointed to make men do themselves good;—yet we advise and commend it, and do all the work of souls^a to all those people that will be saved by all means; to

^a “It is confessed that private confession unto a priest is of very ancient practice in the Church; of excellent use and practice, being discreetly handled. We refuse it to none, if men require it, if need be to have it. We urge it and persuade it in extremes. We require it in case of perplexity, for the quieting of men disturbed, and their consciences. It has been so acknowledged

devout persons, that make religion the business of their lives. And they that do not so in the Churches of the Roman communion, as they find but little advantage by periodical confessions, so they feel but little awfulness and severity by the injunction. You must confess to God all your secret actions, you must advise with a holy man in all the affairs of your soul, you will be but an ill friend to yourself if you conceal from Him the state of your spiritual affairs. We desire not to hear the circumstance of every sin, but when matter of justice is concerned, or the nature of the sin is changed, that is, when it ought to be made a question. And you will find that though the Church of England gives you much liberty from the bondage of innumerable ceremonies and human devices ; yet in the matter of holiness you will be tied to very great service ; but such a service as is perfect freedom ; that is, the service of God and the love of the Holy Jesus, and a very strict religious life ; for we do not promise heaven, but upon the same terms it is promised us, that is, “ Repentance towards God, and faith in our Lord Jesus.” And as in faith we make no more to be necessary than what is made so in holy Scripture, so in the matter of repentance we give you no easy devices, and suffer no lessening definitions of it, but oblige you to that strictness which is the condition of being saved, and so expressed to be by the infallible word of God ; but such as in the Church of Rome they do not so much stand upon.

Madam, I am weary of my journey ; and although I did purpose to have spoken many things more, yet I desire that my not doing it may be laid upon the account of my weariness. All that I shall add to the main business is this.

4. Read the Scripture diligently, and with a humble spirit, and in it observe what is plain, and believe and live accordingly. Trouble not yourself with what is difficult, for in that your duty is not described.

5. Pray frequently and effectually ; I had rather your prayers should be often than long. It was well said of Petrarch, “ *Magno verborum fræno uti decet cum superiore colloquentem.*” When you

by your fellows, that ‘ in the visitation of the sick it is required by the communion book, that the sick person make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter :—and likewise, before the receiving of the Lord’s Supper.” *Montague’s Answer to the late Gagger of Protestants*, p. 83, A.D. 1624, 4to. See also *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iii. p. 372, and note (iii). 67-8. edit. 1839).

speak to your superior you ought to have a bridle upon your tongue: much more when you speak to God. I speak of what is decent in respect of ourselves and our infinite distances from God: but if love makes you speak, speak on, so shall your prayers be full of charity and devotion. "*Nullus est amore superior, ille te coget ad veniam, qui me ad multiloquium.*" Love makes God to be our friend, and our approaches more united and acceptable; and therefore you may say to God, "the same love which made me speak, will also move thee to hear and pardon." Love and devotion may enlarge your litanies, but nothing else can, unless authority does interpose.

6. Be curious not to communicate but with the true sons of the Church of England, lest if you follow them that were amongst us, but are gone out from us, because they were not of us, you be offended, and tempted to impute their follies to the Church of England.

7. Trouble yourself with no controversies willingly, but how you may best please God by a strict and severe conversation.

8. If any Protestant live loosely, remember that he dishonours an excellent religion, and that it may be no more laid upon the charge of our Church, than the ill lives of most Christians may upon the whole religion.

9. Let no man or woman affright you with declamations and scaring words of "heretic," and "damnation," and "changeable;" for these words may be spoken against them that return to light, as well as to those that go to darkness;—and that which men of all sides can say, it can be of effect to no side upon its own strength or pretension.

XI.

JUELLI APOLOGIA ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ.

“But of all places the desires and attempts of the Church of Rome to recover England, have been always and still are the strongest: which yet in their more sober moods, sundry of them will acknowledge to have been the only nation that took the right way of justifiable reformation, in comparison of others who have run headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation. Whereas that alteration which has been in England, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by general consent of the prince and whole realm, representatively assembled in solemn parliament, and great part of their own clergy according and conforming themselves unto it; no Luther, no Calvin the square of their faith; what public discussion and long deliberation did persuade them to be faulty, that taken away; the succession of bishops and vocation of ministers continued; the dignity and state of the clergy preserved; the honour and solemnity of the service of God not abased; the more ancient usages of the Church not cancelled: in sum no humour of affecting contrariety, but a charitable endeavour rather of conformity with the Church of Rome, in whatsoever they thought not gainsaying to the express law of God.”—SIR EDWIN SANDYS.

D. JOANNI JUELLO EPISCOPO SARISBURIENSI P. MARTYR S. D.

OPERA Episcopi Londinensis, amplissime Præsul et Domine quotidie mihi etiam atque etiam observande, allatum est exemplum tuæ Apologiæ pro Anglicana Ecclesia, quæ neque a me, neque a nostris antea fuerat visa. In tuis quidem postremis, illam proditutam potius innuisti quam significaveris: sed tantum itineris hactenus conficere non potuit, ut prius ad nos quam circiter Cal. Sextiles pervenerit. Hinc tu animo tuo metiaris, quantum dam-

num ob locorum distantiam subinde faciamus. Ea vero non tantum mihi, cui omnia tua probantur et mirifice placent, omnibus modis et numeris satisfacit; verum etiam Bullingero, ejusque filiis et generis; nec non Gualthero et Wolfio tam sapiens, mirabilis, et eloquens visa est, ut ejus laudandæ nullum modum faciant, nec arbitrantur hoc tempore quicquam perfectius editum fuisse. Hanc ingenio tuo felicitatem, hanc ædificationem Ecclesiæ, hoc Angliæ decus vehementer gratulor, teque obtestor, ut quam ingressus es viam pergas tuis vestigiis premere. Etenim bonam licet habeamus causam, tamen præ hostium numero pauci sunt qui eam tueantur: et illi jam ita videntur experrecti^a, ut bonitate styli, et argutis sophismatis multum se probent imperitæ multitudini. Loquor autem de Staphylis, Hosiiis, et plerisque aliis hujus farinæ scriptoribus, qui hoc tempore mendaciorum Papæ strenuos patronos agunt. Quare cum in Apologia tua illa doctissima et elegantissima tantum spei de te concitaveris, certo scias, omnes bonos et doctos jam sibi polliceri, veritatem evangelicam te vivo non esse ab hostibus impune lacesendam. Ego vero plurimum lætor, quod illum diem viderim, quo factus sis parens tam illustris et elegantis filii. Largiatur Deus cœlestis Pater, pro sua bonitate, ut sobole non absimili frequenter augearis.

APOLOGIA ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ.

I. VETUS illa^b est querela a primis usque Patriarcharum et Prophetarum ducta temporibus, et omnis memoriæ literis et testimoniis confirmata¹, veritatem in terris peregrinam agere, et inter ignotos facile inimicos et calumniatores invenire. Id etsi aliis incredibile fortasse videri possit, si qui sunt qui ista minus attente observaverint, præsertim cum hominum universum genus ipso naturæ ductu, sine magistro, sua sponte sit appetens veritatis; et Christus ipse servator noster, cum inter homines versaretur, quasi

^a Of many of the ways in which this "awakening" showed itself, see an interesting account in *Sandys's* *Europæ Speculum*, particularly p. 81—109. edit. 1673.

^b In this edition, a division is given in the margin, pars 1^{ma}, 2^{da}, &c. to the *sixth*, according to the partition adopted by the author in the *Defence of his Apology*, against Harding. See *English Works*, edit. 1609, fol.

¹ *Tertul.* in *Apologetico*.

nomine ad exprimendam omnem vim divinam, aptissime voluerit appellari Veritas : nos tamen qui in sacris Scripturis versati sumus, quique legimus et vidimus, quid omnibus piis omnium fere temporum, quid Prophetis, quid Apostolis, quid sanctis martyribus, quid Christo ipsi acciderit ; quibus illi probris, maledictis, contumeliis, cum viverent, veritatis unius causa vexati fuerint ; videmus, id non tantum non esse novum aut incredibile, sed etiam receptum jam et omnibus temporibus usitatum. Imo illud multo potius mirum atque incredibile videri posset, si pater mendaciorum¹ et hostis omnis veritatis Diabolus, nunc tandem repente mutaret ingenium, et speraret veritatem aliter quam mentiendo posse opprimi, aut aliis nunc artibus, quam quibus ab initio semper usus est, inciperet regnum suum stabilire. Ex omni enim memoria vix ullum tempus invenire possumus, vel crescentis, vel constitutæ, vel renascentis religionis, quo non veritas atque innocentia indignis modis ab hominibus, et contumeliosissime acciperetur. Videt scilicet Diabolus, veritate incolumi, se incolumem esse et sua tueri non posse.

Nam, ut ne quid de veteribus Patriarchis et Prophetis commemoremus, quorum, uti diximus, nulla pars ætatis fuit a contumeliis et probris libera ; scimus fuisse olim quosdam, qui dicerent², et publice prædicarent, veteres Judæos, quos non dubitamus fuisse cultores unius et veri Dei, numinis loco aut suem, aut asinum coluisse, et omnem illam religionem nihil aliud fuisse, quam sacrilegium, et contemptum omnium numinum. Scimus Filium Dei et servatorem nostrum Jesum Christum, cum doceret veritatem, habitum fuisse pro præstigiatore, pro malefico, pro Samaritano, pro Beelzebub, pro seductore populi³, pro homine bibulo et vorace. Et quis nescit, quæ dicta olim fuerint in acerrimum præconem, atque assertorem veritatis, divum Paulum : illum modo hominem seditiosum esse, militem conscribere, secessionem facere : modo esse hæreticum, modo insanire, modo contentionis atque animi causa in legem Dei blasphemum esse, et Patrum instituta contemnere ? Quis nescit divum Stephanum⁴ statim, cum penitus intimis animi sensibus veritatem accepisset, et eam cœpisset libere, sicut debuit, et fortiter prædicare et præ se ferre, statim vocatum esse in judicium capitis, quasi qui contumelias nefarie dixisset in Legem, in Mosen, in Templum, in Deum ? Aut quis nescit fuisse olim, qui sacras Scripturas arguerent vani-

¹ Joh. viii. 44.

² *Cornel. Tacitus.* Tertul. in Apologet. cap. 16. C. Plinius.

³ Joh. viii. 48. Matt. xi. 19.

⁴ Act. vi. Epiphanius.

tatis, quod in illis dicerent contraria ¹, et plane pugnantia contineri: et Apostolos Christi singulos inter se, Paulum vero ab omnibus dissensisse? Et ne longum sit omnia colligere (id enim esset infinitum) quis nescit, quæ olim convitia jacta fuerint ^a in patres nostros, qui primi cœperunt agnoscere et profiteri nomen Christi; illos inter se conspirare ², et occulta consilia inire contra rempublicam, et ea causa antelucanis horis inter se in tenebris convenire, occidere pueros infantes, explere se humanis carnibus, et ferali ritu bibere humanum sanguinem; postremo, extinctis luminibus, adulterium inter se, et incestum promiscue perpetrare, et fratres cum sororibus, filios cum matribus, sine reverentia sanguinis, sine pudore, sine discrimine concumbere, homines impios, sine religione ulla, sine Deo, hostes humani generis, indignos luce, indignos vita?

Ista tum omnia dicebantur in populum Dei, in Christum Jesum, in Paulum, in Stephanum, in eos omnes, quicumque primis temporibus amplexi sunt veritatem Evangelii, et se passi sunt, odioso³ tum in vulgus nomine, appellari Christianos. Et quamvis ea non essent vera, id tamen Diabolus satis putabat sibi fore, si effecisset saltem, ut crederentur esse vera, utque Christiani publico omnium odio laborarent, et ab omnibus ad exitium quærerentur. Itaque reges et principes, hujusmodi tum persuasionibus inducti, occidere Prophetas Dei ad unum omnes: Esaiam ad serram, Hieremiam ad lapides, Daniele ad leones, Amos ad vectem, Paulum ad gladium, Christum ad crucem, Christianos omnes⁴ ad carceres, ad equuleos, ad furcas, ad rupes, ad præcipitia, ad bestias, ad ignes condemnare: et rogos ingentes ex illorum vivis corporibus, tantum ad usum nocturni luminis, et ad ludibrium inflammare; eosque non alio loco numerare, quam quo sordes vilissimas, et catharmata ac ludibria totius mundi.—Sic videlicet semper accepti sunt auctores et professores veritatis.

Quò nos animo æquiore ferre debemus, quicumque professionem evangelii Jesu Christi suscepimus, si in eadem causa ad eundem tractamur modum; utque olim patres nostri, ita nos quoque hodie, nullo nostro merito, tantum quia docemus et profiteamur veritatem ⁵, convitiis, contumeliis, mendaciis exagitamur.

¹ *Marcion ex Tertulliano. Ælius e Lactant.*

^a See *Turner's Calumnies against the Primitive Christians* accounted for. 1727. 8vo.

² *Eusebius*, lib. v. c. 1. *Tertul. Apolog.* cap. 1—3. et 7—9.

³ *Tertul. Apolog.* cap. 3.

⁴ *Sucton. Tranquil.* in Nerone.

⁵ 1 Tim. iv.

Clamant hodie passim nos omnes esse hæreticos, discessisse a fide, et novis persuasionibus atque impiis dogmatis Ecclesiæ consensum dissipavisse; nos veteres et jam olim damnatas hæreses ab inferis redivivas restituere, et novas sectas, atque inauditos furores disseminare: jam etiam in contrarias factiones et sententias distractos esse, nec ullo pacto potuisse unquam inter nos ipsos convenire: esse homines impios, et gigantum more, Deo ipsi bellum facere, et prorsus sine omni numinis cura cultuque vivere: nos omnia recte facta despicere, non virtutis disciplina uti ulla, non legibus, non moribus: non fas, non jus, non æquum, non rectum colere: ad omnia flagitia laxare fræna, et populum ad omne genus licentiæ atque libidinis provocare: nos id agere et quærere, ut monarchiæ et regnorum status evertantur, et omnia ad popularem temeritatem et imperitiæ multitudinis dominationem redigantur: nos ab Ecclesia Catholica tumultuose defecisse, et nefario schismate orbem terrarum concussisse, et pacem communem atque otium Ecclesiæ publicum conturbasse: utque olim Dathan et Abiron¹ ab Aarone et Mose, ita nos hodie a Romano pontifice sine ulla satis justa causa secessionem fecisse: priscorum Patrum et veterum conciliorum auctoritatem pro nihilo putare: ceremonias antiquas a patribus et proavis nostris multis jam seculis, bonis moribus et melioribus temporibus approbatas, temere et insolenter abrogasse: et nostra tantum privata auctoritate, injussu sacri et œcumenici concilii, novos in Ecclesiam ritus invexisse: atque ista nos omnia, non religionis causa, sed contentionis tantum studio fecisse: se autem nihil prorsus immutasse; omnia vero ut ab Apostolis tradita, et ab antiquissimis Patribus approbata fuerint, ad hunc usque diem per tot secula retinuisse.

Neve res calumniis tantum agi, et ad invidiam nostram in angulis solum jactari videretur, subornati sunt a Romanis pontificibus homines quidam satis disertis, et non indoctis, qui ad causam desperatam accederent, et eam libris et longis orationibus exornarent; ut cum eleganter et copiose^a ageretur, homines imperiti possent, in ea aliquid esse, suspicari. Videbant, scilicet, ubique terrarum causam suam inclinare, artes suas jam videri et minoris putari, et præsidia sua in singulos dies labefactari; et omnino causam magnopere egere patrocinio.—Eorum autem, quæ ab illis in nos dicuntur, partim manifeste falsa sunt, et ipsorum, a quibus dicuntur, judicio condemnata: partim, etsi falsa sunt illa quoque,

¹ Num. xvi.

^a Compare *Peter Martyr's Letter*, prefixed.

tamen speciem veri aliquam et similitudinem præ se ferunt, ut in illis incautus lector (maxime vero, si accedat istorum composita et elegans oratio) facile circumveniri, et errare possit; partim vero sunt ejusmodi, ut ea nos non tamquam crimina refugere, sed tamquam recte atque optima ratione facta, agnoscere et profiteri debeamus. Nam, ut uno verbo quod res est dicamus, isti omnia nostra, etiam ea, quæ ne ipsi quidem negare possunt recte atque ordine esse facta, calumniantur; et quasi nihil a nobis aut fieri aut dici recte possit, ita dicta nostra, factaque omnia malitiose depravant. Simplicius quidem et candidius agendum erat, si vere agere voluissent. Nunc autem nec vere, nec ingenue, nec Christiano more modoque, sed obscure et veteratorie, mendaciis nos oppugnant: et cæcitate populi et inscitia, atque ignorantia principum, ad odium nostri et ad opprimendam veritatem abutuntur. Est hæc potestas tenebrarum, et hominum stupore magis imperitiæ multitudinis, et tenebris quam veritate aut luce fidentium, utque Hieronymus ait, clausis oculis veritati perspicue contradicentium.

Nos vero Deo optimo maximo gratias agimus, eam esse causam nostram, in quam isti cum cuperent, nullam contumeliam possent dicere, quæ non eadem in sanctos Patres, in Prophetas, in Apostolos, in Petrum, in Paulum, in Christum ipsum torqueri posset.

Jam vero si istis ad maledicendum disertis et eloquentibus esse licet, nos in optima nostra causa, ad vere respondendum, haud sane convenit esse mutos. Negligere enim quid de se suaque causa, quamvis false et calumniose, dicatur, (præsertim cum id ejusmodi sit, ut in eo Dei majestas et religionis negotium violetur) hominum est dissolutorum, et ad injurias divini nominis secure atque impie conniventium. Etsi enim aliæ injuriæ sæpe magnæ ab homine modesto et Christiano ferri ac dissimulari possint: tamen hæreseos notam qui dissimulet, eum Ruffinus negare solebat esse Christianum.—Faciemus ergo nunc id, quod omnes leges, quod vox naturæ ipsa jubet fieri, quodque Christus ipse in simili causa contumeliis appetitus fecit, ut istorum criminationes propulsemus; ut causam innocentiamque nostram modeste et vere tueamur. Nam Christus quidem, cum a Pharisæis accusaretur veneficii, quasi consuetudinem haberet cum Dæmonibus, et illorum ope multa faceret; “Ego,” inquit¹, “Dæmonium non habeo, sed glorifico Patrem meum; vos autem affecistis me ignominia.”

¹ Joh. viii. 49.

Et Paulus, cum a Festo proconsule contemneretur ut insanus; “Ego,” inquit ¹, “optime Feste, non insanio, ut tu putas, sed veritatis et sobrietatis verba loquor.” Et Christiani veteres cum pro homicidis, adulteris, incestis, rerum publicarum perturbatoribus ad populum traducerentur, et viderent hujusmodi criminationibus in dubium vocari posse religionem quam profitebantur; maxime vero, si tacere viderentur, et quodammodo crimen agnoscere; ne ea res evangelii cursum impediret, habuerunt orationes², scripserunt libros supplices, apud imperatores et principes verba fecerunt, ut se suosque publice defenderent.

Nos vero cum proximis istis viginti annis, tot millia nostrorum fratrum inter exquisitissimos cruciatus testimonium dixerint veritati; et principes, cum frænare cuperent evangelium, multa moliendo nihil egerint; et totus jam prope terrarum orbis ad aspiciendam lucem oculos incipiat aperire; satis jam dictam et defensam putamus esse causam nostram: cumque res ipsa satis pro se loquatur, non multum opus esse verbis. Nam si pontifices ipsi vellent, aut etiam si possent, rem ipsam secum, et initia progressusque religionis nostræ cogitare, quemadmodum sua pene omnia, nullo impellente, sine ulla humana ope ceciderint: nostra vero invitis ab initio imperatoribus, invitis tot regibus, invitis pontificibus, invitis prope omnibus, incrementa ceperint, et paulatim in omnes terras propagata fuerint, atque etiam postremo in regum jam aulas et palatia pervenerint; vel hæc ipsa satis illis magna indicia esse possent, Deum ipsum pro nobis propugnare, et ipsorum conatus de cœlo ridere, et eam esse vim veritatis, quam nec humanæ vires, nec inferorum portæ possunt convellere. Non enim insaniunt hodie tot civitates liberæ, tot reges, tot principes, qui a sede Romana defecerunt, et se potius ad Christi evangelium adjunxerunt.

Neque tamen si pontificibus otium hactenus nunquam fuit de istis rebus attente et serio cogitandi, aut si nunc aliæ illos curæ impediunt, et diverse distrahunt, aut si ista studia vulgaria et levia esse putant, et nihil ad dignitatem pontificiam pertinere, idcirco causa nostra debet videri deterior: aut si illi quod vident, videre forte nolunt, et veritatem agnitam potius oppugnant, idcirco nos habendi statim sumus pro hæreticis, qui illorum voluntati non obsequimur. Quod si Pius Pontifex³ is esset, non dicimus, quem se tantopere dici cupit; sed si is omnino esset, qui nos vel fratres suos, vel omnino homines esse duceret, rationes prius

¹ Act. xxvi. 25.

² *Quadratus, Justinus, Melito, Tertull.* alique.

³ Pius IV.

nostras, et quid a nobis, quid contra, nos dici posset, diligenter expendisset: ac non ita temere cæcis tantum præjudiciis, bonam partem orbis terrarum, tot doctos et pios viros, tot respublicas, tot reges, tot principes in bulla illa sua, qua nuper simulabat concilium, inauditos, indicta causa, condemnasset.

Verum, ne, quia ad hunc modum publice ab illo notati sumus, tacendo videamur crimen confiteri, et præsertim quia in publico concilio, in quo ille nemini mortalium jus esse vult ferendi suffragii, sententiæque dicendæ, nisi jurato addictoque potestati suæ, audiri nullo modo possumus (id enim proximis comitiis Tridentinis nimium experti sumus, cum principum Germaniæ, et liberarum civitatum legati, et theologi prorsus ab omni conventu excluderentur: neque adhuc oblivisci possumus, Julium tertium ante decem annos diligenter cavisse rescripto suo, ne quis nostrorum hominum in concilio audiretur, nisi si quis forte esset, qui vellet palinodiam canere, et mutare sententiam:)—vel ea maxime causa visum est nobis rationem fidei nostræ scripto reddere, et ad ea, quæ nobis publice objecta sunt, vere, ac publice respondere; ut orbis terrarum videre possit partes et fundamenta ejus doctrinæ, cui tot boni viri postposuerunt vitam suam; atque omnes intelligant cujusmodi tandem homines illi sint; quidque de Deo et religione sentiant, quos Romanus Episcopus, antequam vocarentur ad dicendam causam, non satis considerate, nullo exemplo, nullo jure, tantum quod illos audiret a se suisque in aliqua parte religionis discrepare, condemnavit pro hæreticis.

Et quamvis D. Hieronymus in suspitione hæreseos neminem velit esse patientem, nos tamen nec acerbe, aut dicaciter agemus, nec efferemur iracundia: quamquam nec acerbus, nec dicax videri debet, qui vera dicit. Istam eloquentiam libentius relinquimus adversariis nostris, qui quicquid in nos dicunt, quantumvis id acerbe aut contumeliose dictum sit, tamen satis modeste et apposite dictum putant: verene an falso, nihil curant. Nobis his artibus opus non est, qui veritatem defendimus.

Quod si docemus sacrosanctum Dei evangelium, et veteres episcopos, atque Ecclesiam primitivam nobiscum facere: nosque non sine justa causa et ab istis discessisse, et ad apostolos, veteresque Catholicos Patres rediisse; idque non obscure, aut vafre, sed bona fide coram Deo, vere, ingenue, dilucide, et perspicue facimus: si illi ipsi qui nostram doctrinam fugiunt, et sese Catholicos dici volunt, aperte videbunt omnes illos titulos antiquitatis, de quibus tantopere gloriantur, sibi excuti de manibus, et in nos-

tra causa plus nervorum fuisse quam putarint : speramus, neminem illorum ita negligentem fore salutis suæ, quin ut velit aliquando cogitationem suscipere, ad utros potius se adjungat. Certe quidem, nisi quis plane animo obduruerit, et audire nolit, eum non pœnitebit, animum ad defensionem nostram advertere, et quid a nobis, quamque ad religionem Christianam convenienter, apteque dicatur, attendere.

Nam quod nos appellant hæreticos,—est illud crimen ita grave, ut nisi videatur, nisi palpetur, nisi manibus digitisque teneatur, credi facile de homine Christiano non debeat. Est enim hæresis destitutio salutis, abjectio gratiæ Dei, discessio a corpore et spiritu Christi. Sed fuit hoc semper istis, et illorum patribus familiare ac solenne, ut si qui essent, qui de illorum erroribus quererentur, et religionem cuperent restitutam, eos statim quasi novatores rerum et homines factiosos, condemnarent pro hæreticis. Christus enim non alia causa dictus est Samaritanus, quam quod ad novam quandam religionem, et ad hæresim defecisse putaretur. Et Paulus apostolus Christi vocatus est in judicium, ut causam diceret de hæresi; “Ego quidem,” inquit¹, “juxta hanc viam, quam isti vocant hæresim, colo patrium Deum, credens omnibus quæ scripta sunt in lege, et in prophetis.”

Breviter, universa ista religio, quam hodie profitentur homines Christiani, primis temporibus² ab ethnicis hominibus secta dicta est, et hæresis. His isti vocibus semper impleverunt aures principum; ut cum illi opinione præjudicata nos odissent, et quicquid a nobis diceretur, haberent pro factione et hæresi, a re ipsa, et a cognitione causæ abducerentur. Sed quanto crimen illud gravius est et atrocius, tanto argumentis majoribus, et clarioribus probari debuit; hoc præsertim tempore, postquam homines cœperunt minus istorum oraculis habere fidei, et in illorum doctrinam diligentius inquirere, quam solebant. Aliter enim nunc institutus est populus Dei, atque olim fuit, cum omnia pontificum Romanorum dictata haberentur pro Evangelio, et omnis religio ab illorum tantum autoritate penderet. Extant hodie sacræ literæ, extant scripta apostolorum et prophetarum, ex quibus³ et omnis veritas, et doctrina Catholica probari possit, et omnis hæresis refutari.

Cum nihil horum ab istis proferatur, tamen nos hæreticos appellari, qui nec a Christo, nec ab apostolis, nec a prophetis defecerimus, injuriosum est et peracerbum. Hoc gladio Christus

¹ Act. xxiv. 14.

² *Tertul.* in Apologetico.

³ 2 Tim. iii. 15.

rejecit diabolum, cum ab illo tentaretur : his armis evertenda et profliganda est omnis altitudo ¹, quæ sese attollit adversus Deum. “ Omnis scriptura,” inquit Paulus ², “ divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad refutandum, ad instituendum, ad arguendum, ut vir Dei perfectus sit, et ad omne opus bonum instructus.” Sic semper pii Patres contra hæreticos non aliunde quam e sacris Scripturis pugnaverunt. Augustinus ³ cum disputaret adversus Petilianum, hæreticum Donatistam, Ne, inquit, audiantur inter nos hæc verba ; Ego dico, aut tu dicis : sic potius dicamus, Hæc dicit Dominus : ibi quæramus Ecclesiam : ibi discutiamus causam nostram. Et Hieronymus : Omnia, inquit ⁴, ea quæ absque testimonio Scripturarum quasi tradita, ab apostolis asseruntur, percutiuntur gladio Dei. Ambrosius etiam ad Gratianum imperatorem, Interrogentur, inquit, Scripturæ ; interrogentur apostoli, interrogentur prophetæ, interrogetur Christus. Non dubitabant, videlicet, tum temporis Catholici Patres et episcopi, religionem nostram satis e divinis Scripturis probari posse : nec unquam illi quenquam habere ausi sunt pro hæretico, cujus errorem non possent ex iisdem illis Scripturis perspicue et liquido coarguere. Nos quidem, ut cum D. Paulo ⁵ respondeamus, Juxta hanc viam, quam isti appellant hæresin, colimus Deum, et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, et recipimus omnia, quæ aut in lege, aut in prophetis, aut in Apostolorum libris scripta sunt.

Quare si nos sumus hæretici, si isti sunt (quod appellari volunt) Catholici, cur non faciunt id, quod vident Patres, Catholicos viros, semper fecisse ? Cur nos e sacris Scripturis non convincunt ? Cur nos ad illarum examen non revocant ? Cur nos non ostendunt a Christo, a prophetis, ab apostolis, a sanctis Patribus discessisse ? Quid hærent ? Quid fugiunt ? Est Dei causa : cur eam dubitant permittere verbo Dei ? Quod si nos sumus hæretici, qui omnes nostras controversias referimus ad sacras literas, quique ad illas ipsas voces, quas scimus a Deo ipso consignatas esse, provocamus, et illis alia omnia, quæcunque possunt ab hominibus excogitari, postponimus : quid istos, quos tandem homines aut quales convenit appellari, qui Sacrarum Scripturarum, hoc est, Dei ipsius judicium reformidant, et sua illis somnia et frigidissima commenta anteponunt, et traditionum suarum causa,

¹ 2 Cor. x. 5.

² 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17.

³ De Unitate Eccl. c. 3. Eadem sententia habetur contra Maximinum, Arianorum Episcopum, l. iii. c. 14.

⁴ In primum cap. Aggei.

⁵ Act. xxiv. 14.

Christi atque apostolorum instituta aliquot jam secula violarunt? Aiunt Sophoclem poetam tragicum, cum jam senex esset, et accusaretur apud iudices a filiis suis pro deliro, et fatuo, quasi qui rem suam familiarem temere profunderet, et opus jam habere videretur curatore; ut se purgaret eo crimine, venisse in iudicium, et cum pronunciasset Œdipum Coloneum, tragœdiam a se illis ipsis diebus, cum accusaretur, valde elaborate et pereleganter scriptam, ultro interrogasse iudices, num illud carmen videretur esse hominis delirantis?

Ita nos quoque, quoniam istis furere videmur, et ab illis traducimur pro hæreticis, quasi quibus nihil jam rei sit nec cum Christo, nec cum Ecclesia Dei, non alienum aut inutile fore existimavimus, si aperte et libere proponamus fidem nostram in qua stamus, et omnem illam spem quam habemus in Christo Jesu: ut omnes videre possint, quid nos de quaque parte religionis Christianæ sentiamus, et statuere secum ipsi possint, an ea fides, quam videbunt et verbis Christi, et Apostolorum scriptis, et Catholicorum Patrum testimoniis, et multorum seculorum exemplis confirmatam, tantum sit rabies quædam hominum furentium, et conspiratio hæreticorum.

II. Credimus ergo, unam quandam^a naturam esse, et vim divinam, quam appellamus Deum; eamque in tres personas æquales distinctam esse, in Patrem, in Filium, in Spiritum Sanctum, ejusdem omnes potestatis, ejusdem majestatis, ejusdem æternitatis, ejusdem divinitatis, ejusdem substantiæ. Et quamvis tres illæ personæ ita distinctæ sint, ut nec Pater sit Filius, nec Filius sit Spiritus Sanctus aut Pater: Deum tamen esse unum, et illum unum creasse cœlum, et terram, et omnia quæ cœli complexu continentur.

Credimus Jesum Christum^b Filium unicum æterni Patris, quemadmodum jam olim ante omnia initia decretum fuerat, cum venisset plenitudo temporis, suscepisse carnem, et omnem naturam humanam, ex beata illa et pura Virgine, ut indicaret hominibus arcanam, et reconditam voluntatem Patris sui, quæ abdita fuerat a seculis et generationibus; utque in humano corpore per-

^a See and compare Art. I. of the 39 Articles of the Church of England. The reader will have no difficulty in understanding why he is referred so frequently in the following notes to the Articles of the Church of England. This Apology, itself sanctioned by Convocation, is of great value as a contemporary illustration of the phraseology, and the true interpretation and intent of the corresponding Article.

^b See Art. II. of the Church of England.

ageret mysterium redemptionis nostræ; et peccata nostra, et syngrapham illam quæ erat scripta contra nos, affigeret ad crucem.

Eum credimus nostra causa esse mortuum^a, sepultum, descendisse ad inferos, tertia die vi divina rediisse ad vitam, et resurrexisse; post quadraginta dies, spectantibus discipulis, ascendisse in coelum, ut impleret omnia; et corpus illud ipsum, (in quo natus, in quo versatus, in quo ludibrio habitus, in quo gravissimos cruciatus, et dirum genus mortis¹ passus fuerat, in quo resurrexerat, in quo ascenderat ad Patris dextram, supra omnem principatum et potestatem, et virtutem, et dominationem, et omne nomen quod nominatur, non solum in hoc seculo, sed etiam in futuro,) in majestate et gloria collocasse: ibi eum nunc sedere^b, et sessurum esse², donec omnia perficiantur. Et quamvis majestas et divinitas Christi ubique diffusa sit, tamen corpus ejus, ut Augustinus ait³, in uno loco esse oportere: Christum corpori suo majestatem dedisse, naturam tamen corporis non ademisse: neque ita⁴ asserendum esse Christum Deum, ut eum negemus esse hominem: utque ait martyr Vigilius⁵, Christum humana sua natura nos reliquisse, divinitate autem non reliquisse: eumque cum absit a nobis⁶ per formam servi, tamen semper esse nobiscum per formam Dei.

Ab illo loco credimus Christum rediturum esse ad exercendum publicum illud judicium, tam de illis quos inveniet adhuc in corpore superstites, quam de mortuis.

Credimus Spiritum Sanctum^c, qui est tertia persona in sacra Triade, illum verum esse Deum; non factum, non creatum, non genitum, sed ab utroque, Patre, scilicet, et Filio, ratione quadam mortalibus incognita ac ineffabili, procedentem. Illius esse duri-
tiem humani cordis emollire, quum aut per salutiferam prædicationem evangelii, aut alia quacunque ratione in pectora hominum recipitur: illum eos illuminare, et in agnitionem Dei, atque in omnem viam veritatis et in totius vitæ novitatem, et perpetuam salutis spem perducere.

Credimus, unam esse Ecclesiam Dei, eamque, non ut olim apud Judæos, in unum aliquem angulum aut regnum conclusam; sed

^a See Art. III. of the Church of England.

¹ *Aug. Tract. 50. in Joh.*

^b See Art. IV. of the Church of England.

² Act. iii. 21.

³ *Aug. Tract. 30. in Joh.*

⁴ Ad Dardan.

⁵ Contra Eutych. lib. 1.

⁶ *Fulgentius ad Regem Thrasymundum.*

^c See Art. V. of the Church of England.

catholicam atque universalem esse, et diffusam in totum terrarum orbem, ut nulla nunc natio sit quæ possit vere conqueri, se exclusam esse, et non posse ad Ecclesiam, et populum Dei pertinere. Eam Ecclesiam esse regnum, esse corpus, esse sponsam Christi: ejus regni Christum solum esse principem: ejus corporis Christum solum esse caput: ejus sponsæ Christum solum esse sponsum. Varios in Ecclesia esse ordines ministrorum: alios esse diaconos, alios presbyteros, alios episcopos, quibus institutio populi et religionis cura et procuratio commissa sit; neminem tamen unum^a nec esse, nec esse posse, qui summæ rerum universæ præsit: nam et Christum semper adesse Ecclesiæ suæ, et vicario homine, qui ex asse in integrum succedat, non egere: et neminem mortalem posse existere, qui universam Ecclesiam, hoc est, omnes partes orbis terrarum, vel animo complecti, nedum ordine collocare, et recte ac commode administrare possit: Apostolos, ut Cyprianus ait¹, pari omnes inter se fuisse potestate; atque hoc idem fuisse alios, quod Petrus fuit; omnibus ex æquo dictum fuisse, *Pascite*; omnibus, *Ite in mundum universum*; omnibus, *Docete Evangelium*; et ut ait Hieronymus², omnes episcopos, ubicunque tandem sint, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli, sive Rhegii, ejusdem esse meriti, ejusdem sacerdotii. Utque Cyprianus ait³, Episcopatum unum esse, et ejus partem in solidum teneri a singulis: et de sententia Nicæni concilii, Romanum episcopum nihilo plus juris in Ecclesiam Dei obtinere, quam reliquos Patriarchas, Alexandrinum, et Antiochenum: Romanum vero episcopum, qui nunc ad se unum omnia revocat, nisi officium faciat, nisi administret sacramenta, nisi instituat populum, nisi moneat, nisi doceat, ne episcopum quidem, aut omnino presbyterum jure dicendum esse. Episcopum enim, ut Augustinus ait⁴, nomen esse operis, non honoris: ut ille se intelligat non esse episcopum, qui velit præesse, et non prodesse. Caput vero Ecclesiæ totius, aut universalem episcopum, non magis aut illum aut alium quemvis mortalem esse posse, quam sponsum, quam lucem, quam salutem, quam vitam Ecclesiæ. Hæc enim esse Christi unius privilegia, et nomina, et illi uni proprie atque unice convenire: neque unquam quenquam Romanum episcopum, ante Phocam imperatorem (quem scimus, interfecto imperatore Mauricio domino suo, per nefarium scelus ad imperium adspirasse) hoc

^a See *Baxter's Catechism*, vol. i. p. 313. of this collection. Also the articles from *Barrow* and *Overall*, in the present volume.

¹ De Simplicitate Prælatorum.

² Ad Evagrium.

³ De Simplicitate Prælatorum.

⁴ 1 Tim. iii. 1, &c.

est, ante sexcentessimum decimum tertium annum a Christo nato, unquam passum fuisse sese tam superbo nomine salutari: concilium etiam Carthaginense¹ diserte cavisse, ne quis episcopus, aut summus Pontifex, aut primus sacerdos diceretur: episcopum vero Romanum, quoniam ita hodie dici vult, et alienam potestatem sibi vendicat; præterquam quod aperte facit contra vetera concilia, contraque Patres, (si Gregorio² suo velit credere,) nomen arrogans, profanum, sacrilegum, Antichristianum, sibi imponere; esse regem superbiæ, esse Luciferum, qui se fratribus suis anteponat; abjecisse fidem; esse præcursores Antichristi.

Ministrum legitime vocari^a oportere, et recte atque ordine præfici Ecclesiæ Dei: neminem autem ad sacrum ministerium pro suo arbitrio, et libidine posse se intrudere. Quo major nobis ab istis fit injuria^b, quibus nihil sæpius in ore est, quam apud nos nihil ordine, nihil decenter, omnia confuse ac perturbate fieri; omnes apud nos esse Sacerdotes, omnes esse doctores, omnes esse interpretes.

Ministris a Christo datum esse dicimus ligandi, solvendi^c, aperiendi, claudendi potestatem. Ac solvendi quidem munus in eo situm esse, ut minister, vel dejectis animis et vere resipiscentibus, per evangelii prædicationem, merita Christi, absolutionemque offerat, et certam peccatorum condonationem, ac spem salutis æternæ denunciet: aut ut eos qui gravi scandalo, et notabili publicoque aliquo delicto fratrum animos offenderint, et sese a communi societate Ecclesiæ, et a Christi corpore quodammodo abalienarint, resipiscentes reconciliet, et in fidelium cœtum atque unitatem recolligat ac restituat. Ligandi vero illum claudendique potestatem exercere dicimus, quoties vel incredulis et contumacibus regni cœlorum januam occludit, illisque vindictam Dei, et sempiternum supplicium edicit, vel publice excommunicatos ab Ecclesiæ gremio excludit. Sententiam autem, quamcunque ministri Dei ad hunc modum tulerint, Deus ipse ita comprobatur, ut quicquid hic illorum opera solvitur et ligatur in terris, idem ipse

¹ Cap. 47.

² *Gregor.* l. 4. *Epist.* 76. 78. 80.

^a See Art. XXIII. of the Church of England.

^b "He said, That they were led in great blindness at Rome by those of our own nation, who made the people there believe that there was not in England either archbishop or bishop, or cathedral, or any Church or ecclesiastical government; but that all was pulled down to the ground." *Paul's Life of Whitgift, Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iv. 388. (iii. 609, edit. 1839.) See also *Barlow's Hampton Court Conference*, n. 37.

^c See *Barrow on the Power of the Keys*, above, vol. iii. p. 169, &c. and the notes. Also, Index in *Absolution*.

solvere et ligare velit, et ratum habere in cœlis. Claves autem quibus aut claudere regnum cœlorum, aut aperire possint, ut Chrysostomus ait, dicimus esse scientiam Scripturarum: ut Tertullianus, esse interpretationem legis: ut Eusebius, esse verbum Dei. Acepisse autem discipulos Christi hanc potestatem, non ut audirent arcanas populi confessiones, aut captarent murmura, quod sacrificuli nunc omnes passim faciunt, atque ita faciunt, quasi in eo solo sita sit omnis vis atque usus clavium; sed ut irent, ut docerent, ut publicarent evangelium, ut essent credentibus odor vitæ ad vitam; ut essent incredulis atque infidelibus odor mortis ad mortem; ut piorum animi conscientia superioris vitæ et errorum consternati, postquam adspicere cœpissent lucem evangelii, et in Christum credere, ut fores clave, ita illi verbo Dei aperirentur: impii autem et contumaces, quique nollent credere et redire in viam, quasi obserati et clausi relinquerentur, et proficerent, ut Paulus ait¹, in deterius. Hanc esse rationem clavium; hoc pacto aut aperiri aut claudi hominum conscientias; sacerdotem quidem esse judicem, nullius tamen eum potestatis, ut ait Ambrosius², jus obtinere: idcirco Christum his verbis increpuisse Scribas et Phariseos, ut coargueret illorum in docendo negligentiam: vae, inquit³, vobis Scribæ et Pharisei, qui abstulistis claves scientiæ, et clausistis regnum cœlorum coram hominibus. Cumque clavis, qua aditus nobis aperitur ad regnum Dei, sit verbum evangelii, et interpretatio legis et scripturarum, ubi non sit verbum, ibi dicimus non esse clavem: et cum unum omnibus datum sit verbum, unaque sit omnium clavis, unam esse ministrorum omnium, quod quidem ad aperiendum, aut claudendum attinet, potestatem: imo etiam pontificem ipsum, quamvis illi suaviter cantillentur illa verba a parasitis suis, tibi dabo⁴ claves regni cœlorum, ac si eæ illi uni, et præterea mortalium nemini convenirent; nisi id agat, ut hominum flectantur conscientiæ, et succumbant verbo Dei, negamus aut aperire, aut claudere, aut omnino habere claves. Et quamvis doceat, et instituat populum (quod utinam aliquando et vere faciat, et inducat aliquando animum, esse eam aliquam saltem partem officii sui) tamen ejus clavem nihilo aut meliorem aut majorem esse, quam aliorum. Quis enim illum discrevit? Quis illum docuit doctius aperire, aut melius absolvere, quam fratres suos?

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 13.

² De Pœniten. dist. 1. c. verbum Dei.

³ Luc. xi. 52. Matt. xxiii. 13.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 19.

Matrimonium^a in omni genere et statu hominum, in patriarchis, in prophetis, in apostolis, in sanctis martyribus, in ministris ecclesiarum, in episcopis, sanctum et honorificum esse dicimus; et, ut Chrysostomus ait¹, fas et jus esse cum eo ad cathedram episcopalem ascendere; utque Sozomenus ait de Spiridione, et Nazianzenus de patre suo, episcopum pium et industrium nihilo deterius ea causa, imo melius etiam, et utilius versari in ministerio. Legem autem illam quæ hominibus eam libertatem per vim adimat, et invitos adigat ad cœlibatum, esse, ut divus Paulus ait², doctrinam dæmoniorum; et ex eo (quod Episcopus Augustinus, Faber, Abbas Panormitanus, Latomus, opus illud tripartitum quod adjunctum est secundo tomo conciliorum, aliique pontificiarum partium satellites, resque adeo ipsa, et omnes historiæ confitentur) incredibilem vitæ ac morum impuritatem in ministris Dei, et horrenda flagitia esse consecuta: et recte dixisse Pium secundum³ Romanum episcopum, videre se multas causas, cur eripiendæ fuerint uxores sacerdotibus, multo autem et plures videre, et graviore, cur sint reddendæ.

Recipimus et amplectimur omnes canonicas scripturas^b et Veteris et Novi Testamenti, Deoque nostro gratias agimus, qui eam lucem nobis excitavit, quam semper haberemus in oculis, ne vel humana fraude, vel insidiis Dæmonum, ad errores et fabulas abduceremur: eas esse cœlestes voces, per quas Deus voluntatem suam nobis patefecerit: in illis solis posse hominum animos acquiescere: in illis ea omnia, quæcunque ad nostram salutem sint necessaria, ut Origenes, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus docuerunt, cumulate et plene contineri? eas esse vim et potentiam⁴ Dei ad salutem: eas esse fundamenta prophetarum et apostolorum, in quibus ædificata sit Ecclesia Dei: eas esse certissimam normam, ad quam ea, si vacillet aut erret, possit exigi, et ad quam omnis doctrina ecclesiastica debeat revocari: contra eas nec legem, nec traditionem, nec consuetudinem ullam audiendam esse⁵: ne, si Paulus quidem ipse, aut Angelus de cœlo veniat, et secus doceat.

Recipimus sacramenta^c Ecclesiæ, hoc est, sacra quædam signa

^a See Art. XXXII. of the Church of England.

¹ In 1mo ad Titum hom. 2da Theophyl. ad Titum 1mo. Eus. lib. xviii. cap. 5. In monodia sua super Basilium.

² 1 Tim. iv. 1. 3.

³ *Platina* in Pii II. vita.

^b See Art. VI. of the Church of England.

⁴ Rom. i. 16.

⁵ Gal. i. 8.

^c See Art. XXV. of the Church of England.

et cæremonias, quibus Christus nos uti voluit, ut illis, mysteria salutis nostræ, nobis ante oculos constitueret, et fidem nostram, quam habemus in ejus sanguine, vehementius confirmaret, et gratiam suam in cordibus nostris obsignaret. Eaque cum Tertulliano, Origene, Ambrosio, Augustino, Hieronymo, Chrysostomo, Basilio, Dionysio, aliisque Catholicis Patribus, figuras, signa, symbola, typos, antitypa, formas, sigilla, signacula, similitudines, exemplaria, imagines, recordationes, memorias appellamus. Nec dubitamus etiam cum eisdem dicere, esse illa visibilia quædam verba, signacula justitiæ, symbola gratiæ: diserteque pronunciamus in cœna credentibus vere exhiberi corpus et sanguinem Domini, carnem Filii Dei vivificantem animas nostras, cibum superne venientem, immortalitatis alimoniam, gratiam, veritatem, vitam; eamque communionem esse corporis et sanguinis Christi, cujus participatione vivificamur, vegetamur, et pascimur ad immortalitatem, et per quam conjungimur, unimur, et incorporamur Christo, ut nos in illo maneamus, et ille in nobis.

Duo autem sacramenta, quæ eo nomine proprie censenda sint, agnoscimus; baptismum, et eucharistiam. Tot enim videmus tradita esse et consecrata a Christo, et a veteribus Patribus, Ambrosio, et Augustino, approbata.

Et baptismum ^a quidem sacramentum esse remissionis peccatorum, et ejus ablutionis quam habemus in Christi sanguine; et ab eo neminem qui velit profiteri nomen Christi, ne infantes quidem Christianorum hominum, quoniam nascuntur in peccato, et pertinent ad populum Dei, arcendos esse.

Eucharistiam ^b esse sacramentum, hoc est, symbolum conspicuum corporis et sanguinis Christi, in quo subjicitur quodammodo oculis nostris mors Christi, et ejus resurrectio, et quæcunque gessit in humano corpore: ut de ejus morte et nostra liberatione gratias agamus, et frequentatione sacramentorum, ejus rei memoriam assidue renovemus; ut vero Christi corpore et sanguine alamur, in spem resurrectionis et vitæ æternæ; utque pro certissimo habeamus, id esse animis nostris alendis corpus et sanguinem Christi, quod alendis corporibus est panis et vinum. Ad hoc epulum invitandum esse populum, ut omnes inter se communicent, et societatem suam inter se, spemque eam quam habent in Christo Jesu, publice significant, et testificentur. Itaque si quis

^a See Art. XXVII. of the Church of England.

^b See Art. XXVIII. of the Church of England.

fuisset, qui spectator tantum esse vellet, et a sacra communione abstineret, illum veteres Patres¹ et Romanos episcopos in primitiva Ecclesia, antequam nata esset privata missa, tanquam improbum atque ethnicum excommunicasse: neque ullum fuisse eo tempore hominem Christianum, qui cæteris spectantibus, communicaret solus. Ita olim decrevit Calixtus², ut peracta consecratione, omnes communicarent, nisi mallerent carere Ecclesiasticis liminibus. Sic enim ait³ apostolos statuuisse, et sanctam Romanam Ecclesiam tenere. Populo vero ad sacram communionem accedenti, utramque partem eucharistiæ^a tradendam esse. Id enim et Christum jussisse, et apostolos ubique terrarum instituisse, et omnes veteres Patres, et Catholicos episcopos secutos esse: et si quis contra faciat, eum, ut Gelasius ait, committere sacrilegium⁴: et adversarios hodie nostros, qui explosa atque abdicata communione, sine verbo Dei, sine veteri Concilio, sine ullo Catholico Patre, sine exemplo primitivæ Ecclesiæ, sine etiam ratione, privatas missas et mutilationem Sacramentorum defendant, idque non tantum contra expressum mandatum et jussum Christi, sed etiam contra omnem antiquitatem faciant, improbe facere, et esse sacrilegos.

Panem et vinum dicimus esse sacra et cœlestia mysteria corporis et sanguinis Christi; et illis Christum ipsum, verum panem æternæ vitæ, sic nobis præsentem exhiberi, ut ejus corpus, sanguinemque per fidem vere sumamus: non tamen id ita dicimus, quasi putemus naturam panis^b et vini prorsus immutari atque abire in nihilum, quemadmodum multi proximis istis seculis somniarunt, neque adhuc potuerunt unquam satis inter se de suo somnio convenire. Neque enim id Christus egit, ut panis triticeus abjiceret naturam suam, ac novam quandam divinitatem indueret; sed ut nos potius immutaret, utque Theophylactus⁵ loquitur, transelementaret in corpus suum. Quid enim magis perspicue dici potest, quam quod Ambrosius⁶ ait, Panis et Vinum sunt quæ crant, et in aliud^c commutantur? aut quod Gelasius⁷,

¹ *Chrysost.* ad Ephes. ser. 3. De Consec. dist. i. cap. omnes.

² Dist. 2. cap. Seculares. ³ De Consec. dist. 2. cap. peracta.

^a See Art. XXX. of the Church of England.

⁴ De Consec. dist. 1. cap. Comperimus.

^b See Art. XXVIII. of the Church of England, two first paragraphs.

⁵ in Joh. vi.

⁶ De Sacra. lib. iv. c. 4.

^c "And yet." English Works, p. 232. edit. 1609.

⁷ In Dialog. 1 et 2.

non desinit esse substantia panis, vel natura vini : aut quod Theodoretus¹, post sanctificationem mystica symbola naturam suam propriam non objiciunt ; manent enim in priori sua substantia, et figura, et specie : aut quod Augustinus, quod videtis, panis est et calix² ; quod etiam oculi renunciant : quod autem fides vestra postulat instruenda, panis est corpus Christi, calix sanguis : aut quod Origenes³, ille panis qui sanctificatur per verbum Dei, quod quidem ad materiam attinet, in ventrem abit, et in secessum ejicitur : aut quod Christus non tantum post consecrationem calicis, sed etiam post communicationem dixit, non bibam amplius de hac generatione vitis⁴. Certum enim est ex vite progenerari vinum, non sanguinem.—Nec tamen cum ista dicimus, extenuamus Cœnam Domini, aut eam frigidam tantum ceremoniam esse docemus, et in ea nihil fieri ; quod multi nos docere calumniantur. Christum enim asserimus, vere sese præsentem exhibere in sacramentis suis : in baptismo, ut eum induamus : in cœna, ut eum fide et spiritu comedamus, et de ejus cruce ac sanguine habeamus vitam æternam : idque dicimus non perfunctorie, et frigide, sed re ipsa et vere fieri. Etsi enim Christi corpus dentibus et faucibus non attingimus, eum tamen fide, mente, spiritu, tenemus et premimus. Neque vero vana ea fides est, quæ Christum complectitur, nec frigide percipitur, quod mente, fide, et spiritu percipitur. Ita enim nobis in illis mysteriis, Christus ipse totus, quantus quantus est, offertur et traditur, ut vere sciamus, esse jam nos carnem de ejus carne, et os de ossibus ejus, et Christum in nobis manere, et nos in illo.

Itaque in peragendis mysteriis antequam ad sacram communionem veniatur, recte admonetur populus, ut sursum⁵ habeant corda, et animos in cœlum dirigant : ibi enim esse illum, de quo nos oporteat satiari ac vivere. Et Cyrillus in percipiendis mysteriis, excludendas esse ait crassas cogitationes. Et Concilium Nicænum, ut Græce citatur a quibusdam, diserte vetat, ne humiliter intenti simus ad propositum panem et vinum. Et ut Chrysostomus recte scribit, corpus Christi dicimus esse cadaver, nos oportere esse aquilas, ut intelligamus in altum subvolandum esse, si velimus ad Christi corpus accedere. Hanc enim aquilarum esse

¹ In Serm. ad infantes.

² De Cons. dist. 2. cap. Qui manducant.

³ In Matt. xv. 11.

⁴ Luc. xxii. 18.

⁵ De Consec. dist. 1. cap. Quando.

mensam, non graculorum. Et Cyprianus, hic, inquit¹, panis, cibus mentis est, non cibus ventris. Et Augustinus, Quomodo, inquit², tenebo absentem? Quomodo in cœlum mittam manum, ut ibi sedentem teneam? Fidem, inquit, mitte, et tenuisti.

Nundinationes vero^a et auctiones missarum, et circumgestationes atque adorationes panis, et alias idololatricas et blasphemias ineptias, quas nemo istorum affirmare potest Christum et apostolos tradidisse, in Ecclesiis nostris non ferimus: et Episcopos Romanos recte reprehendimus, qui sine verbo Dei, sine autoritate sanctorum Patrum, sine exemplo, novo more, non tantum proponunt populo panem Eucharisticum divino cultu adorandum³, sed etiam illum in equo gradario, quocunque ipsi iter faciunt, ut olim ignem Persicum, aut Isidis sacra, circumferunt, et Christi sacramenta ad scenam jam, et pompam traduxerunt; ut in ea re, in qua mors Christi inculcanda et celebranda erat, et in qua mysteria redemptionis nostræ sancte ac reverenter erant agitanda, hominum oculi nihil aliud quam insanis spectaculis, et ludicra levitate pascerentur. Quod autem^b dicunt, et interdum etiam stultis persuadent, sese missis suis posse distribuere atque applicare hominibus (sæpe etiam nihil de ea re cogitantibus, nec quid agatur intelligentibus) omnia merita mortis Christi, et ridiculum, et ethnicum, et ineptum est. Fides enim nostra mortem et crucem Christi nobis applicat, non actio sacrificuli: fides, inquit Augustinus⁴, sacramentorum justificat, non sacramentum. Et Origenes, Ille, inquit, est sacerdos, et propitiatio, et hostia, quæ propitiatio ad unumquemque venit per viam fidei. Atque ad hunc modum, sine fide, ne vivis quidem prodesse dicimus sacramenta Christi: mortuis vero multo minus⁵.—Nam quod de purgatorio^c isti suo jactare solent, etsi illud scimus non ita novum esse, tamen non aliud quam fatuum et anile commentum est. Augustinus quidem, modo hujusmodi quendam locum *esse*, ait; modo *posse esse*, non negat: modo *dubitat*, modo prorsus *pernegat*, et in eo homines humana quadam benevolentia putat falli. Tamen ab hoc errore uno, tanta

¹ De Cœna Domini.

² In Joan. tract. 50.

^a Art. XXVIII. of the Church of England, last paragraph.

³ Libro de Cæremoniis Ecclesiæ Rom.

^b Art. XXXI. of the Church of England.

⁴ Ad Rom. cap. 3. lib. 8.

⁵ Aug. in psalm. 85. In Enchiridio, cap. 6, 7. De Civitate Dei, lib. xxi. c. 26. Contra Pelagianos lib. hypognoticon 5.

^c Art. XXII. of the Church of England.

crevit seges sacrificulorum, ut cum in omnibus angulis missæ palam et publice venderentur, templa Dei facta fuerint tabernæ meritoriae, et miseris mortalibus persuasum fuerit nihil prorsus esse vendibilis : istis quidem certe nihil erat utilius.

De multitudine otiosarum cæremoniarum, scimus Augustinum¹ graviter suo tempore conquestum esse. Itaque nos magnum earum numerum resecavimus², quod illis sciremus affligi conscientias hominum, et gravari Ecclesiam Dei.

Retinemus tamen et colimus, non tantum ea quæ scimus tradita fuisse ab apostolis, sed etiam alia quædam, quæ nobis videbantur sine Ecclesiæ incommodo ferri posse : quod omnia cuperemus in sacro cœtu, ut Paulus jubet³, decenter, atque ordine administrari. Ea vero omnia, quæ aut valde superstitiosa, aut frigida, aut spurca, aut ridicula, aut cum sacris literis pugnancia, aut etiam sobriis hominibus indigna esse videbamus, qualia infinita sunt hodie in papatu, prorsus sine ulla exceptione repudiavimus : quod nollemus Dei cultum ejusmodi ineptiis longius contaminari.

Precamur ea lingua^b, quam nostri, ut par est, omnes intelligant : ut populus, quemadmodum Paulus monet³, e communibus votis utilitatem communem capiat : quemadmodum omnes pii Patres, et Catholici Episcopi, non tantum in Veteri, verumetiam in Novo Testamento, et precati sunt ipsi, et populum precari docuerunt : ne, ut Augustinus ait, tanquam psittaci et merulæ, videamur sonare quod nescimus.

Mediatorem et precatorem, per quem accedendum sit ad Deum Patrem, non alium habemus quam Jesum Christum, cujus unius nomine omnia a Patre impetrantur. Turpe autem et plane ethnicum est, quod in istorum Ecclesiis videmus passim fieri, non tantum quod infinitum numerum habere volunt precatorum^c, idque prorsus sine autoritate verbi Dei, (ut, quemadmodum Hieremias ait⁴, Divorum numerus æquet nunc, vel potius superet numerum civitatum, et miseri mortales nesciant, ad quem se potissimum debeant vertere :) quodque, cum tot sint ut numerari non possint,

¹ Ad Janu. Epis. 119.

^a See preface to the book of Common Prayer, "*Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained.*"

² 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

^b Art. XXIV. of the Church of England.

³ 1 Cor. xiv.

^c "Innumerable sorts of *mediators.*" English translation, Works, p. 293. edit. 1609.

^d Hier. ii. 28. et xi. 13.

illis tamen singulis suum cuique ab illis munus et officium, quid impetrare, quid dare, quid efficere debeant, descriptum est: sed etiam quod ita, non tantum impie, sed etiam impudenter appellant virginem matrem, ut se matrem¹ esse meminerit, ut imperet filio, ut in illum utatur jure suo.

Dicimus hominem natum esse in peccato^a, et in peccato vitam agere: neminem posse vere dicere, mundum esse cor suum: justissimum quemque servum esse inutilem: legem Dei perfectam esse, et a nobis requirere perfectam et plenam obedientiam: illi a nobis in hac vita satisfieri non posse ullo modo: neque esse mortalium quenquam qui possit in conspectu Dei propriis viribus justificari: itaque unicum receptum nostrum et perfugium esse ad misericordiam Patris nostri per Jesum Christum, ut certo animis nostris persuadeamus, illum esse propitiationem pro peccatis nostris: ejus sanguine omnes labe nostras deletas esse: illum pacificasse omnia sanguine crucis suæ: illum unica illa hostia, quam semel obtulit in cruce, omnia perfecisse, et ea causa, cum animam ageret, dixisse, consummatum est²: quasi significari vellet, persolutum jam esse pretium pro peccato humani generis.

Hoc sacrificium siqui sunt qui non putant esse satis, eant sane et quærant aliud melius. Nos quidem, et quia illud unicum esse^b scimus, uno contenti sumus, nec expectamus aliud: et quia semel tantum offerendum erat, non jubemus repeti; et quia plenum et omnibus numeris et partibus perfectum erat, non substituimus continentes hostiarum successiones.

Quamvis autem dicamus, nihil nobis esse præsidii in operibus^c et factis nostris, et omnem salutis nostræ rationem constituamus in solo Christo; non tamen ea causa discimus, laxè et solute vivendum esse, quasi tingi tantum et credere, satis sit homini Christiano, et nihil ab eo aliud expectetur. Vera fides viva est, nec potest esse otiosa.

Sic ergo docemus populum, Deum vocasse nos, non ad luxum et libidinem; sed, ut Paulus ait³, ad opera bona, ut in illis ambulemus: Deum eripuisse nos a potestate tenebrarum, ut serviamus Deo viventi, ut rescindamus omnes reliquias peccati, ut in timore et tremore operemur salutem nostram, ut appareat spiritum

¹ Bernardus.

^a Art. IX. of the Church of England.

² Joh. xix. 30.

^b See Art. XXXI. of the Church of England.

^c Art. XII. of the Church of England.

³ Eph. ii. 10.

sanctificationis esse in membris nostris, et Christum ipsum per fidem in cordibus nostris habitare.

Postremo, credimus hanc ipsam carnem nostram, in qua vivimus, quamvis mortua abierit in pulverem, tamen ultimo die redituram esse ad vitam, propter spiritum Christi qui habitat in nobis. Tum vero, quicquid hic interim patimur ejus causa, Christum abstersurum esse omnem lacrymam ab oculis nostris: et nos propter illum fruituros esse æterna vita, et semper futuros cum illo in gloria. Amen.

III. Istæ sunt horribiles illæ hæreses, quarum nomine bona pars orbis terrarum hodie a pontifice inaudita condemnatur. In Christum potius, in apostolos, in sanctos Patres lis intendenda fuit. Nam ab illis ista non tantum profecta, sed etiam constituta sunt: nisi isti forte velint dicere (quod etiam fortasse dicent) Christum non instituisse sacram communionem, ut inter fideles distribueretur: aut apostolos Christi, veteresque Patres dixisse privatas missas in omnibus angulis templorum, modo denas, modo vicanas, uno die: aut Christum et apostolos abegisse omnem plebem a sacramento sanguinis: aut id quod ab ipsis hodie ubique fit (atque ita fit, ut eum condemnent pro hæretico, qui secus faciat) a Gelasio suo non appellari sacrilegium: aut non esse ista verba Ambrosii, Augustini, Gelasii, Theodoreti, Chrysostomi, Origenis, panem et vinum in sacramentis manere eadem quæ fuerant: illud, quod videtur in sacra mensa, esse panem: non desinere esse substantiam panis, et naturam vini: panis substantiam et naturam non mutari: aut illum ipsum panem, quod quidam ad materiam attinet, abire in ventrem, et in secessum ejici: aut Christum, apostolos, et sanctos Patres, non precatos esse ea lingua, quæ a populo intelligeretur: aut Christum unica illa hostia quam semel obtulit, non omnia perfecisse: aut illud sacrificium fuisse imperfectum, ut nunc nobis opus sit alio. Hæc illis omnia dicenda sunt, nisi forte malint hoc dicere, omne jus et fas esse conclusum in scrinio pectoris pontificii: quodque olim quidam ex ejus asseclis¹ et parasitis non dubitavit dicere, illum posse dispensare contra apostolum, contra concilium, contra canones apostolorum: et istis exemplis atque institutis et legibus Christi non teneri.

Ista nos didicimus a Christo, ab apostolis, et sanctis Patribus, et eadem bona fide docemus populum Dei: atque ea causa hodie ab antistite, scilicet, religionis, appellamur hæretici.

¹ Dist. 36. Lector in Glossa. Dist. 81. Presbyter.

O Deum immortalem ! Ergo Christus ipse, et apostoli, et tot Patres una omnes erraverunt ? Ergo Origenes, Ambrosius, Augustinus, Chrysostomus, Gelasius, Theodoretus erant desertores fidei Catholicæ ? Ergo tot veterum episcoporum et doctorum virorum tanta consensio nihil aliud erat quam conspiratio hæreticorum ? Aut quod tum laudabatur in illis, id nunc damnatur in nobis ? Quodque in illis erat catholicum, id nunc, mutatis tantum hominum voluntatibus, repente factum est schismaticum ? Aut quod olim erat verum, nunc statim quia istis non placet, erit falsum ? Proferant ergo aliud evangelium : aut causas ostendant, cur ista quæ tam diu in Ecclesia Dei publice observata, et approbata fuerint, nunc demum oportuerit revocari ^a. Nos quidem illud verbum quod a Christo patefactum, et ab apostolis propagatum est, scimus et ad salutem nostram, et ad omnem veritatem propugnandam, et ad omnem hæresin convincendam esse satis. Ex illo nos solo omne genus veterum hæreticorum, quos isti nos aiunt ab inferis revocasse, condemnamus : et Arianos, Euty-chianos, Marcionitas, Ebionæos, Valentinianos, Carpocratianos, Tatianos, Novatianos, eosque uno verbo omnes, qui vel de Deo Patre, vel de Christo, vel de Sancto Spiritu, vel de ulla alia parte religionis Christianæ impie senserunt, quia ab evangelio Christi coarguuntur, impios et perditos pronunciamus, et usque ad inferorum portas detestamur : nec id solum, sed etiam, si forte erumpant uspiam, et sese prodant, eos legitimis ^b et civilibus suppliciis severe et serio coercemus.

^a "To be called in again," English translation, Works, 314, 5. edit. 1609.

^b "When Queen Elizabeth came to the crown, the ecclesiastic authority was exercised with rigour and austerity, rather than with Christian mildness. Still to permit that, was the continuing a fire to consume her people ; and yet, for every one to think and do without control what him list, was to let loose all reins of government, to leave open a door for sedition to disquiet her kingdom, and the commonwealth perhaps not to be ever in peace. Her Majesty therefore took a middle way, to agree with the primitive times, and yet not let every profane humour disturb the Church ; by erecting a court" (the High Commission Court,) "with power to visit, reform, redress, order, correct, and amend all such errors, heresies, schisms, &c. which by any spiritual or ecclesiastical power, authority or jurisdiction can or may lawfully be reformed, ordered, redressed, &c." (1 Eliz. cap. 1.) ; yet restraining them from adjudging any thing to be heresy, that had not heretofore been adjudged such "by the plain words of the canonical Scriptures, or by any of the first four general councils, or by any other general council, wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the canonical Scripture ; or

Fatemur quidem ^a novas quasdam, et antea non auditas sectas, anabaptistas, libertinos, Mennonios, Zuenkfeldianos, statim ad exortum evangelii extitisse. Verum agimus Deo nostro gratias, satis jam orbis terrarum videt, nos nec peperisse, nec docuisse, nec aluisse ista monstra. Lege sodes, quisquis es, libros nostros ^b: prostant ubique venales. Quid unquam scriptum est a quoquam nostrorum hominum, quod posset aperte istorum favere insaniae? Immo nulla hodie regio ita libera est ab istis pestibus, atque illae sunt, in quibus libere et publice docetur evangelium. Quod si rem ipsam attente et recte putare velint, magnum hoc argumentum est, esse hanc evangelii veritatem, quam nos doceamus. Nam nec lolium facile sine frumento nasci solet, nec palea sine grano. Statim ab apostolorum ipsorum ^c temporibus, cum primum propagaretur evangelium, quis nescit quot haereses una exortae fuerint? Quis unquam antea audierat Simonem, Menandrum, Saturninum, Basilidem, Carpocratem, Cerinthum, Ebionem, Valentinum, Secundum, Marcosium, Colorbasium, Heraclionem, Lucianum, Severum? Et quid istos commemoramus Epiphanius numerat octoginta, Augustinus plures etiam distinctas haereses, quae una creverint cum evangelio. Quid ergo? An evangelium, quod una cum illo haereses nascerentur, non erat evangelium? aut Christus ea causa non erat Christus?

Neque tamen apud nos, uti diximus, pullulat ista seges, qui publice et libere docemus evangelium. Apud adversarios nostros, in caecitate ac tenebris istae pestes exordiuntur, et incrementa ac vires capiunt, ubi veritas tyrannide saevitiaque opprimitur, nec nisi in angulis, et occultis congressionibus audiri potest. Faciant sane periculum: dent cursum liberum evangelio, luceat veritas Jesu Christi, et radios in omnes partes porrigat; statim videbunt, ut nocturnam caliginem ad adspectum solis, ita istas umbras ad lucem evangelii protinus evanuisse. Nam nos quidem omnes illas haereses, quas isti nos alere et fovere calumniantur, illis interim sedentibus atque aliud agentibus, quotidie repellimus et propulsamus.

that should hereafter by the parliament, with the assent of convocation, be so declared," &c. *Twisden's Historical Vindication*, p. 160. 4to. 1675.

This Act, so far as concerns the High Commission Court, was repealed by 16 Car. I. cap. 2. See 1 *Gibson's Codex*, p. 351.

^a Compare *Casaubon's* Dedication to king James, above, p. 53-4, in this volume.

^b See *Crakanthorp's* Defensio Ecclesiae Anglicanae contra M. Antonii De Dominis archiepiscopi Spalatensis injurias, p. 210, l. 4to. 1625.

^c See *Casaubon's* Dedication, &c. as above, p. 38.

Quod autem dicunt nos in varias sectas abiisse, et velle alios Lutheranos, alios Zuinglianos appellari, neque adhuc potuisse satis inter nos ipsos de summa doctrinæ convenire: quid illi dixissent, si primis illis temporibus Apostolorum, et sanctorum Patrum extitissent? cum alius diceret, ego sum Pauli; alius, ego sum Cephæ; alius, ego sum Apollo: cum Paulus Petrum reprehenderet: cum simultatis causa Barnabas a Paulo discederet: cum, ut autor est Origenes, Christiani in tot jam factiones distracti essent, ut nomen tantum Christianorum commune, aliud autem præterea nihil Christianorum simile retinerent: utque Socrates ait dissensionum et sectarum causa in theatris a populo publice riderentur: cumque, ut ait imperator Constantinus, tot essent dissensiones et rixæ in Ecclesia, ut ea calamitas videri possit omnem aliam superiorem calamitatem superasse: cum Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Ruffinus, Hieronymus, omnes Christiani, omnes Patres, omnes Catholici, acerbissimis, atque etiam implacabilibus inter se contentionibus conflictarentur: cum, ut Nazianzenus ait, ejusdem corporis membra inter se consumerentur: cum oriens ab occidente de fermentato, et de paschate, non ita magnis de rebus, scinderetur: cum in omnibus conciliis nova subinde symbola, et nova decreta cuderentur? Quid isti tum dixissent? Ad quos se potissimum applicuissent? Quos fugissent? Cui evangelio credidissent? Quos pro hæreticis, quos pro Catholicis habuissent? Nunc duo tantum nomina, Lutherus et Zuinglius, quas istis tragœdias excitant? Ut quoniam illi duo de re aliqua^a nondum consentiunt, idcirco utrumque errasse, neutrum habuisse evangelium, neutrum vere ac recte docuisse arbitremur?

Verum, ô Deus bone, quinam isti tandem sunt, qui dissensiones in nobis reprehendunt? An vero omnes isti inter se consentiunt? An singuli satis habent constitutum quid sequantur? An inter illos nullæ unquam dissensiones, nullæ lites extiterunt? Cur ergo Scotistæ et Thomistæ de merito congrui et condigni, de peccato originis in beata Virgine, de voto solenni et simplici, non melius inter se conveniunt? Cur canonistæ auricularem confessionem de jure humano, et positivo esse aiunt, scholastici contra, de jure divino? Cur Albertus Pighius a Cajetano, Thomas a Lombardo, Scotus a Thoma, Ochamus a Scoto, Alliensis ab

^a That is, On the Nature of Christ's Presence in the Eucharist. See an admirable disquisition on this subject, in *Hooker's* fifth book, chap. 67: or, *Ecclesiastical Biography*, i. 295—7, n. See also *Crakanthorp's* Defensio, &c. chap. xliii. p. 256—8.

Ochamo, Nominales a Realibus dissentiunt? Utque taceam tot dissensiones fraterculorum, et monachorum (quod alii in piscibus, alii in oleribus, alii in calceis, alii in crepidis, alii in linea veste, alii in lana sanctitatem constituunt: alii albat, alii pullati: alii latius, alii angustius rasi: alii soleati, alii nudipedes: alii cincti, alii discincti ambulant:) meminisse debent esse aliquos¹ ex suis qui dicant, Christi corpus adesse in coena naturaliter: contra ex iisdem illis suis esse alios qui negent: esse alios qui dicant, corpus Christi in sacra communione dentibus nostris lacerari et atteri: rursus esse alios, qui negent: esse alios qui scribant, corpus Christi in Eucharistia esse quantum^a, esse alios contra qui negent: esse alios qui Christum divina quadam potentia: alios qui benedicendo: alios qui² quinque conceptis verbis, alios qui eadem illa quinque verba repetendo, dicant consecrasse: esse alios qui in illis quinque verbis, [hoc] pronomine demonstrativo, putent panem triticeum: alios qui malint vagum quoddam individuum indicari: esse alios³ qui dicant canes et mures posse vere et reipsa comedere corpus Christi: esse alios qui id constanter pernegent: esse alios⁴ qui dicant, accidentia ipsa panis vini que nutrire posse: esse alios qui dicant, redire substantiam. Quid plura? Prolixum et permolestum esset omnia numerare. Ita universa forma horum religionis et doctrinae, adhuc apud illos ipsos a quibus nata et profecta est, prorsus incerta, et controversa est. Vix enim unquam inter se conveniunt, nisi forte, ut olim Pharisei et Sadducei, aut Herodes et Pilatus, contra Christum.

Eant ergo sane, et pacem potius inter suos domi sanciant. Unitas quidem et consensio maxime convenit religioni. Non tamen est ea certe et propria nota Ecclesiae Dei. Summa enim erat consensio inter eos qui adorabant aureum vitulum, et inter eos qui conjunctis vocibus in servatorem nostrum Jesum Christum clamabant, "crucifige." Neque quia Corinthii dissensionibus inter se laborabant, aut quia Paulus a Petro, aut Barnabas a Paulo, aut Christiani statim sub ipsis initiis evangelii aliqua de re a se mutuo dissidebant, idcirco nulla erat inter eos Ecclesia

¹ *Ste. Gardinerus* in *Sophistica Diaboli* *Richard. Faber*. Recantatio Berengarii, Schola et Glossa Guimundus. De Consec. dist. 2. Ego Beren.

^a English translation; "is quantum, that is, has his perfect quantity." Works, p. 322.

² *Thomas*.

³ *Gardinerus*.

⁴ De Cons. dist. 2. Species. Glossa.

Dei. Illis quidem, quos isti contumeliæ causa appellant Zuinglianos, et Lutheranos, (re autem vera sunt utrique Christiani, et inter sese amici, ac fratres :) non de principiis aut fundamentis religionis nostræ, non de Deo, non de Christo, non de Sancto Spiritu, non de ratione justificationis, non de æterna vita : tantum de una^a, nec ea ita gravi aut magna quæstione, inter se dissentiunt. Nec desperamus, vel potius non dubitamus, brevi fore concordiam : et siqui sunt, qui aliter sentiant quam par est, positos aliquando affectionibus et nominibus, Deum id illis esse patefacturum, ut re melius animadversa atque explorata, quod olim in Chalcedonensi concilio factum est, omnes dissensionum causæ et fibræ, ab ipsis radicibus extirpentur, et ἀμνηστία sepeliantur semipiterna. Amen.

Gravissimum vero est, quod nos dicunt esse homines impios, et omnem religionis curam abjecisse : quanquam non debet id multum nos movere, quod illi ipsi, a quibus objicitur, sciunt contumeliosum et falsum esse. Nam Justinus Martyr auctor est, cum primum evangelium cœptum esset publicari, et Christi nomen patefieri, Christianos omnes dictos fuisse ἀθέους. Cumque Polycarpus staret pro judicio populus his vocibus incitavit proconsulem ad cædem et interneccionem eorum omnium, qui evangelium profiterentur¹, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους, hoc est, tolle de medio istos homines impios, qui Deum non habent. Non quod Christiani Deum revera non haberent, sed quod saxa, et stipites, quæ tum pro diis colebantur, non adorarent. Verum orbis terrarum satis jam videt, quid nos nostrique ab istis, religionis, et unius Dei nostri causa, perpassi sumus. In carceres, in aquas, in ignes nos abjecerunt, et in nostro sanguine volutati sunt ; non quod aut adulteri essemus, aut latrones, aut homicidæ ; sed tantum quod agnosceremus evangelium Jesu Christi, et speraremus in Deum vivum, quodque nimium (ô Deus bone !) juste vereque quereremur, traditionum inanissimarum causa violari ab istis legem Dei : et adversarios nostros, qui scientes et prudentes Dei jussa ita obstinate contemnerent, esse hostes evangelii, et inimicos crucis Christi.

Verum isti, quum viderent doctrinam nostram non posse recte accusari, maluerunt in mores nostros^b invehi : nos omnia recte

^a See above, p. 300, and note.

¹ *Euseb.* lib. iv. c. 15.

^b Compare *Crakanthorp's* Defensio, &c. 600—10 ; where the whole subject is treated with all the spirit and eloquence of that very learned and masterly writer.

facta damnare : ad licentiam et libidinem fores aperire : et populum ab omni studio virtutis abducere. Et certe ea est, semperque fuit hominum omnium, etiam piorum et Christianorum, vita, ut semper etiam in optimis et castissimis moribus tamen aliquid posses desiderare : eaque propensio omnium ad malum, eaque omnium proclivitas ad suspicandum, ut quæ nec facta, nec cogitata unquam fuerint, audiri tamen, et credi possint. Utque in candidissima veste facile exigua notatur labes ; ita in vita candidissima, facile levissima nota turpitudinis deprehenditur. Neque nos, aut eos omnes qui amplexi sunt hodie doctrinam evangelii, angelos esse arbitramur, et prorsus sine macula ulla rugaque vivere : aut istos vel ita cæcos, ut si quid in nobis notari queat, non possint id vel per tenuissimam rimam animadvertere : vel ita candidos ut quidquam velint in meliorem partem interpretari : vel ita ingenuos, ut oculos suos velint in se reflectere, et mores nostros de suis moribus æstimare. Quod si rem ipsam ab initiis velimus repetere, scimus temporibus ipsis Apostolorum fuisse homines Christianos, propter quos nomen Domini blasphemaretur, et male audiret inter gentes.

Queritur apud Sozomenum imperator Constantius, multos postquam ad Christianam religionem accessissent, evasisse deteriores. Et Cyprianus lugubri oratione describit corruptelam sui temporis. Disciplinam, inquit ¹, quam apostoli tradiderant, otium jam et pax longa corruperat. Studebant augendo patrimonio singuli, et obliti quid credentes, aut sub apostolis ante fecissent, aut semper facere deberent, insatiabili cupiditatis ardore ampliandis facultatibus incubabant. Non in sacerdotibus religio devota, non in ministris fides integra, non in operibus misericordia, non in moribus disciplina. Corrupta barba in viris, in fœminis forma fucata. Et ante illum Tertullianus, O miseros, inquit, nos, qui Christiani dicimur hoc tempore ! Gentes agimus sub nomine Christi.

Postremo, ne omnes commemoremus, Gregorius Nazianzenus de miserabili statu suorum temporum ita loquitur ; vitiorum, inquit, nostrorum causa, odio jam laboramus inter gentes. Spectaculum etiam jam facti sumus, non solum angelis et hominibus, sed etiam omnibus impiis. Hoc loco erat Ecclesia Dei, cum primum lucere cœpisset Evangelium, cum nondum rabies tyrannorum refrixisset, aut gladius a Christianorum hominum cervicibus

¹ De lapsis.

ablatus esset. Scilicet, non est novum, homines esse homines, etiamsi appellentur Christiani.

IV. Sed isti cum ita odiose nos accusant, nihilne interim de se cogitant! An illi, quibus tam procul spectare, et quid in Germania, quidque in Anglia agitur videre otium est, aut obliti sunt, aut videre non possunt quid agitur Romæ^a? An nos ab illis accusamur, de quorum vita nemo potest satis honeste et verecunde commemorare?

Nos quidem non sumimus id nobis hoc tempore, ut ea quæ una cum ipsis sepulta esse oportebat, in lucem et in conspectum proferamus. Non est id religionis, non est verecundiæ, non est pudoris nostri. Ille tamen qui se Christi vicarium et Ecclesiæ caput dici jubet, qui audit, ista Romæ fieri, qui videt, qui patitur, nihil enim aliud addimus, qualia ea sint facile potest cum animo suo cogitare¹. Redeat enim illi sane in memoriam: cogitet canonistas illos suos esse, qui populum docuerunt, simplicem fornicationem non esse peccatum: quasi illam doctrinam ex Missionem Comico didicissent: *Non est peccatum, mihi crede, adolescentulum scortari*. Cogitet, suos illos esse, qui decreverunt, sacerdotem fornicationis causa non esse summovendum. Meminerit Cardinalem Campegius, Albertum Pighium, aliosque complures suos docuisse, sacerdotem illum multo sanctius et castius vivere, qui alat concubinam, quam qui uxorem habeat in matrimonio. Nondum ille, spero, oblitus est, multa esse Romæ publicarum meretricum millia, et se ex illis in singulos annos, vectigalis nomine, colligere ad triginta millia ducatorum. Oblivisci non potest, se Romæ lenocinium publice exercere, et de fœdissima mercede fœde ac nequiter delitieri. An omnia tum Romæ satis aut salva aut sancta erant; cum Joanna² fœmina^b integræ ætatis

^a Compare *Sandys's* Europæ Speculum, p. 19—21;—*Crakanthorp's* Defensio, &c. 45—51; 106, 7, &c.

¹ Joannes de Magistris de temperantia 3 Quæst. 7. Lata Extrav. de Bigamis. Quia circa.

² Statua ejusdem fœminæ parturientis adhuc Romæ est.

^b Compare *Defence of the Apology*, Works, p. 347—53.

“Clearer confirmations must be drawn for the history of Pope Joan, who succeeded Leo IV., and preceded Benedict III., than many we yet discover. And since it is delivered with *aiunt* and *ferunt* by many; since the learned Leo Allatius has discovered that ancient copies of Martinus Polonus, who is chiefly urged for it, had not this story in it; since not only the stream of the Latin historians have omitted it, but Photius the patriarch, Metrophanes Smyrnæus, and the exasperated Greeks have made no mention of it, but con-

magis quam vitæ, esset Papa, et sese gereret pro capite Ecclesiæ : et cum se biennium totum in illa sancta sede aliorum libidini exposuisset, postremo in lustranda civitate, inspectantibus Cardinalibus et episcopis, palam pareret in publico?

Sed quid opus erat concubinas et lenones commemorare? vulgare enim jam illud Romæ et publicum, et non inutile peccatum est. Meretrices enim ibi jam sedent, non ut olim ¹ extra civitatem, obnupto et obvoluto capite, sed in palatiis habitant, per forum vagantur aperta fronte, quasi id non tantum liceat, sed etiam laudi esse debeat. Quid plura? Illorum jam libidines terrarum obri sunt satis notæ. D. Bernardus, de pontificis familia, ipsoque adeo pontifice, libere et vere scribit: Aula, inquit ², tua bonos recipit, non facit: Mali ibi proficiunt, boni deficiunt. Et quicumque ille fuit, qui scripsit Opusculum Tripartitum, quod adjunctum est ad concilium Lateranense; tantus, inquit, hodie est luxus, non tantum in clericis et sacerdotibus, sed etiam in prelatis et episcopis, ut horribile sit auditu.

Atqui ista non tantum usitata sunt, et ea causa consuetudinis et temporis gratia approbata (ut cætera sunt istorum fere omnia) sed etiam antiqua jam et putida. Quis enim non audivit quid Petrus Aloisius ³, Pauli tertii filius, designarit in Cosmum Cherium episcopum Fanensem? quid Johannes Casa archiepiscopus Beneventanus, legatus pontificis apud Venetos, scripserit de horrendo scelere; et quod ne fando quidem audiri debeat, id verbis spurcissimis, et scelerata eloquentia commendarit? Quis non audivit Alphonsum Diazium Hispanum, cum ea gratia Roma missus fuisset in Germaniam, innocentissimum et sanctissimum virum Joannem Diazium fratrem suum, tantum quod amplexus esset evangelium Jesu Christi, et Romam redire nollet, nefarie atque impie interfecisse? Sed ista, inquier, in repub. optime constituta, etiam invitis magistratibus, possunt interdum accidere: et bonis legibus vindicantur.

ceded Benedict III. to be successor to Leo IV.; *he wants not grounds that doubts it.*" Sir Thos. Brown's *Enquiries into Vulgar and Common Errors*, book vii. chap. 17. Works, 310.

¹ Gen. xxxviii. 14, 15. In concilio delectorum cardinalium, tom. iii.

² De Consideratione, ad Eugenium.

³ Such readers as are desirous of seeing at large the historical vouchers for all these various charges, and other statements throughout this whole work, will do well to refer to the author's copious and elaborate *Defence of the Apology*, against Harding.

Esto sane. Sed quibus bonis legibus animadversum est in istas pestes? Petrus Aloisius cum ea flagitia, quæ diximus, designasset, semper fuit in sinu atque in deliciis apud patrem suum Paulum tertium. Diazius, interfecto fratre suo, pontificis ope ereptus est, ne in eum animadverteretur bonis legibus. Joannes Casa archiepiscopus Beneventanus adhuc vivit: immo etiam Romæ, et in sanctissimi oculis et conspectu vivit. Occiderunt fratrum nostrorum infinitos numeros, tantum quod vere ac pure crederent in Jesum Christum. At ex illo tanto numero meretricum, scortatorum, adulterorum, quem unquam, non dico occiderunt, sed aut excommunicaverunt, aut omnino attigerunt? An vero, libidines, adulteria, lenocinia, scortationes, parricidia, incestus, et alia nequiora Romæ peccata non sunt? Aut si sunt, in urbe Roma, in arce sanctitatis, a vicario Christi, a successore Petri, a sanctissimo patre ita facile et leviter, quasi peccata non sint, ferri possunt?

O sancti Scribæ et Pharisei, quibus ista sanctitas nota non fuit! O sanctitatem et fidem catholicam! Non ista Petrus Romæ docuit: Paulus non ita Romæ vixit. Non illi lenocinium publice exercuerunt: non illi vectigal et censum a meretricibus exegerunt: non illi adulteros et parricidas palam et impune tolerarunt: non eos in sinum, non in Christianorum hominum cœtum receperunt. Non debebant isti tantopere exaggerare vitam nostram. Consultius multo fuit, ut prius vel approbarent hominibus, vel certe occultius aliquanto tegerent vitam suam.

Nam nos quidem utimur priscis et avitis legibus, et quantum his moribus et temporibus, in tanta corruptela rerum omnium potest fieri, disciplinam Ecclesiasticam diligenter et serio administramus. Prostibula quidem meretricum et concubinarum, aut scortatorum greges non habemus: nec adulteria matrimoniis anteponimus: nec lenocinium exercemus: nec de fornicibus stipendia colligimus: nec incesta, et flagitiosas libidines, nec Aloisios, nec Casas, nec Diazios parricidas impune ferimus. Nam si ista nobis placuissent, nihil opus erat, ut ab istorum societate, ubi ea vigent et habentur in pretio, discederemus, et ea causa in odia hominum, et in certissima pericula incurreremus. Habuit Paulus quartus ante non ita multos menses Romæ in carcere aliquot fratres Augustinianos, et complures episcopos, et magnum numerum aliorum piorum hominum religionis causa. Habuit tormenta: exercuit in illos quæstiones: nihil reliquit intentatum. Ad extremum ex illis omnibus, quot potuit mœchos, quot scortatores, quot adul-

teros, quot incestos invenire? Sit Deo nostro gratia: etsi illi non sumus, quos esse oportebat, quosque profitemur: tamen quicumque sumus, si cum istis conferamur, vel vita nostra atque innocentia, facile has calumnias refutabit. Nos enim non tantum libris et concionibus, sed etiam exemplis et moribus populum ad omne genus virtutis et recte factorum cohortamur. Evangelium docemus non esse ostentationem scientiæ, sed legem vitæ: utque Tertullianus ait¹, Christianum hominem non loqui magnifice oportere, sed magnifice vivere; nec auditores, sed factores legis justificari apud Deum.

Ad hæc omnia hoc etiam solent addere, idque omni conviciorum genere amplificare, nos esse homines turbulentos, regibus sceptra de manibus eripere, populum armare, tribunalia evertere, leges rescindere, possessiones dissipare, regna ad popularem statum revocare², sursum deorsum omnia confundere: breviter in repub. nihil integrum esse velle. O quoties his verbis inflammaverunt animos principum, ut illi in herba extinguerent lucem Evangelii, priusque illud odisse inciperent, quam nosse possent: utque magistratus, quoties aliquem videret nostrum, toties se putaret hostem videre suum!

Molestum quidem nobis esset ita odiose accusari gravissimo crimine majestatis, nisi sciremus Christum ipsum aliquando, et apostolos, et infinitos alios homines pios et Christianos, vocatos fuisse in invidiam, eodem fere crimine. Nam Christus quidem quamvis docuisset dandum Cæsari quod esset Cæsaris: tamen accusatus est seditionis, quod res novas moliri, et regnum appetere diceretur: itaque occlamatum est pro tribunalibus publice adversus eum; "Si hunc dimittis, non est amicus Cæsaris"³. Et apostoli, quamvis semper et constanter docuissent obtemperandum esse magistratibus, omnem animam superioribus potestatibus esse subditam; idque non tantum propter iram et vindictam, sed etiam propter conscientiam: tamen dicti sunt commovere populum, et multitudinem ad rebellionem incitare. Amanus hoc maxime pacto, genus et nomen Judæorum adduxit in odium⁴ apud regem Assuerum, quod illos diceret esse populum rebellem et contumacem, et principum edicta et jussa contemnere. Impius Rex Achabus, Eliæ Prophetæ Dei, "Tu," inquit, "conturbas Israel"⁵. Amasias sacerdos Bethel, apud Regem Hieroboam accu-

¹ In Apologet. 45.

² Tertullian in Apolog. 1, 2, et 3.

³ Joan. xix. 12.

⁴ Hest. iii. 8, &c.

⁵ 3 Reg. xviii. 18.

sat Amos Prophetam conspiracy: "Ecce," inquit¹, "Amos conjurationem fecit contra te, in medio domus Israel." Breviter, Tertullianus ait², adversus omnes Christianos hanc suo tempore accusationem fuisse publicam, esse illos proditores, esse perduelles, esse hostes humani generis.

Quare si nunc quoque veritas male audiat, et eadem cum sit, iisdem nunc contumeliis afficiatur, quibus affecta est olim; etsi id molestum et ingratum est, novum tamen aut insolens videri non potest.

Facile istis fuit ante annos quadraginta, ista maledicta, et alia graviora in nos confingere, cum in mediis illis tenebris exoriri primum cœpisset, et lucere radius aliquis ignotæ tum et inauditæ veritatis; cum Martinus Lutherus, et Huldericus Zuinglius, præstantissimi viri, et ad illustrandum orbem terrarum a Deo dati, primum accessissent ad Evangelium; cum et res adhuc nova esset, et eventus incertus, et animi hominum suspensi atque attoniti, et aures apertæ ad calumnias, et nullum in nos tam grave flagitium fingi posset, quod non propter rei ipsius novitatem atque insolentiam, facile a populo crederetur. Ita enim veteres hostes Evangelii, Symmachus, Celsus, Julianus, Porphyrius, olim aggressi sunt accusare omnes Christianos seditionis, et majestatis, antequam aut princeps, aut populus, quinam illi Christiani essent, aut quid profiterentur, aut quid crederent, aut quid vellent scire possent. Nunc vero postquam etiam hostes nostri vident, et negare non possunt, nos semper omnibus dictis nostris, scriptisque diligenter admonuisse populum officii sui, ut principibus suis et magistratibus, quamvis impiis obtemperarent, idque et usus ipse, et experientia satis docet, et omnium hominum, quicumque atque ubicunque sunt, oculi vident et contestantur; putidum erat ista objicere, et, cum nova et recentia crimina nulla essent, obsoletis tantum mendaciis nobis invidiam facere voluisse.

Agimus enim Deo nostro, cujus hæc solius causa est, gratias, in omnibus regnis, ditionibus, rebuspub. quæ ad Evangelium accesserunt, nullum unquam adhuc hujusmodi exemplum extitisse. Nullum enim nos regnum evertimus: nullius ditionem aut jura minuimus: rempub. nullam turbavimus. Manent adhuc suo loco, et avitâ dignitate reges Angliæ nostræ, Daniæ, Suetiæ, duces Saxonæ, comites Palatini, Marchiones Brandenburgici, Lantgravii Hessiæ, respub. Helvetiorum, et Rhætorum, et liberæ

¹ Amos vii. 10.

² In Apol. cap. 37.

civitates, Argentina, Basilea, Francofordia, Ulma, Augusta, Norimberga, omnes eodem jure, eodemque statu quo fuerunt antea, vel potius, quia propter Evangelium populum habent obsequentiorē, multo meliore. Eant sane in illa loca, ubi nunc Dei beneficio auditur Evangelium, Ubi plus majestatis? Ubi minus fastus et tyrannidis? Ubi princeps magis colitur? Ubi populus minus tumultuatur? Ubi unquam fuit publica res, ubi Ecclesia tranquillior?

At rustici^a, inquires, a principio hujus doctrinæ passim cœperunt furere, et tumultuari per Germaniam. Esto. At in illos promulgator hujus doctrinæ Martinus Lutherus vehementissime atque acerrime multa scripsit, eosque ad pacem et ad obedientiam revocavit.

Quod autem objici solet interdum ab hominibus imperitis rerum, de mutato statu Helvetiorum et interfecto duce Austriæ Leopoldo, et patria in libertatem vindicata, factum est id (uti ex omnibus historiis satis constat) ante annos ducentos sexaginta, sub Bonifacio octavo, cum maxime vigeret potestas pontificum, ducentos circiter annos antequam Huldericus Zuinglius, aut docere inciperet Evangelium, aut omnino natus esset. Ex eo vero tempore semper illi omnia pacata et tranquilla habuerunt, non tantum ab hoste externo, sed etiam a tumultu intestino.

Quod si peccatum fuit patriam suam ab externa dominatione, præsertim cum insolenter et tyrannice opprimerentur, liberare: tamen vel nos alienis, vel illos avitis criminibus onerare, et iniquum, et absurdum est.

Sed ô Deum immortalem! an Romanus Episcopus accusabit nos perduellionis? An ille docebit populum obtemperare, atque obsequi magistratibus? Aut omnino rationem majestatis habet ullam? Cur ergo nunc ille, (quod nullus veterum Episcoporum Romanorum unquam fecit) quasi omnes reges et principes, quicunque atque ubicunque sint, velit esse servos suos, patitur se a suis parasitis¹, Dominum dominantium appellari? Cur ille se jactat esse regem regum, et habere jus regium in subditos?

Cur omnes imperatores et monarchas jurejurando adigit in verba sua? Cur majestatem² imperatoriam septuagies septies se

^a See *Seckendorf's* Historia Lutheranismi, index in v. Rusticus. Also *Sleiden* De Statu Religionis, &c. &c.

¹ August. Steuchus. Anton. de Rossellis.

² De Major. et Obed. solit.

inferiorem esse gloriatur; idque ea maxime causa, quod Deus duo lumina^a in cœlo fecerit: quodque cœlum et terra non in duobus principiis, sed in uno principio creata fuerint? Cur ille, ejusque sectatores, Anabaptistarum et Libertinorum more, quo licentius et securius grassarentur, jugum excusserunt, et se ab omni civili potestate exemerunt?

Cur ille legatos suos, hoc est, callidissimos exploratores, habet tanquam in insidiis, in aulis, in conciliis, in cubiculis regum omnium? Cur ille, ubi visum est, principes Christianos inter se committit, et pro sua libidine turbat seditionibus orbem terrarum? Cur proscribit, et pro ethnico et pagano haberi vult, si quis princeps Christianus ab imperio suo discesserit; et indulgentias ita liberaliter pollicetur, si quis quacunque ratione interficiat hostem suum? An ille conservat imperia et regna, aut omnino consultum cupit otio publico?—Ignoscere nobis debes, pie lector, si ista videmur acrius et vehementius agere quam deceat homines Theologos. Tanta enim est rei indignitas, tantaque in pontifice, tamque impotens libido dominandi, ut aliis verbis aut tranquillius proponi non possit. Ille enim in publico concilio² ausus est dicere, omne jus regum omnium a se pendere. Ille ambitionis, et regnandi causa distraxit Romanum imperium; et commovit, ac laceravit orbem Christianum. Ille Romanos atque Italos, seque adeo ipsum jurejurando, quo imperatori Græco obstringebatur, perfide liberavit: et subditos ad defectionem sollicitavit: et Carolum Magnum Martellum e Gallia in Italiam evocavit: et eum novo more imperatorem fecit³. Ille Gallorum regem Chilpericum, non malum principem, tantum quod ipsi non placeret, de regno dejecit, et in ejus locum Pipinum surrogavit. Ille ejecto (si id efficere potuisset) Philippo Pulchro rege, decrevit atque adjudicavit regnum Galliæ⁴ Alberto regi Romanorum. Ille florentissimæ civitatis, et reipublicæ Florentiæ⁵, patriæ suæ, opes fregit, eamque e libero et tranquillo statu, unius libidini in manum tradidit. Ille cohortatione sua effecit, ut tota Sabaudia hinc ab imperatore Carolo quinto, inde a Gallorum rege Francisco, misere discerperetur, et infelici duci, vix una civitas quo se reciperet, relinqueretur.

^a See *Barrow*, above, in this volume, p. 151, and note.

¹ De Major. et Obed. unam Sanctam.

² Clemens V. in Concil. Viennensi. Leo Papa III.

³ Zacharias Papa.

⁴ Clemens Papa VII.

⁵ Idem Clemens.

Tædet exemplorum, et molestum esset omnia Romanorum Pontificum egregie facta commemorare.—Quarum, obsecro, partium erant illi, qui Henricum septimum imperatorem veneno sustulerunt in Eucharistia? qui Victorem Papam in sacro calice? qui Joannem nostrum regem Angliæ in mensario poculo? Quicumque illi tandem, et quarumcunque partium fuerint, Lutherani certe, aut Zuingliani non fuerunt. Quis hodie summos reges et monarchas admittit ad oscula beatorum pedum? Quis imperatorem jubet sibi adstare ad frænum: et Gallorum regem ad ferrum illud pensile quo in equum ascenditur? Quis¹ Franciscum Dandalum, ducem Venetiarum, regem Cretæ ac Cypri, catenis vinctum abjecit sub mensam suam, ut ossa liguriret inter canes? Quis² imperatori Henrico sexto, Romæ diadema non manu, sed pede imposuit³: et eodem pede rursus dejecit, atque etiam addidit, habere se potestatem et creandi imperatores, et summovendi? Quis Henricum filium armavit in imperatorem Henricum quartum patrem suum: effecitque ut pater a filio suo caperetur, et detonsus atque ignominiose habitus, conjiceretur in monasterium, et inedia, ac mœrore contabesceret? Quis⁴ cervices imperatoris Frederici subjecit fœdum in modum pedibus suis: et quasi id non esset satis, addidit etiam insuper ex Psalmis Davidis, *Super aspidem et basiliscum ambulabis, conculcabis leonem et draconem*: quale exemplum spretæ et contemptæ majestatis, nunquam antea ulla memoria auditum fuerat: nisi forte vel in Tamberlane Seytha, homine fero et barbaro, vel in Sapore rege Persarum?

Omnes isti fuerunt Papæ: omnes successores Petri: omnes sanctissimi, quorum singulas voces, singula nobis oporteat esse Evangelia.

Si nos rei sumus majestatis, qui principes nostros colimus, qui illis omnia, quantum quidem per Verbum Dei fas est, deferimus, qui pro illis precamur; quid ergo isti sunt, qui non tantum hæc fecerunt omnia, quæ diximus, sed etiam ea quasi optime facta comprobarunt? An vero illi aut ad hunc modum docent populum revereri magistratum; aut satis verecunde possunt nos, tanquam homines seditiosos, et perturbatores pacis publicæ, et majestatis contemptores accusare? Nam nos quidem nec jugum excutimus, nec regna movemus, nec reges aut facimus aut dejicimus, nec imperia transferimus, nec regibus nostris venena propinamus, nec

¹ Sabellicus.

³ Hildebrandus Papa.

² Cœlestinus Papa.

⁴ Alexander III.

illis pedes osculandos porrigimus, nec pedibus nostris illorum cervicibus insultamus. Hæc potius est professio, hæc est doctrina nostra; omnem animam¹, quæcunque tandem ea sit, sive sit Monachus, sive Evangelista, sive Propheta, sive Apostolus, oportere regibus et magistratibus esse subditam: et Pontificem adeo ipsum (nisi Evangelistis, nisi Prophetis, nisi Apostolis major videri velit) quod veteres episcopi² Romani melioribus temporibus semper fecerunt, oportere imperatorem dominum suum et agnoscere, et appellare. Nos publice docemus, ita obtemperandum esse principibus, tanquam hominibus a Deo missis: quique illis resistit, illum Dei ordinationi resistere. Hæc sunt instituta nostra: hæc in libris, hæc in concionibus nostris, hæc in moribus, et modestia populi nostri elucescunt.

Illud vero, quod nos dicunt discessisse ab unitate Ecclesiæ Catholicæ, non tantum est odiosum; sed etiam, etsi verum non est, tamen speciem aliquam et similitudinem habet veri. Apud populum vero et imperitam multitudinem, non tantum vera et certa fidem faciunt, sed etiam siquæ sunt, quæ videri possint verisimilia. Itaque videmus vafros homines, et callidos, quibus vera non suppeterent, semper verisimilibus pugnasse; ut qui rem ipsam penitus intueri non possent, specie saltem aliqua et probabilitate caperentur. Olim quod veteres Christiani³, Patres nostri, cum preces Deo adhiberent, ad orientem Solem converterentur, erant qui dicerent, eos Solem venerari, et habere pro Deo. Cumque illi dicerent, se, quod ad æternam et immortalem vitam attinet, non aliunde vivere, quam de carne et sanguine ejus Agni, qui non haberet labem, hoc est, Servatoris nostri Jesu Christi: invidi et inimici crucis⁴ Christi (quibus id tantum erat curæ, ut religio Christiana quacunque ratione male audiret) persuaserunt populo, esse eos homines impios, mactare humanas hostias, et sanguinem humanum bibere. Cumque illi dicerent, apud Deum nec marem esse nec foeminam, nec omnino, quod ad justitiam adipiscendam attinet, distinctionem esse ullam personarum, seque omnes inter se sorores fratresque salutarent; non deerant⁵ qui calumniarentur, Christianos nullum habere inter se discrimen aut ætatis, aut generis: sed omnes bestiarum ritu promiscue inter se concumbere. Et cum precationis et Evangelii audiendi causa

¹ *Chrys.* in 13. ad Roman.

³ *Tertull.* in Apol. cap. 16.

⁵ *Idem* cap. 39.

² *Gregor.* sæpe in epist.

⁴ *Tertull.* in Apol. cap. 7—9.

sæpe inter se in crypta, et abdita quædam loca convenirent; quod idem interdum ab hominibus conjuratis soleret fieri, rumores publice spargebantur, eos conspirare inter se, et habere consilia vel de occidendis magistratibus, vel de evertenda repub. Quodque ad agitanda ¹ sacra mysteria, de instituto Christi adhiberent panem et vinum, putabantur a multis non Christum colere, sed Bacchum et Cererem: quod illa numina ab ethnicis hominibus profana superstitione, simili ritu, pane et vino colerentur.

Credebantur ista a multis, non quod vera essent (quid enim esse posset minus?) sed quod essent verisimilia, et specie aliqua veri possent fallere.

Ita isti nos calumniantur esse hæreticos, ab Ecclesia et Christi communione discessisse: non quod ista vera esse credant, (neque enim id illis curæ est,) sed quod ea hominibus imperitis possint aliqua forte ratione videri vera. Nos enim discessimus, non ut hæretici solent, ab Ecclesia Christi, sed, quod omnes boni debent, a malorum hominum et hypocritarum contagione. Hic tamen isti mirifice triumphant: illam esse Ecclesiam: illam esse sponsam Christi: illam esse columnam veritatis: illam esse arcam Noe, extra quam nulla salus sperari possit: nos vero discessionem fecisse: Christi tunicam lacerasse, a corpore Christi avulsos esse; et a fide Catholica defecisse. Cumque nihil relinquant indictum quod in nos, quamvis falso et calumniose, dici possit, hoc tamen unum non possunt dicere, nos vel a Verbo Dei, vel ab Apostolis Christi, vel a Primitiva Ecclesia ^a descivisse.

¹ Augustin.

^a This is *under-stated*. The writer might have said, "Vel a Primitiva Ecclesia, *vel a Catholica*, descivisse." In truth, in this passage, and in some others below, (as where in the next paragraph but one, he says, "perinviti *discessionem facimus*") the author expresses himself, neither so favourably to his own argument, nor so accurately in point of fact, as he might have done. In other passages he has indeed rendered more justice to himself, and to the truth: as where he says below, (p. 316.) "neque tam ab *ea*, quam ab ejus erroribus, (discessimus):" and still more in point, "nec tam discessimus, quam ab *istis*, diris et devotionibus *ejecti sumus*." The Church of England in her reformation, did in truth nothing but what she had a *right* to do; and what she had been *accustomed* to do; and what it was *her duty* to do. And as to the plea of schism, if any schism there was, it was not made by England, but by Rome. It has been excellently said, as usual, by Hooker, "We hope, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss, is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still." Book iii. chap. 1. And again by *Laud*: "The Church of Rome challengeth us for breach of this peace in our separation from them:

Atqui nos Christi et apostolorum, et sanctorum Patrum, primitivam Ecclesiam semper judicavimus esse Catholicam: nec eam dubitamus arcam Noe, sponsam Christi, columnam et firmamentum veritatis appellare, aut in ea omnem salutis nostræ rationem collocare.

Odiosum quidem est, a societate, cui assueveris, discedere; maxime vero illorum hominum, qui quamvis non sint, tamen videantur saltem, atque appellentur Christiani. Et certe nos istorum Ecclesiam, qualiscunque tandem ea nunc est, vel nominis ipsius causa, vel quod in ea evangelium Jesu Christi, aliquando vere ac pure illustratum fuerit, non ita contemnimus: nec ab ea nisi necessario, et perinviti decessionem fecissemus. Sed quid si in Ecclesia Dei idolum excitetur, et desolatio illa¹ quam Christus futuram prædixit stet palam in loco sancto? Quid si arcam Noe prædo aliquis, aut pirata occupet? Certe isti, quoties Ecclesiam nobis prædicant, se ipsos solos eam faciunt, et omnes illos titulos sibi ipsis adscribunt: atque ita triumphant, ut olim illi qui clamabant, “Templum Domini, Templum Domini:” aut ut Pharisæi et Scribæ², cum jactarent se esse filios Abrahami.

Ita inani splendore imponunt simplicibus, nosque nomine ipso

but we say, and justly, the breach was theirs by their separation not only from disputable, but from evident truth. Nor are we fallen out of the Church, but they fallen off from verity. Let them return to primitive truth, and our quarrel is ended.” Sermon 1. p. 19. edit. 1651. But no writer, perhaps, has set the true state of the case in a clearer light, than *Sir Roger Twisden*, in his very valuable book, the “*Historical Vindication of the Church of England in point of Schism.*”

“Upon the whole,” says he, “it is absolutely false that the Church of England made a departure from the Church, which is the ground and pillar of truth, as I am persuaded it is impossible to prove she did make the separation *from the Roman itself*: but, having declared in a lawful synod certain opinions, held by some in *her* communion to be no articles of faith, and, according to the precedents of former times, and the power which God and nature had placed in her, having redressed particular abuses crept into her, the Pope and his adherents without ever examining what was the right of the kingdom in such cases, that had from all antiquity done the same, would needs interpret this a departing from the Church, because he resolved to maintain as articles of faith, and thrust on others as such, some ambiguous disputable questions, which the English did not think fit to admit into that number.” p. 196, 7; also p. 174—5. See also, “*Juelli Epistol. ad verum nobilem Dom. Scipionem, Patricium Venetum,*” § 32. published in *Sir N. Brent’s Translation of Father Paul’s “History of the Council of Trent.”*

¹ Matt. xxiv. 15.

² Joan. viii. 39.

Ecclesiæ quærunt obruere: ut si latro, occupata domo aliqua aliena, et vel vi exturbato, vel interfecto domino, eam postea adscribat sibi, et herilem filium de possessione dejiciat; aut si Antichristus, postquam occupabit Templum Dei, dicat postea illud jam esse suum, et nihil ad Christum pertinere. Nam isti quidem cum in Ecclesia Dei nihil Ecclesiæ simile reliquerint, Ecclesiæ tamen patroni et propugnatores videri volunt: prorsus ut Gracchus olim defendebat ærarium, cum largitionibus faciendis, et insanis sumptibus ærarium funditus effudisset. Nihil autem unquam tam impium aut absurdum fuit, quin Ecclesiæ nomine facile tegi et defendi posset. Faciunt enim etiam vespæ favos; et impii cœtus habent similes Ecclesiæ Dei.

At non quicumque dicuntur populus Dei, sunt statim populus Dei: nec quicumque sunt ex patre Israele, sunt omnes Israelitæ. Hæretici Ariani se solos¹ jactabant esse Catholicos: cæteros omnes modo Ambrosianos, modo Athanasianos, modo Johannitas appellabant. Nestorius, ut ait Theodoretus, cum esset hæreticus, tam tegebat se τῆς ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι, hoc est, specie quadam, ac velo orthodoxæ fidei. Ebion, quamvis sentiret cum Samaritanis, tamen ut Epiphanius ait, appellari volebat Christianus. Mahometani hodie, quamvis eos ex omnibus historiis satis constet, idque ipsi negare non possint, ab Agara ancilla ducere originem, tamen quasi oriundi sint a Sara muliere libera, et uxore Abrahami, nominis ipsius et stirpis causa, malunt appellari Saraceni.

Ita pseudoprophetæ omnium temporum qui sese prophetis Dei, qui Esaïæ, qui Hieremiæ, qui Christo, qui apostolis opponebant, nihil unquam æque crepabant, atque nomen Ecclesiæ. Neque eos alia de causa ita acerbè lacerabant, aut perfugas et apostatas appellabant, quam quod a sua societate discessissent, et instituta majorum non observarent. Quod si nos hominum tantum illorum, a quibus tum Ecclesia regebatur, judicium sequi, aliud autem nihil, nec Deum, nec ejus verbum spectare volumus: negari prorsus non potest, apostolos, quod a pontificibus et sacerdotibus, hoc est, ab Ecclesia Catholica defecissent, et illis invitis et reclamantibus, multa in religione innovassent, recte fuisse ab illis, et secundum leges condemnatos. Itaque, ut Antæum aiunt olim ab Hercule tollendum fuisse a terra matre, antequam ab eo posset vinci: ita adversarii nostri, ab ista matre sua, hoc est, ab ista

¹ Aug. Epist. 48. ad Vincen.

inani specie atque umbra Ecclesiæ, quam præ se gerunt, levandi sunt : alioqui non possunt cedere verbo Dei. Itaque Hieremias, Nolite, inquit¹, tantopere jactare, esse apud vos templum Domini : vana ea fiducia est : sunt enim ista, inquit, verba mendacii. Et angelus in Apocalypsi : dicunt, inquit², se Judæos esse, at sunt synagoga Satanæ. Et Christus, cum Pharisei jactarent genus et sanguinem Abrahami : vos, inquit³, ex Diabolo patre estis : Abrahamum enim patrem non refertis : ac si illis ita diceret : “ Non estis id quod tantopere dici vultis. Imponitis populo inanibus titulis, et ad evertendam Ecclesiam abutimini nomine Ecclesiæ.” Quare hoc istos primum liquido et vere probasse oportuit : Ecclesiam Romanam esse veram et orthodoxam Ecclesiam Dei ; eamque, ut hodie ab ipsis administratur, cum primitiva Christi, apostolorum, et sanctorum Patrum Ecclesia, quam non dubitamus fuisse Catholicam, convenire. Nos quidem, si inscitiam, si errorem, si superstitionem, si cultum idolorum, si hominum inventa, eaque sæpe pugnancia cum sacris Scripturis, judicassetus, aut placere Deo, aut ad æternam salutem esse satis : aut si statuere potuissemus, verbum Dei, ad aliquot tantum annos fuisse scriptum, postea oportuisse abrogari : aut omnino, dicta et jussa Dei subjicienda esse voluntati humanæ, ut quicquid ille dicat, aut jubeat, nisi Romanus episcopus idem velit et jubeat, pro irrito et indicto habendum sit : si hæc in animum nostrum inducere potuissemus credere : fatemur nihil fuisse causæ, cur istorum societatem relinqueremus. Quod autem nunc fecimus, ut discederemus ab illa Ecclesia, cujus errores testati, ac manifesti essent : quæque jam aperte discessisset a verbo Dei : neque tam ab ea, quam ab ejus erroribus ; idque non turbulente aut improbe, sed tranquille ac modeste faceremus : nihil aut a Christo, aut ab apostolis fecimus alienum. Neque enim ea est Ecclesia Dei, quæ infuscarl labe aliqua non possit, aut non interdum egeat instauratione : alioqui quid tot coitionibus et conciliis opus est ; sine quibus, ut ait Ægidius⁴, stare fides Christiana non potest ? Quoties enim, inquit, concilia intermittuntur, toties Ecclesia a Christo derelinquitur. Aut si nihil periculi est, ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti accipiat : quid opus est, ut nunc quidem est apud istos, inanibus nominibus episcoporum ? Cur enim illi pastores appellantur, si oves nullæ sunt quæ possint errare ? Cur vigiles, si

¹ Hier. vii. 4.² Apoc. ii. 9.³ Joan. viii. 44.⁴ In Lateran. Concil. sub Julio II.

civitas nulla est quæ possit prodi? Cur columnæ, si nihil est quod possit ruere? Statim ab initio rerum, Ecclesia Dei cœpta est propagari, eaque instructa cœlesti verbo, quod Deus ipse fuderat ab ore suo; instructa sacris cæremoniis, instructa Spiritu Dei, instructa patriarchis et prophetis; atque ita continuata est ad ea usque tempora, cum Christus sese ostenderet in carne.

Sed, o Deum immortalem! quoties ea interim, et quam horribiliter obscurata atque imminuta est! Ubi enim ea tum fuit, cum omnis caro¹ contaminasset viam suam super terram? Ubi ea fuit, cum ex omni mortalium numero, octo tantum essent homines, et ne illi quidem omnes casti ac pii, quos Deus a comuni clade, atque interitu vellet esse superstites? Cum Elias propheta² ita lugubriter et acerbe quereretur, se solum ex omni terrarum orbe relictum esse, qui Deum vere, et rite coleret: cumque Esaias diceret³, argentum populi Dei, hoc est, Ecclesiæ, factum esse scoriam: et civitatem eam, quæ aliquando fidelis fuerat, factam esse meretricem; et in ea a capite usque ad calcem, in toto corpore nihil esse integrum: aut cum Christus diceret⁴, domum Dei a Pharisæis et sacerdotibus factam esse speluncam latronum? Scilicet Ecclesia, ut ager frumentarius, nisi exaretur, nisi subigatur, nisi colatur, nisi curetur, pro tritico carduos, et lolium et urticas proferet. Itaque Deus subinde misit prophetas et apostolos, postremo etiam Christum suum, qui populum in viam reducerent, et Ecclesiam vacillantem in integrum instaurarent. Neve quis dicat hæc in Lege tantum, in umbra atque in infantia contigisse, cum figuris et cæremoniis veritas tegetur, cum nihil adhuc ad perfectum adductum esset, cum lex non in cordibus hominum, sed in lapidibus incideretur (etsi ridiculum est illud quoque; idem enim omnino erat etiam tum Deus, idem Spiritus, idem Christus⁵, eadem fides, eadem doctrina, eadem spes, eadem hæreditas, idem foedus, eadem vis verbi Dei: et Eusebius ait⁶, omnes fideles usque ab Adamo, re quidem ipsa Christianos fuisse, quamvis non ita dicerentur:) ne quis, inquam, ita dicat, Paulus apostolus jam tum in evangelio, in perfectione, in luce, similes errores et lapsus deprehendit: ut ad Galatas, quos jam antea instituerat, necesse habuerit ita scribere⁶;

¹ Gen. vi. 12.

² 3 Reg. xix. 14.

³ Esai. i. 21, 22.

⁴ Matt. xxi. 13.

⁵ See *Hooker*, book i. c. 14. § 4. and note, vol. i. p. 172 of this collection.

⁶ Eccl. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 4.

⁶ Gal. iv. 11. 19.

vereor ne inter vos frustra laboraverim, et vos frustra audiveritis evangelium. Filioli mei, quos iterum parturio, donec Christus formetur in vobis. Nam de Corinthiorum Ecclesia, quam illa fœde fuerit inquinata, nihil est necesse dicere.—Jam vero, an Galatarum et Corinthiorum Ecclesiæ labi potuerunt, sola Romana Ecclesia errare, et labi non potest? Certe Christus tanto ante prædixit¹ de Ecclesia sua, fore aliquando tempus, cum desolatio staret in loco sancto. Et Paulus Antichristum ait², aliquando positurum esse tabernaculum suum in templo Dei: et futurum ut homines sanam doctrinam non sustinerent, sed in ipsa Ecclesia ad fabulas converterentur. Et Petrus, futuros, ait³, in Ecclesia Christi magistros mendaciorum. Et Daniel propheta, de ultimis temporibus Antichristi, veritas, inquit⁴, eo tempore prosternetur, et conculcabitur in terra. Et Christus, tantam ait⁵ fore calamitatem et confusionem rerum, ut etiam electi, si possit fieri, abduendi sint in errorem. Atque ista omnia futura, non apud Paganos aut Turcas, sed in loco sancto, in templo Dei, in Ecclesia, in cœtu ac societate illorum, qui professuri sint nomen Christi.

Et, quamvis ista vel sola possint homini prudenti esse satis, ne temere patiatur imponi sibi nomine Ecclesiæ, ut ne quid in eam ex verbo Dei velit inquirere: tamen multi etiam sæpe Patres, viri docti et pii, vehementer questi sunt, hæc omnia suis temporibus accidisse. Deus enim in media illa caligine tamen voluit esse aliquos, qui, etsi non lucem ita conspicuam et illustrem darent, tamen quasi scintillam aliquam, quam homines in tenebris notare possent, accenderent.

Certe Hilarius, cum res adhuc incorruptæ quodammodo essent et integræ, tamen, male, inquit⁶, vos parietum amor cepit: male Ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini: male sub iis pacis nomen ingeritis. Anne ambiguum est, in iis Antichristum esse sessurum? Montes mihi, et sylvæ, et lacus, et carceres, et voragines sunt tutiores: in illis enim prophetæ, aut manentes aut demersi, Dei spiritu prophetabant.

Gregorius, quasi videret, atque animo prospiceret ruinam rerum, ad Joannem Episcopum Constantinopolitanum, qui primus omnium se novo nomine salutari jusserat, universalem episcopum totius Ecclesiæ Christi, ita scripsit⁷; si Ecclesia pendeat ab

¹ Matt. xxiv. 15.

² 2 Thess. ii. 4. 2 Tim. iv. 3.

³ 2 Pet. ii. 1.

⁴ Dan. viii. 12.

⁵ Matt. xxiv. 24.

⁶ Contra Auxentium.

⁷ In regist. Epist. ad Mauricium, lib. iv. Epist. 32.

uno, tota corruet. Et quis est, qui non hoc jam olim factum viderit? Jam olim Episcopus Romanus Ecclesiam totam a se uno pendere voluit; quare mirum non est, si ea jam olim tota corruerit. Bernardus Abbas, ante annos quadringentos, nihil, inquit, jam integrum est in clero: superest ut reveletur homo peccati. Idem in conversione D. Pauli; videtur, inquit, jam cessasse persecutio: immo jam incipit persecutio ab illis, qui in Ecclesia primas obtinent. Amici tui et proximi tui adversus te appropinquarunt et steterunt: a planta pedis usque ad verticem capitis, non est ulla sanitas. Egressa est iniquitas a senioribus judicibus, vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum. Non possumus jam dicere, ut est populus, sic est sacerdos; quoniam non ita est populus, ut sacerdos. Heu, heu, Domine Deus! ipsi sunt in persecutione tua primi, qui videntur in Ecclesia tua primatum diligere, et gerere principatum. Idem in Cantica¹; omnes amici, omnes inimici: omnes necessarii, omnes adversarii: servi Christi, serviunt Antichristo. Ecce in pace mea amaritudo mea est amarissima. Rogerus Bacon, magni nominis vir, cum acri oratione perstrinxisset miserabilem statum sui temporis: isti, inquit², tot errores, Antichristum requirunt.

Gerson queritur, suo tempore omnem vim sacrae theologiae, ad ambitiosum certamen ingeniorum, et meram sophisticam fuisse revocatam.

Fratres Lugdunenses³, homines, quod quidem ad vitae rationem attinet, non mali, Romanam Ecclesiam, a qua tum una oracula omnia petebantur, fidenter solebant affirmare, esse meretricem illam Babylonicam, de qua tam perspicuae extent praedictiones in Apocalypsi, et coetum inferorum.

Scio horum hominum authoritatem apud istos levem esse. Quid ergo, si illos testes advoco, qui solent ab ipsis adorari?

Quid si dico⁴ Adrianum episcopum Romanum ingenue confessum esse, omnia ista mala a pontificio culmine coepisse ruere?

Pighius in eo fatetur erratum esse, quod in missam, quam alioqui videri vult sacrosanctam, abusus complures invecti sint. Gerson, quod multitudine levissimarum caeremoniarum vis omnis Spiritus Sancti, quam in nobis vigere oportuit, et vera pietas sit extincta. Graecia tota atque Asia, quod pontifices Romani pur-

¹ Serm. 33.

² In libello de Idiomate linguarum.

³ Pauperes a Lugduno.

⁴ Platina.

gatorum suorum, et indulgentiarum nundinis, et vim hominum conscientiis attulerint, et illorum oculos expilaverint.

De tyrannide vero episcoporum Romanorum et fastu Persico, ut alios taceamus, (quos illi, quod vitia sua libere et ingenue reprehendant, hostium fortasse suorum loco numerabunt) illi ipsi, qui Romæ, in urbe sancta, in oculis sanctissimi Patris egerunt vitam, et omnia ejus intima videre potuerunt, et nunquam a Catholica fide discesserunt, Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Franciscus Petrarcha, Hieronymus Savanarola, Abbas Joachimus, Baptista Mantuanus, et ante istos omnes, Bernardus Abbas, sæpe multumque conquesti sunt: ipsumque interdum pontificem, verene an falso nihil dicimus, certe non obscure significabant esse Antichristum.

Neque vero est, quod quisquam objiciat, fuisse illos Lutheri discipulos, aut Zuinglii: extiterunt enim non tantum annis, sed etiam seculis aliquot, antequam illorum nomina audirentur. Videbant illi etiam tum errores irrepsisse in Ecclesiam, eosque cupiebant emendatos. Et quid mirum, si Ecclesia erroribus abducta fuerit; illo præsertim tempore, cum nec episcopus Romanus, qui summæ rerum solus præerat, nec alius fere quisquam, aut officium suum faceret, aut omnino officium suum intelligeret? Vix enim est credibile, illis otiosis et dormientibus, diabolum toto illo tempore, aut dormivisse perpetuo, aut fuisse otiosum. Quid enim illi interim fuerint, quaque fide curaverint domum Dei, ut nos taceamus, audiant saltem Bernardum suum:

“Episcopi,” inquit¹, “quibus nunc commissa est Ecclesia Dei, non doctores sunt, sed seductores: non pastores, sed impostores: non prælati, sed Pilati.”

Hæc Bernardus de pontifice, qui se summum appellabat, deque episcopis qui tum sedebant ad gubernaculum. Non erat ille Lutheranus, non erat hæreticus, ab Ecclesia non discesserat: tamen episcopos illos, qui tum erant, non dubitavit seductores, impostores, Pilatos appellare. Jam vero cum populus palam seduceretur, et oculis hominum Christianorum imponeretur, et Pilatus sederet pro tribunalibus, et Christum Christique membra ferro flammæque adjudicaret, O Deus bone, quo tum loco erat Ecclesia Christi! Ex tot autem tamque crassis erroribus, quem unquam isti errorem repurgaverunt? aut quem omnino errorem agnoscere et confiteri voluerunt?

¹ Ad Eugenium.

Sed quoniam isti suam esse affirmant universam possessionem Ecclesiae Catholicae; et nos, quod cum ipsis non sentiamus, appellant hæreticos; vide sane, Ecclesia ista quam tandem habeat notam aut significationem Ecclesiae Dei. Neque vero Dei Ecclesiam, si eam velis serio et diligenter quærere, est adeo difficile deprehendere. Est enim excelso et illustri loco¹, in vertice montis posita, ædificata videlicet in fundamentis apostolorum et prophetarum. Tibi (inquit Augustinus²) quæramus Ecclesiam: ibi decernamus causam nostram. Utque alibi idem ait³; Ecclesia ex sacris et canonicis Scripturis ostendenda est: quæque ex illis ostendi non potest, non est Ecclesia.

Nescio tamen quo pacto, reverentiane, an conscientia, an desperatione victoriae, ut latro crucem, ita isti semper horrent et fugiunt verbum Dei. Neque id sane mirum. Ut enim cantharum aiunt in opobalsamo, odoratissimo alioqui unguento, facillime extingui atque emori: ita illi causam suam in verbo Dei, tanquam in veneno, extingui vident, et suffocari.

Itaque sacrosanctas Scripturas, (quas Servator noster Jesus Christus non tantum in omni sermone usurpavit, sed etiam ad extremum sanguine suo consignavit) quo populum ab illis, tanquam a re periculosa et noxia, minore negotio abigant, solent literam frigidam^a, incertam, inutilem, mutam, occidentem, mortuam appellare: quod nobis quidem perinde videtur esse, ac si eas omnino nullas esse dicerent. Sed addunt etiam simile quoddam non aptissimum: eas esse quoddammodo nasum cereum⁴, posse fingi flectique in omnes modos, et omnium instituto inservire. An pontifex ista a suis dici nescit? aut tales se habere patronos non intelligit?

Audiat ergo quam sancte, quamque pie de hac re scribat Hosius quidam Polonus (ut ipse de se testatur) episcopus, certe homo disertus, et non indoctus, et acerrimus ac fortissimus propugnator ejus causæ. Mirabitur, opinor, hominem pium de illis vocibus quas sciret profectas ab ore Dei, vel tam impie sentire potuisse, vel tam contumeliose scribere; ita præsertim, ut eam sententiam non suam unius propriam videri vellet, sed istorum communem omnium.

¹ Esa. ii. 2. Eph. ii. 20.

² De Unitate Eccl. c. 3.

³ Cap. 4.

^a See *Crackanthorpe's* Defensio, p. 27, 8. Compare Ecclesiastical Biography, ii. 191—243, 256—7, 312—4, 377—8. edit. 1839. Also Casaubon's Exercitationes in Baronium, xvi. § 153.

⁴ Pighius in Hierarchia.

Nos, inquit ¹, ipsas Scripturas, quarum tot jam non diversas modo sed etiam contrarias interpretationes afferri videmus, facessere jubebimus; et Deum loquentem potius audiemus, quam ut ad egena ista elementa nos convertamus, et in illis salutem nostram constituamus. Non oportet Legis et Scripturæ peritum esse, sed a Deo doctum. Vanus est labor qui Scripturis impenditur. Scriptura enim creatura est, et egenum quoddam elementum. Hæc Hosius. Eodem prorsus spiritu atque animo, quo olim Montanus, aut Marcion, quos aiunt solitos esse dicere, cum sacras scripturas contemptim repudiarent, se multo et plura et meliora scire, quam aut Christus unquam scivisset, aut Apostoli. Quid ergo hic dicam? O columina ^a religionis! O præsidēs Ecclesiæ Christi! An hæc ea reverentia vestra est; quam adhibetis verbo Dei? An nos sacras Scripturas, quas D. Paulus ait divinitus afflatas esse, quas Deus tot miraculis illustrarit, in quibus Christi ipsius certissima vestigia impressa sint, quas omnes sancti Patres, quas Apostoli, quas angeli, quas Christus ipse Filius Dei, cum opus esset, pro testimonio citarit; an eas vos, quasi indignæ sint quæ a vobis audiantur, facessere jubebitis? hoc est, Deo ipsi, qui vobis in Scripturis clarissime loquitur, silentium imponetis? aut illud verbum, quo uno, ut Paulus ait, reconciliamur Deo; quodque propheta David ait ² sanctum et castum esse, et in omne tempus esse duraturum; egenum tantum, et mortuum elementum appellabitis? Aut in eo, quod Christus ³ nos diligenter scrutari, quodque in oculis assidue habere jussit, omnem nostram operam dicetis frustra collocari? Et Christum, Apostolosque, cum hortarentur populum ad sacras literas, ut ex illis abundarent in omni sapientia et scientia, voluisse hominibus fucum facere? Non est mirum, si isti nos nostraque omnia contemnant, qui Deum ipsum ejusque oracula ita parvi faciant. Insulsum tamen erat, ut nos læderent, injuriam eos tam gravem facere verbo Dei.

Tamen quasi hoc parum esset, comburunt etiam sacrosanctas Scripturas, ut olim impius Rex Aza, aut Antiochus, aut Maximi-

¹ Hæc Hosius in lib. de expresso verbo Dei, sed astute, et sub alterius persona: quamvis et ipse alias eadem, in eodem etiam libro disertis verb. affirmet.

^a I follow here the reading of the edition of 1562, "apud Reginaldum Wolfium," 8vo. Other editions give *Culmina*, &c. The English (Works, A.D. 1609. Fol. p. 420.) is, "O ye principal posts of religion."

² Psalm. xix. 8.

³ Joh. v. 39.

nus; easque hæreticorum libros appellant: omninoque id videntur velle facere, quod olim Herodes, obtinendæ potentiæ suæ causa, in Judæa facit. Is enim¹, cum esset Idumæus, alienus a stirpe et sanguine Judæorum, haberi tamen cuperet pro Judæo, quo magis regnum illorum, quod ab Augusto Cæsare impetraverat, sibi, posterisque suis confirmaret; omnes genealogias, quæ apud illos in archivis ab Abrahamo usque diligenter fuerant asservatæ, et ex quibus facile nullo errore deprehendi posset, e quo quisque genere oriundus esset, jussit incendi et aboleri, videlicet, ne quid superesset in posterum, quo ipse notari posset alieni sanguinis. Ita prorsus isti, cum omnia sua, quasi ab Apostolis, aut a Christo tradita, velint haberi in pretio; ne quid uspiam supersit, quod hujuscemodi somnia, et mendacia, possit coarguere, aut incendunt, aut populo intervertunt sacras Scripturas.

Recte sane, et valde in istos apposite scribit Chrysostomus²: Hæretici, inquit, claudunt januas veritati. Sciunt enim si illæ pateant, Ecclesiam non fore suam. Et Theophylactus: Verbum, inquit, Dei est lucerna, ad quam fur deprehenditur. Et Tertullianus: Sacra, inquit, Scriptura hæreticorum fraudes et furta convincit. Cur enim celant, cur supprimunt evangelium, quod Christus de tecto sonari voluit? Cur illud lumen abdunt sub modium, quod stare oportuit in candelabro? Cur multitudinis imperitæ cæcitati atque inscitæ magis quam causæ bonitati confidunt? An putant, artes jam suas non videri? aut se nunc, quasi Gygis annulum habeant, posse ambulare inconspicuos? Satis jam omnes, satis vident, quid sit in illo scrinio pectoris pontificii: vel hoc ipsum argumento esse potest, non recte ab illis, non vere agi. Suspecta merito videri debet ea causa, quæ examen et lucem fugitat. Nam qui male facit, ut Christus ait, quærit tenebras et odit lucem. Animus bene sibi conscius ultro venit in conspectum, ut opera, quæ a Deo profecta sunt, videri possint. Illi autem non usque adeo cæci sunt, quin ut hoc satis videant, actum esse statim de regno suo: utque olim aiunt idola Dæmonum, a quibus omnia tum oracula petebantur, repente obmutuisse ad adspectum Christi, cum ille venisset in terras: ita nunc omnes artes suas ad aspectum evangelii statim esse ruituras. Antichristus enim non abjicitur, nisi claritate³ adventus Christi.

Nos quidem non, ut isti solent, ad flammas confugimus, sed ad

¹ *Africanus* apud Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. i. cap. 7.

² In opere imperfecto.

³ 2 Thess. ii.

Scripturas: nec illos ferro obsidemus, sed verbo Dei. Ex illo, ut Tertullianus ait, fidem alimus: ex illo spem erigimus: ex illo fiduciam firmamus. Scimus enim, evangelium Jesu Christi esse vim Dei ¹ ad salutem, et in illo esse æternam vitam: utque Paulus monet ², ne angelum quidem Dei de cœlo venientem audimus, si nos ab aliqua parte hujus doctrinæ conetur avellere. Immo, ut vir sanctissimus Justin Martyr de se loquitur: ne Deo quidem ipsi fidem haberemus, si aliud nos doceret evangelium. Nam quod isti sacras Scripturas, quasi mutas et inutiles, missas faciunt, et ad Deum potius ipsum in Ecclesia, et in conciliis loquentem, hoc est, ad suos ipsorum sensus et sententias provocant: est ea ratio inveniendæ veritatis et admodum incerta, et valde periculosa, et quodammodo fanatica, et a sanctis Patribus non approbata. Chrysostomus quidem ait, Multos esse sæpe, qui jactent Spiritum Sanctum: at enim qui loquuntur de suo, falso se illum habere gloriantur. Quemadmodum enim, inquit, Christus negabat se loqui a seipso, cum loqueretur ex lege et e prophetis: ita nunc si quid præter evangelium nomine Sancti Spiritus nobis obtrudatur, non est credendum. Ut enim Christus est impletio legis et prophetarum: ita Spiritus est impletio evangelii. Hæc Chrysostomus.

V. Isti vero quamvis non habeant sacras literas, habent tamen fortasse doctores veteres et sanctos Patres. Id enim semper magnifice jactaverunt omnem antiquitatem, et perpetuum omnium temporum consensum a se facere: nostra vero omnia nova esse et recentia, ante paucos istos annos proximos nunquam audita.

Certe in religionem Dei nihil gravius dici potest, quam si ea accusetur novitatis. Ut enim in Deo ipso, ita in ejus cultu nihil oportet esse novum. Nescimus tamen quo pacto ab initio rerum ita vidimus semper fieri, ut quotiescunque Deus quasi accenderet, et hominibus patefaceret veritatem suam, quamvis ea non tantum antiquissima, sed etiam æterna esset, tamen ab impiis hominibus et hostibus, recens et nova diceretur. Impius et sanguinarius vir Aman, ut Judæos in odium adduceret, sic eos apud Regem Asuerum accusavit: Habes hic, inquit ³, rex populum novis quibusdam utentem legibus, ad omnes autem tuas leges contumacem et rebellem. Paulus etiam Athenis ⁴ cum primum tradere cœpisset

¹ Rom. i. 16.

² Gal. i. 8.

³ Esther ii. 8, &c.

⁴ Acts xvii. 18, 19.

atque indicare evangelium, dictus est novorum Deorum, hoc est, novæ religionis annunciator. Et an non possumus, inquit, ex te scire, quæ sit ista nova doctrina? Et Celsus, cum ex professo scriberet adversus Christum, ut ejus evangelium novitatis nomine per contemptum eluderet: An, inquit, post tot secula nunc tandem subiit Deum tam sera recordatio? Eusebius etiam¹ autor est, Christianam religionem ab initio contumeliæ causa dictam fuisse *νέαν καὶ ξένην*, hoc est peregrinam et novam. Ita isti, nostra omnia, ut peregrina et nova condemnant: sua autem omnia quæcunque ea sunt, laudari volunt ut antiquissima. Ut hodie magi et malefici, quibus cum diis inferis res est, dicere solent se habere libros suos, atque omnia sacra et recondita mysteria ab Athanasio, a Cypriano, a Mose, ab Abelo, ab Adamo, atque etiam ab Archangelo Raphaële, quo ars illa excelsior et divinius judicetur, quæ ab hujusmodi patronis et inventoribus profecta sit: ita isti, quo illa sua religio, quam ipsi sibi, idque non ita pridem pepererunt, vel stultis hominibus vel parum quid agant quidque agatur cogitantibus, facilius et magis commendetur, eam solent dicere ad se ab Augustino, ab Hieronymo, a Chrysostomo, ab Ambrosio, ab Apostolis, a Christo ipso pervenisse.

Satis enim sciunt, nihil istis nominibus popularius esse, aut in vulgus gratius. Verum, quid si ea quæ isti nova videri volunt, inveniantur esse antiquissima? Rursus, quid si ea fere omnia quæ isti antiquitatis nomine tantopere prædicant, ubi ea probe ac diligenter excussa fuerint, ad extremum inveniantur recentia et nova?

Profecto Judæorum leges, et cæremoniæ, quamvis eas Amanus accusaret novitatis, non poterant hominum cuiquam vere et recte cogitanti videri novæ. Erant enim antiquissimis tabulis consignatæ. Et Christus, quamvis eum multi putarent ab Abrahamo, et priscis patribus discessisse, et novam quandam religionem suo nomine invexisse; tamen vere respondit²: Si crederetis Mosi, crederetis mihi quoque. Nam doctrina mea non est ita nova. Moses enim antiquissimus autor, cui vos omnia tribuitis, de me locutus est. Et D. Paulus evangelium Jesu Christi, etsi a multis novum esse judicetur, tamen habet, inquit, antiquissimum testimonium legis et prophetarum. Nostra vero doctrina, quam rectius possumus Christi Catholicam doctrinam appellare, ita non est nova, ut eam nobis Antiquus dierum Deus et Pater Domini nostri

¹ Ecc. Hist. l. i. c. 4.

² Johan. v. 46.

Jesu Christi, monumentis vetustissimis in evangelio, et in prophetarum atque apostolorum libris commendari: eaque nunc nova nemini videri possit, nisi si cui aut prophetarum fides, aut evangelium, aut Christus ipse videatur novus. Istorum vero religio, si ita antiqua et vetus est, uti eam ipsi videri volunt, cur eam ab exemplis primitivæ Ecclesiæ, ex antiquis Patribus et conciliis veteribus non probant? Cur tam vetus causa tamdiu deserta jacet sine patrono? Ferrum quidem et flammam semper habuerunt ad manum: de conciliis vero antiquis, et Patribus, magnum silentium. Atqui absurdum erat ab istis ita cruentis et feris rationibus incipere, si potuissent alia argumenta leviora et mitiora inveniri. Quod si illi ita prorsus fidunt vetustati, et nihil simulant, cur ante non ita multos annos, Johannes Clemens Anglus, aliquot folia vetustissimi Patris et Græci Episcopi Theodoret, in quibus ille perspicue ac luculenter docebat, naturam panis in eucharistia non aboleri, cum putaret nullum aliud exemplar posse uspiam inveniri, inspectantibus aliquot bonis viris, et fide dignis, laceravit et abjecit in focum¹? Cur negat Albertus Pighius, veterem Patrem Augustinum recte sensisse de peccato originis? aut de matrimonio², quod post votum nuncupatum sit initum, (quod Augustinus asserit esse matrimonium, nec posse rescindi,) illum errare, et falsum esse dicit, nec proba uti dialectica? Cur nuper cum excuderent veterem Patrem Origenem³ in evangelium Joannis, sextum illud caput, ubi illum credibile, vel potius certum est contra ipsos de eucharistia multa tradidisse, integrum omiserunt: et librum mutilum potius quam integrum, qui errores suos coargueret, dare maluerunt? An hoc est antiquitati confidere, antiquorum Patrum scripta lacerare⁴, suppressere, truncare, comburere?

¹ Dist. 27. Quidam. *August. de Bono Viduitat.* cap. 10.

² Caus. 27. c. 4. nuptiarum bonum. In Controversiis.

³ Liber hodie extat et circumfertur mutilus.

⁴ Of the nature, design, and extent of this expedient of the "Indices Expurgatorii," the reader may form a pretty correct notion by the following extracts from Sir *Edwin Sandys*.

"But the Papacy at this day, taught by woeful experience what danger this license of writing among themselves hath done them, and that their speeches are not only weapons in the hands of their adversaries, but eye-sores and stumbling-blocks also to their remaining friends, under the show of purging the world from the infection of all wicked and corrupt books and passages, which are either against religion, or against honesty and good manners . . . have in truth withal pared and lopt off whatsoever in a manner their watchful eyes could observe, either free in disclosing their abuses and corrup-

Operæ pretium est videre, quam pulchre isti cum illis Patribus, quos jactare solent esse suos, de religione conveniant. Vetus

tions, or saucy in constraining their drifts and practices, or dishonourable to the clergy, or undutiful to the Papacy. These editions only are authorized, all other disallowed, called-in, consumed; with threats to whomsoever shall presume to keep them; that no speech, no writing, no evidence of times past, no discourse of things present, in sum, nothing whatsoever may sound ought but holiness, honour, purity, integrity to the unspotted spouse of Christ, and to his unerring vicar; to the mistress of churches, to the father of princes.

“ But as it falleth out now and then, that wisdom and good fortune are the ruin of them that too much follow them, by drawing men sometimes, upon a presumption of their wit and cunning in contrivements, and of their good success withal in one attempt to adventure upon another still of yet more subtil invention, and more dangerous execution, which does break in the end with the very fineness itself, and overwhelm them with the difficulties; so it is to be thought, that their prosperous success in pruning and pluming those later writers, effected with good ease and no very great clamour, as having some reason, and doing really some good, was it that did breed in them a higher conceit, that it was possible to work the like conclusion in writers of elder times, yea in the Fathers themselves, and in all other monuments of reverend antiquity; and the opinion of possibility redoubling their desire, brought forth in fine those *Indices Expurgatorii*, whereof, I suppose, they are now not a little ashamed, they having by misfortune light into their adversaries’ hands, from whom they desired by all means to conceal them, where they remain as a monument to the judgment of the world of their everlasting reproach and ignominy.

“ These purging *Indices* are of divers sorts. Some work not above eight hundred years upward: others venture much higher, even to the prime of the Church. The effect is, that forasmuch as there were so many passages in the Fathers and other ancient ecclesiastical writers, which their adversaries producing in averment of their opinions, these were not able but by tricks and shifts of wit to reply to,—to ease themselves henceforth in great part of that wit-labour, some assemblies of their divines, with consent, no doubt, of their redoubted superiors and sovereigns, have delivered express order, that in the impressions of those authors which should hereafter be made, the scandalous places there named should be clean left out; which, perhaps, though in this present age it would have small prevailed to the reclaiming of their adversaries, yet would have been a great assurance for the retaining their own people, to whom no other books must have been granted. Yea, and perhaps time and industry, which eat even through marbles, extinguishing or getting into their hands all former editions, thus the mouth of antiquity should be thoroughly shut up from uttering any syllable or sound against them.—Then, lastly, by *adding* words, where opportunity and pretence might serve, and by drawing in the marginal notes and glosses of their friars into the text of the Fathers, as in some of them they have already very handsomely begun,—the mouth of antiquity should be also opened for them.

“ Neither

Concilium Eliberitanum decrevit¹, ne quid, quod colitur a populo pingeretur in templis. Vetus Pater Epiphanius ait, esse horrendum nefas, et non ferendum flagitium, si quis vel pictam, quamvis Christi ipsius, imaginem excitet in templis Christianorum. Isti imaginibus et statuīs, quasi sine illis religio nulla sit, omnia templa sua, atque omnes angulos compleverunt. Veteres Patres, Origenes et Chrysostomus², hortantur populum ad lectionem sacrarum literarum, ut libros coemant, ut de rebus sacris inter se, uxores cum viris, parentes cum liberis domi disputent: isti Scripturas condemnant tanquam mortua elementa, et ab illis quantum maxime possunt, arcent populum. Veteres Patres Cyprianus, Epiphanius, Hieronymus³, siquis forte voverit se velle

“Neither is it lawful in Italy to carry books about from one place to another, without allowance of them from the inquisitors, or search by their authorities. Wherein, as I confess, they have neglected nothing, which the wit of man in this kind could possibly devise, so yet it may be doubted this too rigorous cutting of all authors’ tongues, leaving nothing which may savour any freedom of spirit, or give any satisfaction for understanding times past, may raise such a longing for the right authors in the minds of all men, as may encourage the Protestants to reprint them in their first entireness.” *Europæ Speculum*, p. 138—44.

It is well known that the author’s anticipation in the last sentence, was by degrees effectually realized: and further, collations of manuscripts, and of the *Editiones Principes*, were carefully made, and the results published to the world in special treatises, whereby the nature and extent of the frauds which had been practised were fully exposed. Of this kind is a very useful volume, published about ten years after the *Europæ Speculum* was written, entitled, “A Treatise of the Corruption of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, &c. of the Church of Rome, for maintenance of Popery, 1611, 4to. (reprinted in 1688, in 8vo.) by Dr. Thomas James. See also *Crackanthorpe’s Defensio*, p. 51—71; and Bishop *Taylor’s Dissuasive from Popery*, part i. chap. 1. sect. 1, and part ii. book 1. sect. 6.

“This Jesuit, the bishop” (Aylmer) “subjoined, and Stapilus might herein soon be answered, if they would but look in the end of the Master of the Sentences, where they should find, under the title *Errorum Parisiis condemnatorum*, that their own Peter Lombard, Thomas Aquinas, Gratian, among the schoolmen, and Tertullian, Cyprian, Augustin, Jerome, and others, among the Fathers, to be condemned, yea, *errasse contra fidem*, to have erred against the faith, as he termeth it; and yet the rest of their doctrine was holden for Catholic.” *Strype’s Life of Aylmer*, chap. iii. p. 49.

¹ Habitum anno Christi 305. vide c. 3.

² *Origenes* in Levit. c. 16. *Chrysos.* in Matt. hom. 2. *Idem* in Joan. hom. 31.

³ *Cyprian*, Epist. II. lib. 1. *Epiphan.* contra apostolicos: Hære. 61. *Hieron.* ad Demetriadem.

vivere vitam cœlibem, et postea vivat impure, nec possit incendia cupiditatum cohibere: satius esse dicunt, ut ducat uxorem, et sese caste gerat in matrimonio, atque illud ipsum matrimonium vetus Pater Augustinus ratum et firmum esse judicat, nec oportere revocari: isti eum, qui se voto semel obstrinxerit, quantumvis uratur postea, quantumvis scortetur, quantumvis flagitiose et perditè contaminetur, tamen illum non sinunt uxorem ducere: aut si forte duxerit, tamen negant illud esse matrimonium; et satius multo ac sanctius esse docent, concubinam aut scortum alere, quam ita vivere. Augustinus vetus Pater querebatur de multitudine inanum cœremoniarum, quibus jam tum videbat hominum animos et conscientias opprimi: isti, quasi aliud nihil Deo curæ sit, ita cœremonias auxerunt in immensum, ut nihil jam pene aliud in illorum templis, et sacris relictum sit. Vetus Pater Augustinus negat¹ fas esse, monachum ignavum in otio degere; et specie ac simulatione sanctitatis, ex alieno vivere: et illum qui ita vivat, vetus Pater Apollonius ait, latroni esse similem. Isti monachorum habent, armentane dicam, an greges, qui cum prorsus nihil agant, et ne simulent quidem, aut præ se gerant speciem ullam sanctitatis, tamen non tantum vivant, sed etiam luxurientur ex alieno. Vetus Concilium Romanum decrevit², ne quis intersit sacris quæ dicantur ab illo sacerdote, quem certum sit alere concubinam: isti et concubinas locant mercede sacerdotibus suis, et ad illorum sacrilegia homines invitos per vim adigunt. Veteres canones apostolorum³, illum episcopum, qui simul et civilem magistratum, et ecclesiasticam functionem obire velit, jubent ab officio summoeri: isti utrumque magistratum et obeunt, et obire omnino volunt; vel potius alterum, quem ab illis maxime obiri oportuit, non attingunt: nemo tamen est qui illos jubeat summoeri. Vetus Concilium Gangrense jubet, ne quis ita distinguat sacerdotem cœlibem a marito, ut cœlibatus causa alterum putet altero sanctiorem: isti eos ita distinguunt, ut a pio et probo viro qui uxorem duxerit, omnia sua sacra statim putent profanari. Vetus Imperator Justinianus⁴, jussit in sacro ministerio omnia clara, et quam maxime arguta et expressa voce pronuntiari, ut fructus ex ea re aliquis ad populum redire possit: isti ne quid populus intelligat, omnia sua non tantum obscura et submissa voce^a, sed etiam aliena, et barbara lingua mussitant.

¹ De opere monachorum.

² Can. 3.

³ Can. 8.

⁴ In Novellis Const. 123.

^a Hence the directions to the minister, in the rubrics in our Church-

Vetus Concilium¹ Carthaginense jubet, ne quid in sacro cœtu legatur præter Scripturas canonicas: isti ea legunt in templis suis, quæ ne ipsi quidem dubitant esse mera mendacia, et inanes fabulas^a. Quod si quis ista infirma putat esse, ac levia, quod ab imperatoribus et minutis quibusdam episcopis, et non ita plenis conciliis decreta fuerint, et Papæ magis autoritate ac nomine delectatur; Julius Papa diserte vetat², ne sacerdos, dum peragit sacra mysteria, panem immergat in calicem: isti contra decretum Julii Papæ, panem dividunt et immergunt. Clemens Papa negat fas esse episcopo gerere utrumque gladium; et si utrumque, inquit, habere vis, et teipsum decipies, et eos qui te audient. Jam Papa gladium utrumque sibi vindicat, et utrumque gerit: quare minus mirum videri debet, si illud secutum sit quod Clemens ait, ut ille et seipsum deceperit, et illos qui eum audierint. Leo Papa in uno templo unam tantum ait fas esse missam dicere uno die: isti in uno templo quotidie, sæpe denas, sæpe vicens, sæpe tricenas, sæpe etiam plures missas dicunt; ut miser spectator vix scire possit, quo se potissimum debeat vertere. Gelasius Papa, si quis dividat Eucharistiam, et cum alteram partem suscipiat, abstineat ab altera, eum ait improbe facere, et sacrilegium committere: isti contra verbum Dei, contraque Gelasium Papam, alteram tantum partem Eucharistiæ populo dari jubent; et in care, sacerdotes suos alligant sacrilegio.

Quod si illi hæc omnia usu jam ipso antiquata esse dicent, et mortua, et nihil ad ista tempora pertinere: tamen ut omnes intelligant, quæ fides istis hominibus habenda sit, quaque spe concilia ab illis convocentur; videamus paucis, quam probe curent ea, quæ proximis istis annis, recenti adhuc memoria in publico concilio legitime indicto, ipsi sancte observanda esse decreverunt. In Concilio proximo Tridentino, vix ante annos quatuordecim, sancitum est communibus suffragiis omnium ordinum, ne cui uni committerentur duo sacerdotia uno tempore. Ubi nunc est illa sanctio? An ea quoque tam cito antiquata est et mortua? Nam isti quidem non tantum duo sacerdotia, sed etiam complura sæpe

Service, to read with a "loud" voice, with an "audible" voice, "distinctly;" and "so standing and turning himself as he may be best heard," &c.

¹ Tertium Carth. cap. 47.

^a The allusion is to the stories from the Golden Legend, the Festival, &c., read in the Churches before the Reformation. See Defence against Harding, Works, 463; also Ecclesiast. Biography, iii. 418. edit. 1839.

² De Cons. dist. 2. Cum enim nemo.

monasteria, et episcopatus modo binos, modo ternos, modo quater-nos uni tribuunt; eique non tantum indocto, sed etiam sæpe homini militari.—In eodem concilio decretum est, oportere omnes episcopos docere evangelium: isti neque docent, neque in pulpitem unquam ascendunt, neque id putant quidquam ad munus suum pertinere.—Quæ ergo est ista pompa vetustatis? Quid de priscorum Patrum, quid de conciliorum, novorum veterumque nominibus glorian- tur? Quid videri volunt niti auctoritate illorum, quos cum visum est, pro libidine contemnunt?

Sed gestit animus cum pontifice potius ipso agere, et hæc illi coram in os dicere. Dic ergo nobis¹, pie Pontifex, qui omnia antiqua crepas, et omnes tibi uni addictos esse gloriaris; ex omnibus Patribus quis unquam te vel summum pontificem, vel universalem episcopum, vel caput Ecclesiæ appellavit? Quis tibi traditum esse dixit utrumque gladium? Quis te habere auctoritatem et jus convocandi concilia? Quis universum mundum esse diœcesim tuam? Quis de tua plenitudine episcopos omnes accipere? Quis tibi datam esse omnem potestatem tam in cœlo, quam in terra? Quis te nec a regibus, nec a toto clero, nec ab universo populo posse judicari? Quis reges et imperatores, de jussu et voluntate Christi, a te accipere potestatem? Quis te ita exquisita, et mathematica ratione, septuagies septies majorem esse maximis regibus? Quis tibi potestatem ampliorem tributam esse, quam reliquis Patriarchis? Quis te Dominum Deum esse, aut non purum hominem, aut quiddam coagmentatum et concretum ex Deo et homine? Quis te unum fontem esse omnis juris? Quis te imperium² habere in purgatorium? Quis te pro tuo arbitrio imperare posse angelis Dei? Quis te esse regem regum et dominum dominantium unquam dixit? Possumus alia quoque eodem modo. Ex omni numero veterum episcoporum et Patrum, quis unquam unus te docuit, vel inspectante populo, missam privatam dicere, vel Eucharistiam supra caput attollere, qua in re omnis nunc religio tua continetur: vel Christi sacramenta truncare, et contra ejus institutum, atque expressa verba, altera parte populum fraudare? Utque semel finem faciamus, ex omnibus Patribus, quis unus te docuit, Christi sanguinem, et sanctorum

¹ De Major. et Obed. Unam sanctam. In extra. Bonifacii VIII. Durandus. Concil. Lat. sub Julio II. dis. 9. Innocen. De Major. et Obed. soli. In extravag. Joan. 22. c. Cum inter nonnullos. In glossa finali. In edit. impressa Parisiis, 1503.

² Antonius de Rosellis.

martyrum merita dispensare, et indulgentias tuas, atque omnia spatia purgatorii, ceu merces in foro vendere?

Soliti sunt isti sæpe reconditam quandam doctrinam suam, et multiplices variasque lectiones prædicare. Proferant ergo nunc aliquid si possunt, ut aliquid saltem legisse ac scire videantur.

Clamarunt sæpe fortiter in omnibus circulis, omnes partes religionis suæ antiquas esse, et non tantum multitudine, sed etiam consensu et continuatione omnium nationum et temporum approbatas. Ostendant ergo aliquando antiquitatem istam: suam faciant, ut appareat ista, quæ tantopere prædicant esse tam late propagata. Doceant omnes nationes Christianas in suam istam religionem concessisse. Sed fugiunt, ut jam ante diximus, a decretis ipsi suis: eaque quæ ante ita paucos annos ab ipsis in omnem æternitatem sancita erant tam brevi tempore resciderunt. Quid ergo illis fidendum est in Patribus, in veteribus conciliis, in verbis Dei? Non habent, ô Deus bone, non habent ea, quæ se habere gloriantur; non antiquitatem, non universalitatem; non locorum, non temporum omnium consensum. Idque ipsi, etsi dissimulatum potius cuperent, tamen non ignorant: immo etiam interdum non obscure confitentur. Itaque veterum conciliorum, et Patrum sanctiones, aiunt ejusmodi esse, ut interdum mutari possint: aliis enim temporibus Ecclesiæ, alia atque alia decreta convenire. Atque ita sese abdunt sub nomine Ecclesiæ, et inani fucio miseris mortalibus illudunt. Et mirum est, aut ita cæcos esse homines ut ista videre non possint: aut si videant, ita esse patientes, ut ea tam facile, tamque æquo animo possint ferre.

Sed cum illa tanquam nimium jam vetera et obsoleta, juberent esse irrita: alia quædam fortasse meliora, atque utiliora, reposuerunt. Solent enim dicere, ne Christum quidem ipsum, aut Apostolum, si reviviscant, melius, aut sanctius administrare posse Ecclesiam Dei, quam quomodo nunc administratur ab ipsis. Reposuerunt illi quidem alia: sed quemadmodum Hieremias ait, Paleam pro tritico: eaque, ut ait Esaias, quæ Deus ab illis non requisivit. Obturarunt omnes venas aquæ vivæ, et exciderunt populo Dei cisternas ruinosas, et lutulentas, plenas limo et sordibus, quæ nec habent aquam puram, nec eam poterant continere. Eripuerunt populo sacram communionem: verbum Dei, unde omnis consolatio petenda erat: verum cultum numinis: rectum usum sacramentorum et precum: dederunt autem nobis de suo, quibus nos interim oblectaremus, sales, aquas, ampullas, sputa, ramusculos, bullas, jubilæa, indulgentias, cruces, suffitus, et infinitum

numerum cæremoniarum, et ludos, ut Plautus ait, ludificabiles. In his illi rebus omnem religionem collocarunt : his rebus docuerunt Deum rite placari posse : his abigi dæmonas : his confirmari hominum conscientias. Hæc videlicet, sunt pigmenta, et myrothecia religionis Christianæ. Hæc Deo videnti, grata et accepta sunt : hæc oportuit in honorem venire, ut Christi et Apostolorum instituta tollerentur. Atque, ut olim rex impius Hieroboam, cum cultum Dei sustulisset, et populum ad aureos vitulos adduxisset, ne forte postea mutarent voluntatem, et a se dilaberentur, et redirent Hierosolymam ad templum Dei ; eos longa oratione cohortatus est ad constantiam : Hi, inquires, Israel sunt Dii tui : hoc pacto Deus vester jussit se a vobis coli : grave autem vobis, et molestum erit iter tam longinquum suscipere, et quotannis ad salutandum et colendum Deum ascendere Hierosolymam. Ita prorsus isti, cum semel traditionum suarum causa irritam fecissent legem Dei, ne populus postea oculos aperiret, et alio dilaberetur, atque aliunde peteret certiores aliquam rationem salutis suæ ; O quoties acclamarunt hunc esse illum cultum, qui Deo placeat, quemque ille a nobis exigit, quoque iratus flecti velit ! His rebus Ecclesiæ consensum contineri : his rebus omnia peccata expiari, et tranquillari conscientias : qui discesserit ab his, eum sibi nihil spei ad æternam salutem reliquisse ! grave autem ac molestum populo esse, ad Christum, ad Apostolos, ad veteres Patres respicere, quidque illi velint aut jubeant, perpetuo attendere ! Hoc, videlicet, est populum Dei ab infirmis mundi elementis, a fermento Scribarum et Phariseorum, et ab humanis traditionibus abducere ! Christi atque Apostolorum jussa loco moveri oportuit, ut ista succederent ! O justam causam, cur vetus et multis seculis probata doctrina antiquaretur, et in Ecclesiam Dei nova forma religionis inveheretur ! Tamen quicquid est clamant isti, nihil oportere immutari : his rebus hominum animis satisfieri : Romanam Ecclesiam ista decrevisse : eam errare non posse. Sylvester enim Prierias ait, Ecclesiam Romanam esse normam, et regulam veritatis : sacras Scripturas ab illa, et auctoritatem, et fidem accipere. Doctrina, inquit, Romanæ Ecclesiæ, est regula fidei infallibilis, a qua sacra Scriptura robur accipit. Et indulgentiæ, inquit, auctoritate Scripturæ non innotuerunt nobis, sed innotuerunt auctoritate Romanæ Ecclesiæ Romanorumque pontificum, quæ major est. Pighius etiam non dubitat dicere, injussu Romanæ Ecclesiæ ne clarissimæ quidem Scripturæ credendum esse. Prorsus, ut siquis istorum, qui Latine recte ac pure loqui non possit,

aliquid tamen in ea lingua pro forensi consuetudine celeriter et expeditè balbutiat, omnino dicat ad eum nunc modum aliis etiam omnibus loquendum esse, quo ante multos annos Mammetrectus aut Catholicon locuti sint, quoque adhuc ipsi utantur in foro : sic enim satis intelligi posse, quid dicatur, et hominum voluntati satisfieri : ridiculum autem esse, nunc tandem novo dicendi genere turbare orbem terrarum, et Ciceronis aut Cæsaris veterem in dicendo puritatem atque eloquentiam revocare.

Tantum, scilicet, isti debent inscitiae ac tenebris superiorum temporum. Multa, ut ait quidam¹, habentur sæpe in pretio, tantum quod dicata aliquando fuerint Deorum templis : ita nos videmus multa hodie probari ab istis, et magni fieri, non quod ea tanti esse judicent, sed tantum quod recepta fuerint consuetudine et quodammodo dicata templo Dei.

At Ecclesia, inquiunt, nostra errare non potest. Id opinor, ita dicunt, ut olim Lacedemonii solebant dicere, in tota sua republica nullum posse inveniri adulterum, cum revera omnes potius essent adulteri ; et incertis nuptiis et uxoribus inter se communibus uterentur : aut ut hodie canonistæ² ventris causa solent de Papa dicere : illum, cum sit Dominus omnium beneficiorum, etsi pretio vendat episcopatus monasteria, sacerdotia, et nihil a se gratis abire sinat ; tamen, cum ea omnia dicat esse sua, etiamsi maxime velit non posse committere Simoniam³. Quam autem id firmum sit, quamque consentanee rationi dicatur, nos adhuc videre non possumus ; nisi forte, ut olim veteres Romani victoriae, ita isti veritati, postquam ea semel ad illos pervenisset, alas quibus advolaverat detraxerint, ne posset in posterum avolare. Sed quid si illis Hieremias dicat, ut supra commemoravimus, hæc esse verba mendacii ? Quid si idem rursus dicat, illos ipsos, quos vinitores esse oportuit, dissipasse ac perdidisse vineam Domini ? Quid si Christus dicat : illos quibus maxime templum oportuit esse curæ, ex templo Domini fecisse speluncam latronum ? Quod si errare Ecclesia Romana non potest, felicitatem ejus oportet majorem esse quam istorum prudentiam. Ea enim est illorum vita, doctrina, diligentia, ut per eos quidem non tantum errare Ecclesia, sed etiam funditus interire, et extingui possit. Profecto si errare Ecclesia ea potest, quæ a verbo Dei, quæ a jussis Christi, quæ ab Apostolorum institutis, quæ a primitivæ Ecclesiæ

¹ Plinius.

² Summa Angelica in dictione Papæ.

³ Theodoricus de Schismat.

exemplis, quæ a veterum Patrum et conciliorum sanctionibus, quæ a suis ipsius decretis discesserit, quæ nullis nec veteribus, nec novis, nec suis, nec alienis, nec humanis, nec divinis legibus teneri velit : certum est Ecclesiam Romanam non tantum potuisse errare ^a, sed etiam flagitiose et turpiter erravisse.

At de nostris, inquit, fuistis : nunc autem apostatæ facti estis, et a nobis discessistis. Discessimus quidem ab illis, et ea de re, et Deo Opt. Maximo gratias agimus, et nobis magnopere gratulamur. At a primitiva Ecclesia, ab Apostolis, a Christo non discessimus. Educati quidem sumus apud istos in tenebris et ignorance Dei, ut Moses in disciplinis, et in sinu Ægyptiorum : de vestris fuimus, inquit Tertullianus, fateor, nec mirum : Fiunt enim, inquit, non nascuntur Christiani. Sed cur ipsi de suis illis septem montibus, in quibus olim Roma stetit, descenderunt, ut in planitie potius, in campo Martio habitarent ? Dicant fortasse, quod jam aquarum ductus, sine quibus non possent commode vivere, in illis montibus defecissent. Dent isti sane eam nobis veniam de aqua æternæ vitæ, quam volunt sibi dari de aqua puteali. Aqua jam apud istos defecerat : seniores, ut Hieremias ait, mittebant parvulos suos ad aquas : at illi, cum nihil invenirent, miseri et siti perditii retulerunt vasa inania. Egeni, inquit Esaias, et pauperes quærebant aquas, sed eas nullas uspiam invenerunt. Lingua illorum siti jam aruerat. Isti omnes canales, et ductus perfregerant : isti obstruxerant omnes venas, et cœno lutoque oppleverant fontem Aquæ vivæ : utque olim Caligula oclusis omnibus horreis, publicam populo inedia et famem : ita illi obturatis omnibus fontibus verbi Dei, sitim populo miserabilem induxerant. Illi hominibus famem, ut ait Amos propheta ¹, sitimque attulerant : non famem panis : non sitim aquæ : sed audiendi verba Dei. Circumbabant miseri quærentes scintillam aliquam divinæ lucis, ad quam exhilararent conscientias : at ea jam prorsus extincta erat : nihil potuerunt invenire.—Hæc erat conditio, hæc erat miserabilis forma Ecclesiæ Dei. Misere in ea sine evangelio, sine luce, sine consolatione ulla vivebatur.

Quare etsi discessio illis nostra molesta est, tamen cogitare debent quam justa fuerit causa discessionis. Nam si dicent, ab ea societate in qua fueris educatus, nullo modo fas esse discedere : facile possunt in nostro capite et prophetas et apostolos, et Christum ipsum condemnare. Nam cur hoc etiam non queruntur,

^a See Art. XIX. of the Church of England.

¹ Amos viii. 11.

Lothum e Sodoma ; Abramum e Chaldaëa ; Hebræos ex Ægypto ; Christum a Judæis ; Paulum a Pharisæis discessisse ? Nisi enim justa aliqua possit esse causa discessionis, nihil videmus, cur non illi quoque possint eodem modo, factionis et seditionis accusari.

Quod si nos damnandi sumus pro hæreticis, qui istorum imperata omnia non facimus ; quid illi ? qui tandem, aut quales videri debent, qui Christi et Apostolorum imperata contemnunt ? Si nos sumus schismatici, qui discessimus ab istis ; quo tandem illos nomine appellabimus, qui a Græcis, a quibus fidem acceperunt, ab Ecclesia primitiva, a Christo ipso, ab apostolis, tanquam a parentibus discesserunt ? Nam Græci quidem, qui hodie profitentur religionem et nomen Christi, etsi multa habeant contaminata, magnam tamen adhuc partem retinent eorum quæ acceperant ab Apostolis. Itaque nec privatas habent missas, nec truncata sacramenta, nec purgatoria, nec indulgentias. Pontificios vero titulos, et magnifica nomina tanti faciunt, ut quicumque eos imponat sibi, seque vel universalem episcopum, vel Ecclesiæ totius caput velit appellari ; eum illi non dubitent, et superbum hominem, et in omnes alios episcopos fratres suos contumeliosum et hæreticum esse dicere ^a.

Jam vero cum perspicuum sit, et negari non possit, istos ab illis a quibus evangelium, a quibus fidem, a quibus religionem, a quibus Ecclesiam acceperunt, defecisse : quid causæ est, cur nunc ad eosdem, tanquam ad fontes, nolint revocari ? Cur quasi Apostoli omnes, Patresque nihil viderint, ita illorum temporum similitudinem reformidant ? An enim isti plus vident, aut Ecclesiam Dei pluris faciunt, quam illi, qui ista tradiderunt ? Nam nos quidem discessimus ab illa Ecclesia, in qua nec verbum Dei pure audiri potuit, nec sacramenta administrari, nec Dei nomen, ut oportuit, invocari : quam ipsi fatentur multis in rebus esse vitiosam : in qua nihil erat, quod quenquam posset prudentem hominem, et de sua salute cogitantem, retinere. Postremo, ab Ecclesia ea discessimus, quæ nunc est, non quæ olim ^b fuit : atque ita discessimus, ut Daniel e cavea leonum, ut tres illi pueri ex incendio : nec tam discessimus, quam ab istis diris et devotionibus ejecti sumus ^c.

Accessimus vero ad illam Ecclesiam in qua ne ipsi quidem, si

^a Compare *Crackanthorpe's* Defensio, p. 85, 6.

^b Compare *Crackanthorpe's* Defensio, p. 42—4.

^c See above, p. 313, and note.

vere atque ex animo loqui volunt, negare possunt omnia caste ac reverenter, et quantum nos maxime assequi potuimus, proxime ad priscorum temporum rationem administrari. Conferant enim Ecclesias nostras, suasque inter se: videbunt et se turpissime ab Apostolis, et nos ab ipsis justissime discesse.—Nos enim cum Christo, apostolis, et sanctis Patribus Eucharistiam populo damus integram: isti, contra omnes Patres, contra omnes Apostolos, contra Christum ipsum, cum summo, ut Gelasius ait, sacrilegio, sacramenta dividunt, et alteram partem populo eripiunt.

Nos cœnam dominicam ad Christi institutionem revocavimus, eamque quam maxime, quamque plurimis communem, utque appellatur, ita re ipsa communionem esse volumus. Isti contra institutum Christi omnia immutarunt, et ex sacra communione privatam fecerunt missam: atque ita nos cœnam præbemus populo, isti inane spectaculum.

Nos cum antiquissimis Patribus affirmamus, corpus Christi non comedi^a nisi ab hominibus piis et fidelibus, et imbutis spiritu Christi: isti docent ipsissimum corpus Christi re ipsa, utque ipsi loquuntur, “realiter,” et “substantialiter,” non tantum ab impiis et infidelibus, sed etiam, quod horrendum dictu est, a muribus et canibus posse comedi.

Nos ita precamur in templis, ut quemadmodum Paulus monet¹, populus scire possit quid precemur, et communibus votis respondere, Amen: isti ut æs tinniens, voces in templis ignotas et peregrinas, sine intelligentia, sine sensu, sine mente fundunt: et omnino id agunt, ne populus quidquam possit intelligere.

Et ne omnia discrimina commemoremus, (sunt enim prope infinita) nos Scripturas sacras convertimus in omnes linguas: isti eas vix exstare patiuntur in ulla lingua. Nos invitamus populum ad legendum, et audiendum verbum Dei: isti abigunt. Nos causam ab omnibus cognosci volumus: isti fugiunt iudicium. Nos scientia nitimur: isti inscitia. Nos luci fidimus: isti tenebris^b.

^a See Art. XXIX. of the Church of England.

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 16.

^b To what an extent this policy was carried during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, in countries under the influence of the Papacy, we may in some degree collect from the account by *Sir Edwin Sandys*, a part of which is here given.

“It is a wonderful thing to see what curious order and diligence they use, to suffer nothing to be done or to spring up among themselves, which may any way give footing to the religion which they so much hate.

“And first for *the Scriptures*: forasmuch as the reformation seems grounded

Nos colimus, ut par est, voces apostolorum et prophetarum: isti comburunt. Postremo, nos in Dei causa, Dei unius judicio stare

upon *them*, the reformers having striven to square it out wholly and only by that rule, so far as their understanding and wits could wade;—and forasmuch as it is a thing which the Romanists deny not, that a great part of *their* religion hath *other* foundation; and would seem in many places to swerve much from, yea and plainly to cross the Scriptures—for this cause, though heretofore to stop their adversaries' mouths, and to give some content to their own people, that they might not think them so terribly afraid of the Bible, they were content to let it be *translated* by some of their favourers into the vulgar tongue, as also some number of copies to be saleable awhile at the beginning; yet since, having hushed that former clamour, and made better provision for the establishing of their kingdom, they have called all vulgar Bibles straitly in again; yea the very Psalms of David, which their famous preacher, Bishop Parigarola, translated, as doubting else the unavoidableness of those former inconveniences.—

“And as in the *foundation* of the *reformation*, which is the Scripture, so much more in the edifice itself, the *doctrine* and *opinions*, they beat away all sound and echo of them: it being not lawful there to allege them, no not to glance at them; not to argue and dispute of them,—no not to refute them. In ordinary communications to talk of matters of religion, is odious and suspicious: but to enter into any reasoning, though but for argument sake, without other scandal, is prohibited and dangerous. Yea it was once my fortune to be half threatened for no other fault than for debating with a Jew, and upholding the truth of Christianity against him: so unlawful are all disputes of religion whatsoever. . . . In Italy, in their divinity disputations in their universities or colleges, I could not perceive that they ever debated any question at this day controverted otherwise than as among themselves, and between their schoolmen.—And, which was more strange to me till I sounded the reason, in no place of Italy wherever I came, could I hear any of their preachers treat of any point in question between them and the Protestants, save only at Padua; where, in respect there are always divers hundreds of strangers of the adverse party, it is otherwise practised; and, I ween, advised.

“But in all other places, for ought I could perceive, either they mention now no adversaries, or if they do, (which is very seldom,) yet do they not unfold their opinions and arguments, but either frame other chimæras of their own instead of them, and so flourish a bout or two, in canvassing their own shadows, as is usual in France also: or else dispatch them away with certain general reproaches; and then, as I have heard some of them, will formally conclude, ‘But why do I name heretics in an assembly of Catholics?’—Still at other times, teaching the people, sometimes in pulpit, but much more in private conferences and in their confessions, that the Lutherans and Calvinists are blasphemers of God, and all his saints, and above all other that they despise and vilify Our Lady; that they abolish the Church sacraments, the only means of salvation; that wherever they come, they either raze or rob Churches, and make stables of them; that there is no kind of villany which is not current among them; that in England, they have neither Churches,

volumus : isti stare volunt suo. Quod si illi hæc omnia tranquillo animo, et ad audiendum, discendumque comparato spectare velint : non tantum probabunt institutum nostrum, qui relictis erroribus, Christum, ejusque apostolos secuti sumus ; sed ipsi etiam a se deficient, seque ultro aggregabunt ad partes nostras.

VI. Atqui sine sacro œcumenico concilio nefas, inquit, fuit ista tentare : ibi enim esse omnem vim Ecclesiæ : ibi Christum pollicitum esse sese semper præsto affuturum.—Atqui ipsi mandata Dei et apostolorum decreta violarunt, utque jam diximus, omnia prope, non tantum instituta, sed etiam dogmata primitivæ Ecclesiæ dissipaverunt, nihil expectato sacro concilio.

Verum quod aiunt, nihil cuiquam fas esse innovare sine con

nor form of religion, nor serve God any way ; that the English nation, since their falling away from the Church, is grown so barbarous, that their soldiers are very cannibals and eat young children. . . .

“ And as by these kinds of slanders, so also the more to harden men’s minds against the Protestants, they will tell of strange miracles that have befallen them :—a point wherewith the pulpits of France also do ring daily. . . .

“ And these things are instead of refuting the Protestants’ religion : and are not in vain. For the vulgar sort, who believe, as they say, in God and the Pope, think all to be Gospel that their friars tell them. . . .

“ But the most strange thing, as to me it seemed, of all other, is that those principal writers, who have employed themselves wholly in refuting from point to point the Protestants’ doctrine and arguments, are so rare in Italy, as by ordinary enquiry, I believe, not to be found. The controversies of Cardinal Bellarmine I sought for in Venice, in all places. Neither that, nor Gregory of Valenza, nor any of such quality, could I ever in any shop of Italy set an eye on : but instead of them, an infinity of mere invectives and declamations. Which made me to entertain this suspicious conjecture, that it might be their care, that no part of the Protestants’ positions and allegations should be known : and hence, that they were so exact, as to make discurrent in some sort, even those very books which were constrained to recite them, that they might refute them. . . .

“ The conclusion is this :—no sound of the reformed religion either stirring in Italy, or by any human wit now possible to be raised. . . . So far are they from their adversaries’, either simplicity (if their cause be bad), or honesty (if good) ; who not only in most of their replies print both together, to give means of indifferency in judging to the reader ; but even permit their adversaries’ yet unanswered disputes to run current among them. . . . It remaineth now to restrain the Italians from going abroad into foreign countries, where those contagious sounds and sights might infect them. . . . Behold then this Pope’s late exploit also for that point. He hath by his printed bull, under pain of excommunication, forbidden them all repairs for traffic to heretical countries. . . . Thus hath every gap his bush ; each suspicion his prevention.” *Europæ Speculum*, p. 125—34.

cilio : quis tandem scripsit nobis istas leges ? Aut unde isti hoc edictum habuerunt ?

Ridicule quidem fecit ille rex ¹, qui cum oraculo certus esset de sententia et voluntate summi Jovis, postea rem integram retulit ad Apollinem ; ut sciret an idem illi videretur quod patri. Nos autem multo ineptius faceremus, si, cum Deum ipsum ^a nobis in sacrosanctis Scripturis aperte loquentem audiamus, ejusque voluntatem et mentem intelligamus, postea, quasi id nihil sit, rem integram referre velimus ad concilium : quod non aliud est, quam quærere, an idem hominibus videatur quod Deo : et an homines velint mandata Dei autoritate sua comprobare. Quid enim ? nisi concilium velit et jubeat, verum non erit verum ? aut Deus non erit Deus ? Si Christus ab initio ita facere voluisset, ut nihil doceret, aut diceret invitis episcopis ; omnem autem doctrinam suam ad Annam et Caiapham retulisset ; ubi nunc esset fides Christiana ? aut quis unquam audisset evangelium ? Petrus quidem (quem Pontifex sæpius, magisque prædicare solet, quam Jesum Christum) fidenter restitit sacro concilio : et satius, inquit ¹, est obtemperare Deo, quam hominibus. Et Paulus ², cum semel animo hausisset evangelium, idque non ab hominibus neque per hominem sed per solam voluntatem Dei ; non deliberavit cum carne et sanguine, nec retulit ad cognatos aut fratres suos, sed statim abiit in Arabiam, ut divina mysteria Deo autore publicaret.

Nos quidem concilia, et episcoporum doctorumque hominum conventus et colloquia non contemnimus. Neque ea quæ fecimus, prorsus sine episcopis aut sine concilio fecimus ^b. Plenis comitiis

¹ Agesilaus.

^a Compare Hooker's Preface, chap. iii. § 1—3, and chap. vi. §§ 3, 6. below, No. XII. in this volume.

¹ Act. iv. 19.

² Ad Gal. i. 12. 16, 17.

^b " But of all places their desires and attempts to recover England have been always and still are the strongest. Which albeit in their more sober moods, sundry of them will acknowledge to have been the only nation that took the right way of justifiable reformation, in comparison of others, who have run headlong rather to a tumultuous innovation. Whereas that alteration which has been in England, was brought in with peaceable and orderly proceeding, by general consent of the prince and whole realm representatively assembled in solemn parliament, a great part of their own clergy according and conforming themselves unto it. No Luther, no Calvin, the square of their faith. What public discussion and long deliberation did persuade them to be faulty, that taken away : the succession of bishops and vocation of ministers con-

res acta est³, longa deliberatione, frequenti synodo. De isto vero concilio, quod nunc a Pio pontifice simulatur, in quo homines non appellati, non auditi, non visi, ita facile condemnantur; quid nobis expectandum aut sperandum sit, non est difficile divinare.

Nazianzenus olim¹, cum suo tempore videret homines in hujusmodi conventibus ita esse cæcos et obstinatos, ut abducerentur affectibus, et victoriam magis quærerent, quam veritatem, diserte pronuntiavit, se nullius concilii unquam exitum vidisse bonum. Quid ille nunc diceret, si hodie viveret, et istorum conatus intelligeret? Nam tum quidem, etsi studebatur partibus; tamen causæ cognoscebantur, et errores manifesti omnium partium suffragiis communibus tollebantur. Isti vero nec causam disceptari libere volunt, nec, quantumcunque sit errorum quidquam patiuntur immutari.

Id enim illi sæpe, et sine fronte jactare, solent, Ecclesiam suam errare non posse: nihil esse in ea vitii, nihil esse nobis concedendum. Aut, si quid sit, tamen episcoporum et abbatum esse hoc

tinued: the dignity and state of the clergy preserved: the honour and solemnity of the service of God not abased: the more ancient usages of the Church not cancelled:—in sum, no humour of affecting contrariety, but a charitable endeavour rather of conformity with the Church of Rome, in whatsoever they thought not gainsaying to the express law of God.” *Sandys’ Europæ Speculum*, p. 227, 8.

“And indeed it is no small advantage to our liturgy,” (and reformation) “that it was the offspring of all that authority, which was to prescribe in matters of religion. The king and the priest, which are the ‘*antistites religionis*,’ and the preservers of both the tables, joined in this work; and the people, as it was represented in parliament, were advised withal, in authorizing the form after much deliberation. For the rule, ‘*Quod spectat ad omnes, ab omnibus tractari debet*,’ was here observed with strictness; and then, as it had the advantages of discourse, so also of authorities;—its reason from one, and its sanction from the other, that it might be both reasonable and sacred; and free, not only from the indiscretions, but, which is very considerable, from the scandal of popularity.” Bishop *Taylor’s* Preface to the Apology for set forms of Liturgy. Works, vol. vii. p. 286; also Clarendon’s (Lord) Tracts, 334—5. 1727. fol.

On the other hand, it was the misfortune of Scotland, that matters went on much otherwise there. King James I. before he ascended the throne of England, had the sagacity to notice, and to invite the attention of his son, Prince Henry, to this distinction in the circumstances of the two countries. See his *Basilicon Doron*, p. 28—33. edit. 1682.

^a See *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 14. *Pott’s* Rights of Sovereignty in Christian States, p. 293—9.

¹ *Nazian.* ad Procopium.

judicium : illos esse moderatores rerum : illos esse Ecclesiam Dei. Aristoteles ait, spurios non posse facere civitatem : an autem ex istis effici possit Ecclesia Dei, ipsi videant. Certe nec legitimi sunt abbates, nec genuini episcopi.

Sed sint sane Ecclesia ; audiantur in conciliis ; soli habeant jus suffragandi. Olim tamen cum ecclesia Dei, si ad istorum quidem Ecclesiam conferatur, satis commode regeretur, ut Cyprianus ait, advocabantur ad Ecclesiasticarum causarum cognitionem et presbyteri et diaconi et nonnulla etiam pars plebis.

Sed quid si isti abbates et episcopi nihil sciant ? Quid si, quid sit religio, quidque de Deo sentiendum sit, non intelligant ? Quid si lex ^a perierit a sacerdote, et consilium a senioribus ? Quid si, ut ait Micheas ¹, nox illis sit pro visione, et tenebræ pro divinatione ? Quid si, ut Esaias ait ², omnes speculatores civitatis facti sunt cæci ? Quid si sal vim suam et saporem amiserit ? utque Christus ait ³, ad nullum usum sit accommodus, ne ad id quidem ut abjiciatur in sterquilinum ?

Ad Papam scilicet omnia deferent, qui errare non potest. At illud primum ineptum est, Spiritum Sanctum a sacro concilio circulo avolare Romam ; ut si quid dubitet aut hæreat, et sese explicare non possit, ab alio nescio quo spiritu doctiore consilium capiat. Nam, si ita est, quid opus erat tot episcopos tantis impensis, tam longinquis itineribus, Tridentum hoc tempore convocari ? Consultius multo erat et satius, certe multo et brevius et commodius, ut ad Papam potius omnia rejicerent, et statim ad illius sacri pectoris oraculum devenirent. Deinde etiam iniquum est, causam nostram a tot episcopis et abbatibus, ad unius hominis judicium devolvere ; ejus præsertim, qui a nobis gravissimis criminibus accusetur, nec adhuc causam suam dixerit, et nos, antequam vocaremur ad judicium, sine judicio condemnarit. An ergo nos ista fingimus ? aut ista hodie non est ratio conciliorum ? Aut non omnia a sacro concilio ad unum pontificem deferuntur : ut, quasi tot sententiis, et subscriptionibus nihil sit actum, ille unus possit addere, mutare, minuere, abrogare, approbare, relaxare, restringere quicquid velit ? Quorum ergo hominum sunt hæc verba ? cur episcopi et abbates, non ita pridem in proximo concilio Tridentino, ita ad extremum decreverunt : “ salva semper in omnibus sedis apostolicæ autoritate ? ” Aut cur Paschalis Papa ita

^a Compare *Hooker's* Pref. chap. iii. § 3. given below in this volume.

¹ Mic. iii. 6.

² Esai. lvi. 10.

³ Matt. v. 13.

insolenter de se scribit? Quasi, inquit, Romanæ Ecclesiæ legem concilia ulla præfixerint¹: cum omnia concilia per Romanæ Ecclesiæ auctoritatem et facta sint, et robur acceperint, et in illorum statutis Romani Pontifices patienter excipiantur auctoritas? Si ista rata esse volunt, cur concilia indicuntur? sin ea jubent esse irrita, cur in istorum libris, quasi relinquuntur?

Sed sit sane pontifex unus supra omnia concilia, hoc est, sit pars aliqua major quam totum: plus possit, plus sapiat, quam omnes sui: et vel invito Hieronymo², sit urbis unius auctoritas major quam orbis terrarum. At quid si ille de his rebus nihil viderit; et nec sacras Scripturas, nec veteres Patres, nec concilia sua unquam legerit? Quid si ille, ut olim Papa Liberius³, deficiat ad Arianos: aut, ut non ante ita multos annos, Joannes Papa, de futura vita, et animarum immortalitate impie et nefarie sentiat: aut, ut olim Papa Zosimus concilium Nicænum, ita ille nunc potestatis suæ augendæ causa, alia concilia corrumpat, et quæ ne cogitata quidem unquam fuerint, ea a sanctis Patribus deliberata et constituta esse dicat: utque Camotensis ait pontifices solitos esse sæpe facere, vim adhibeat Scripturis, ut habeat plenitudinem potestatis? Quid si abjiciat fidem Christianam, et efficiatur apostata, quales Lyranus ait, multos fuisse Papas? Tamenne Spiritus Sanctus statim illi pulsabit pectus, atque etiam nolenti, et invito accendet lumen, ne possit errare? Aut ille erit fons omnis juris? et omnis thesaurus sapientiæ atque intelligentiæ in illo, tanquam in scrinio, invenietur? Aut, si ista in illo non sunt, potestne de rebus tantis recte et commode judicare? Aut, si judicare non potest, petit, ut ista ad se unum omnia referantur? Quid si advocati pontificum, abbates, et episcopi nihil dissimulent, sed aperte se gerant pro hostibus evangelii, et quod vident, videre nolint, et vim faciant Scripturis, et videntes ac scientes depravent atque adulterent verbum Dei: et ea quæ perspicue ac proprie dicta sunt de Christo, nec possunt cuiquam mortalium alii convenire, impure atque impie ad Papam transferant? Quid si dicant⁴, Papam esse omnia, et super omnia: aut illum ea posse omnia, quæ Christus potest: et Papæ Christique unum esse tribunal, et unum consistorium? Aut illum esse lucem illam,

¹ De electione et electi potestate. ca. Significasti.

² Ad Evagrium.

³ Vide *Sozomen.* Eccles. Hist. lib. iv. cap. 15.

⁴ Host. ca. Quanto. Abbas Panor. de Elect. ca. Venerabilis. Cornelius Episc. in Concilio Tridentino. Johan. viii. 12.

quæ venerit in mundum, (quod Christus de se uno pronuntiavit) eumque qui male agit, odisse ac fugere illam lucem : aut alios episcopos omnes de ejus accipere plenitudine ¹? Postremo, quid si non dissimulanter, aut obscure, sed perspicue et aperte decernant contra expressum verbum Dei? An quidquid illi dicunt statim erit evangelium? An iste erit exercitus Dei? An ibi Christus præsto erit? An in istorum linguis natabit Spiritus Sanctus? aut illi possunt vere dicere, visum est Spiritui Sancto, et nobis? Petrus quidem a Soto, et ejus astipulator Hosius ², nihil dubitant affirmare, concilium illud ipsum, in quo Christus Jesus adjudicatus est morti, habuisse Spiritum propheticum, Spiritum sanctum, Spiritum veritatis : nec falsum aut vanum fuisse, quod episcopi illi dixerunt ³, nos habemus legem, et secundum legem nostram debet mori. Illos judicasse (sic enim scribit Hosius) judicii veritatem : omninoque justum fuisse illud decretum, quo ab illis pronuntiatum est, Christum dignum esse qui moreretur. Mirum vero est, non posse istos pro se dicere, et propugnare causam suam, nisi una etiam Annæ Caiaphæque patrocinentur. Nam qui illud ipsum concilium, in quo Filius Dei ad crucem ignominiosissime condemnatus est legitimum dicent fuisse ac probum ; quod tandem illi concilium, decernent esse vitiosum? Tamen qualia sunt istorum concilia fere omnia, necesse illis fuit, ut ista de Caiaphæ Annæque concilio pronuntiarent. Verum, an isti Ecclesiam nobis instaurabunt, iidem ipsi iudices iidemque rei? An isti minuent ambitionem fastumque suum? An ipsi seipsos ejicient, aut contra se ferent sententiam, ne episcopi sint indocti, ne ventres pigri, ne cumulent sacerdotia, ne gerant se pro principibus, ne bella gerant? An dilecti pontificum filioli abbates decernent, monachum, qui suo sibi labore victum non quærat, latronem esse? aut fas illi non esse, nec in civitatibus, nec in turba, nec ex alieno vivere? Oportere monachum humi cubare : olusculo et ciceribus tueri vitam : incumbere literis, disputare, orare, opus facere, ad Ecclesiæ ministerium se parare? Eadem opera Pharisæi et Scribæ instaurabunt templum Dei, et ex speculna latronum restituent nobis domum orationis.

Fuerunt ex ipsis aliqui, qui errores in Ecclesia complures prehenderint : Adrianus Papa, Æneas Sylvius, Polus Cardinalis, Pighius, alique, uti jam diximus. Habuerunt postea concilium Tridenti, eodem loco quo nunc indicitur. Convenerunt episcopi

¹ Durandus.

² Hosius contra Brentium, lib. ii.

³ Joan. xix. 7.

complures, et abbates, et alii quos oportuit. Erant soli: quidquid ageretur, nemo erat qui obstreperet. Nostros enim homines ab omni conventu prorsus excluserant. Sederunt ibi magna expectatione sex annos. Primis sex mensibus, quasi id magnopere opus esset, multa de sacrosancta Triade, de Patre, de Filio, de Spiritu Sancto, pia quidem, sed non ita illo tempore necessaria, decreverunt. Interim tamen ex tot erroribus tam perspicuis, tam confessis, tam manifestis, quem unum errorem correxerunt? A quo genere idololatriæ populum revocarunt? Quam superstitionem sustulerunt? Quam partem tyrannidis et pompæ suæ minuerunt? Quasi vero jam orbis terrarum non videat conspiracyem istam esse, non concilium^a: et istos episcopos, quos nunc sibi Pontifex advocavit, prorsus juratos et addictos esse ejus nomini: nec unquam quidquam facturos, nisi quod illi placere, et ad ejus potentiam augendam facere, et illum velle, videant; aut non ibi numerari sententias potius quam appendi: aut non meliorem partem sæpe a majore superari. Itaque scimus multos sæpe bonos viros, et Catholicos episcopos, cum hujusmodi concilia indicerentur, et aperte factionibus et partibus inserviretur, et scirent se tantum lusuros esse operam, adversariorum animos prorsus esse obfirmatos, nihil posse promoveri, mansisse domi. Athanasius¹, cum vocatus esset ab imperatore ad concilium Cæsariense, et viderit se ad infesta adversariorum suorum odia venturum esse, adesse noluit. Idem postea cum venisset ad concilium Sirmianum, et ex hostium suorum ferocia, atque odio, animo rei eventum præ sagiret; statim sarcinas collegit, atque abiit. Joannes Chrysostomus², quamvis quaternis literis ab imperatore Arcadio vocatus esset ad concilium Arianorum, tamen domi se continuit. Cum Hierosolymorum episcopus, Maximus, sederet in concilio Palæstino, eum senex Paphnutius manu apprehensum eduxit foras: non est fas, inquit, nobis consultare de his rebus cum hominibus impiis.

Ad concilium Sirmianum, a quo se subduxit Athanasius, Occidentis episcopi venire noluerunt. Cyrillus ab illorum, qui Patro-

^a On the whole of this division respecting general councils, the council of Trent, and the refusal of the Protestants to attend there, &c., see and compare the long and eloquent Letter of Bishop *Jewell*, written about the middle of the year 1562, "ad virum nobilem Dom. Scipionem, Patricium Venetum;" first published with Sir *Nath. Brent's* Translation of Father Paul's History of the Council of Trent, and which ought to have a place in every collection of the Bishop's works.

¹ *Theodoret. Ecc. Hist. lib. i. cap. 28.*

² *Trip. lib. x. cap. 13.*

passiani dicebantur, concilio, per literas appellavit ¹. Ad Mediolanense concilium episcopus Treverensis Paulinus, alique complures, cum viderent conatus et potentiam Auxentii, venire recusarunt. Frustra enim videbant se ituros eo ubi non ratio sed factio audiretur; et ubi causæ non iudicio, sed studio disceptarentur.

Atque illi quantumvis habebant infestos et obstinatos adversarios; tamen si venissent, audiri saltem in concilio libere potuissent.

Nunc autem cum nemo nostrum ne sedere quidem aut omnino videri in istorum consessu, nedum libere audiri possit: cum Pontificum legati, patriarchæ, archiepiscopi, episcopi, abbates omnes conjurati, omnes eadem culpa constricti, omnes eodem sacramento obstricti, soli sedeant, et soli jus habeant ferendi suffragii: et postremo, quasi ipsi nihil egerint, omnia sua iudicia Papæ unius voluntati, libidinique subijciant: videlicet, ut ille quem oportuit potius causam dicere, de seipso pronunciet: cum vetus illa, et Christiana libertas, quam æquum erat in Christianis conciliis esse maximam, prorsus de concilio sublata sit: mirari hodie non debent homines prudentes ac pii, si nos id nunc facimus, quod olim in simili causa, a tot Patribus et Catholicis episcopis factum vident: ut quoniam audiri in concilio non possumus, et principum legati habentur ludibrio, et nos omnes, quasi res jam antea confecta, et constituta sit, ante iudicium condemnatur^a, domi

¹ Tripar. lib. v. cap. 15.

^a "The Church at Trent," (says Dr. Doyle, the Roman Catholic bishop, expressing himself in the genuine spirit of another Hildebrand,) "invited the heretics of the sixteenth century to plead their own cause before the council. These blind and obstinate men refused to do so; but their cause was examined fully and dispassionately,—sentence at length was passed, and the matter set at rest for ever. 'Causa finita est.' It can never be revived. It hath seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to our Fathers so to determine, and there can be no re-hearing of the case. There is no higher tribunal constituted by God; no one or many to whom a new issue could be directed for trial. 'Whosoever will not hear the Church, let him be as a heathen and a publican.' Those who are cut off on account of their obstinacy may complain; but there is no remedy for them but in submission. The Church may soothe, may explain; she may relax or alter her discipline, to favour their weakness or assist them to return, but the ONE FAITH she cannot alter; it is as simple, as immutable as God himself. . . . As to the consequences of separation from the Church, it is not mine to state them, or to give expression to that deep affliction which the consideration of them excites within me. I was once moved by such reflections to suggest through an eminent individual, to one of the highest states in the realm, a proposal for seeking to bind up that which has been broken; to heal that which has been infirm; and to

manere malimus, et rem omnem Deo committere, quam eo proficisci, ubi nec locum habituri simus, nec quidquam possimus promovere.—Verum nostram injuriam patienter et sedate ferre possumus. Sed cur reges Christianos, et pios principes excludunt a consessu suo? Cur eos vel ita incivilter a se, vel ita contumeliose dimittunt, ut quasi homines Christiani non sint, aut judicare non possint, nolint eos religionis Christianæ causam cognoscere, et Ecclesiarum suarum statum intelligere: aut si auctoritatem suam interponant, et faciant id quod possunt, quod jubentur quod debent, quodque et Davidem, et Solomonem, et alios bonos principes fecisse scimus, ut ipsis aut dormientibus, aut nefarie resistentibus, sacerdotum libidinem coerceant, eosque et ad officium faciendum adigant, et in officio contineant: ut idola evertant: ut superstitiones minuant: ut Dei cultum instaurent: cur statim clamant, illos omnia turbare, in alienum officium irrumperere, et improbe atque immodeste facere? Quæ Scriptura principem Christianum ^a ab hujusmodi causarum cognitione unquam repulit? Quis præter istos solos unquam ista jura decrevit.

At civiles, inquit, principes rempublicam atque arma tractare didicerunt: religionis mysteria non intelligunt. Quid ergo Papa hodie aliud est, quam monarcha aut princeps? Quid cardinales? Quos nunc vix alios esse fas est, quam principum et regum filios. Quid patriarchæ, quid magna ex parte archiepiscopi, quid episcopi, quid abbates in regno pontificio aliud hodie sunt, quam civiles principes, quam duces, quam comites, quocunque incedant, magnifice stipati: sæpe etiam torquati, et catenati?

Amictum quidem habent illi interdum aliquem, cruces columnas, galeros, tiaras, pallia; quam pompam veteres episcopi, Chrysostomus, Augustinus, Ambrosius, non habebant. Præter ista vero quid docent, quid dicunt, quid faciunt, quid vivunt, quod deceat non tantum episcopum, sed etiam hominem Christianum?

bring back that which has strayed. But the spirit which was once sent to seduce Ahab, has been permitted to seduce many in this empire, and the term of his seduction has not yet expired. Perhaps it will yet terminate. If it should, the means of peace and conciliation are at hand; if not, it is our duty to adore the councils of that God, whose judgments are inscrutable, and whose ways cannot be investigated." *Phelan's*, &c. Digest. part ii. p. 258.

^a See *Juelli* Epist. ad Dom. Scipionem, &c. § 36, 7. *Casaubon's* Dedication to King James, given above, No. II. in this volume, p. 50—3. *Hooker's* eighth book, and the numerous authorities cited and commented on in Archdeacon *Pott's* learned and very valuable volume,—the Rights of Sovereignty in Christian States: 8vo. 1821.

An tanti est titulum inanem gerere, et mutata solum veste appellari episcopum?

Certe illis solis, qui ista nec sciunt, nec scire omnino volunt, nec, nisi quod ad culinam et ventrem attinet, partem ullam religionis teruncii faciunt, permitti rerum omnium summam, illos solos judices fieri, et tanquam cæcos in specula collocari: principem vero Christianum, recte sentientem, stare truncum et stipitem, non suffragari, non sententiam dicere tantum quid illi velint aut jubeant, observare, sine auribus, sine oculis, sine animo, sine pectore: quidquid ab istis imponatur, sine exceptione recipere, et cæco judicio imperata facere: quantumvis ea blasphema sint atque impia, etiamsi eos jubeant religionem universam extinguere, et Christum ipsum in crucem tollere: et superbum, et contumeliosum, et inquam est, et a principibus Christianis et prudentibus non ferendum. Quid enim? An Caiaphas et Annas ista videre possunt; David et Ezechias non possunt? Et an cardinali, homini militari et sanguinem spiranti, in concilio sedere licet; imperatori, aut regi Christiano non licet? Nam nos quidem, nihil nostris magistratibus tribuimus ^a aliud, quam quod illis et ex verbo Dei tributum scimus, et optimarum rerumpublicarum exemplo comprobatum: præterquam enim quod principi fideli a Deo mandata est cura utriusque tabulæ, ut intelligat ad officium suum non civilem tantum rem, sed etiam sacram et ecclesiasticam pertinere: præterquam quod Deus sæpe regem, ac diserte jubet lucos succidere, idolorum statuas et aras evertere, librum legis sibi describere: quodque illum Esaias ait ¹, Ecclesiæ patronum, et nutritium esse oportere; præter, inquam, hæc omnia, ex historiis et optimorum temporum exemplis videmus pios principes procurationem ecclesiarum ab officio suo nunquam putasse alienam.

Moses ², civilis magistratus, ac ductor populi, omnem religionis et sacrorum rationem et accepit a Deo, et populo tradidit: et Aaronem episcopum de aureo vitulo, et de violata religione, vehementer et graviter castigavit Josue ³, etsi non aliud erat quam magistratus civilis, tamen cum primum inauguraretur, et præficeretur populo, accepit mandata nominatim de religione, deque colendo Deo.

David rex ⁴, cum omnis jam religio ab impio rege Saule prorsus esset dissipata reduxit arcam Dei, hoc est, religionem resti-

^a See Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England. See also above in this volume, p. 45. *Casaubon*, and the note from Bishop *Andrews*.

¹ Esai. xlix. 23.

² Exod. xii.

³ Jos. i.

⁴ 1 Par. 13.

tuit: nec tantum adfuit ut admonitor aut hortator operis, sed etiam Psalmos et hymnos dedit, et classes disposuit, et pompam instituit, et quodammodo præfuit sacerdotibus.

Solomon rex,¹ ædificavit templum Domino, quod ejus pater David animo tantum destinaverat: et postremo orationem egregiam habuit ad populum de religione, et cultu Dei: et Abiatharum episcopum² postea summovit, et in ejus locum Sadocum surrogavit. Cumque postea templum Dei foedum in modum esset sacerdotum vitio et negligentia contaminatum Ezechias³ illud rex jussit a ruderibus et sordibus repurgari, accendi lumina, suffitus adoleri, et veteri ritu sacra fieri: æneum etiam serpentem, qui tum a populo impie colebatur, tolli et in pulverem redigi, Josaphat rex⁴ excelsa et lucos, quibus impediri videbat cultum Dei, et populum a communi templo, quod erat Hierosolymis, ad quod ex omni parte regni quotannis eundum erat, privata superstitione retineri evertit et sustulit. Josias⁵ rex diligenter admonuit sacerdotes et episcopos officii sui. Joas rex⁶ repressit luxum et insolentiam sacerdotum Jehu⁷ impios prophetas neci dedit. Et ne plura ex sacris Scripturis exempla commemoremus, ac potius a Christo nato quemadmodum in evangelio Ecclesia administrata sit, consideremus: olim imperatores Christiani indicebant^a episcoporum concilia: Constantinus, Nicænum: Theodosius primus, Constantinopolitanum: Theodosius secundus, Ephesinum: Marcianus, Chalcedonense: cumque Ruffinus allegasset synodum, quasi quæ pro se faceret, ejus adversarius Hieronymus, ut eum, refutaret, Doce, inquit, quis eam imperator jusserit convocari? Idem in epitaphio Paulæ citat literas imperatorum, qui episcopos Latinos Græcosque Romam accersiri jusserint.

Omnino per annos quingentos imperator solus agebat conventus sacros, et episcoporum concilia celebrabat.

Quo magis nunc miramur importunitatem episcopi Romani, qui, quod sciat, integris rebus, fuisse jus imperatoris, nunc autem postquam reges in partem Cæsareæ majestatis devenerunt, esse jus commune omnium principum; id ita temere uni adscribat sibi, et satis esse putet voluntatem suam de habendo concilio, cum principe orbis terrarum viro⁸, tanquam cum famulo suo communicare.

¹ 2 Par. 6.

² 3 Reg. ii. 35.

³ 2 Par. 29.

⁴ 4 Reg. 18. 2 Par. 17. ⁵ 4 Reg. 23. ⁶ 4 Reg. 12. ⁷ 4 Reg. 10.

^a See *Barrow*, vol. vi. p. 312—26, (edit. 1818.) *Treatise on the Pope's Supremacy*, also *Hooker*, book viii.

⁸ Ut *Pius IV.* in bulla sua ad Imper. Ferdinandum.

Quod si Imperatoris Ferdinandi modestia tanta est, fortasse, quod artes pontificias non satis norit, ut hanc injuriam ferre possit; Pontifex tamen pro sua sanctitate, injuriam illi facere, et jus sibi alienum arrogare non debebat.

At convocabat quidem tum, inquiet aliquis imperator concilia, quod Romanus episcopus nondum ad istam magnitudinem pervenisset: tamen ne tum quidem aut una sedebat ^a cum episcopis in concilio, aut omnino in deliberatione auctoritatem suam ullam in partem interponebat. Immo vero, ut Theodoretus ait, imperator Constantinus ¹ in Concilio Nicæno non solum una sedebat, sed etiam episcopos, quemadmodum causa ex apostolicis prophetisque literis cognoscenda esset, admonebat. In disputationibus, inquit, de rebus divinis, propositam nobis habemus, quam sequamur doctrinam Spiritus Sancti. Evangelici enim et apostolici libri, et prophetarum oracula satis ostendunt, quid nobis de voluntate Dei sit sentiendum. Theodosius imperator, ut ait Socrates ², non solum sedit inter episcopos, sed etiam causæ disceptationi præfuit ^b et hæreticorum scripta laceravit, et Catholicorum sententiam comprobavit.

In Chalcedonensi concilio ³ magistratus civilis Dioscorum, Juvenalem, Thalassium, episcopos, sua sententia pro hæretices condemnavit, eosque de illo gradu Ecclesiæ dejiciendos ^c esse censuit.

In Constantinopolitano concilio 3tio, civilis magistratus Constantinus non solum sedit inter episcopos, sed etiam subscripsit cum episcopis: Legimus, inquit et subscripsimus. In concilio Arausicano 2do, legati principum, viri patricii, non tantum sententiam de religione dixerunt, sed etiam inter episcopos subscripserunt. Sic enim in illo concilio scribitur ad extremum; Petrus Marcellinus, Felix, Liberius, viri clarissimi, et illustres præfecti prætorii Galliarum, atque patricii, consentientes subscripserunt. Syagrius, Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus, Cariatho, Marcellus, viri clarissimi, subscripserunt.

Quod si præfecti prætorii et viri patricii subscribere in concilio potuerunt, imperatores, et reges non poterunt? Non sane opus erat, rem ita perspicuam tot verbis et tam prolixè prosequi, nisi nobis res cum illis esset, qui omnia clarissima, etiam ea quæ

^a Barrow, vol. vi. p. 326—38.

¹ Hist. Ecc. l. i. c. 7. Vide Euseb. de Vita Con. l. iii. c. 10. 12, 13. Edit. Vales.

² Socrates, l. v. c. 10.

^b Barrow, vol. vi. p. 338—54.

³ Vide Evagr. Ecc. Hist. l. ii. c. 4. Actione I. ^c Barrow, vol. vi. p. 364—8.

vident quæque oculis usurpant, tamen contentionis et vincendi studio negare solent. Imperator Justinianus legem tulit de corrigendis moribus, et de frænanda insolentia sacerdotum; et quamvis esset Christianus et Catholicus imperator, tamen duos Papas successores Petri, vicarios Christi, Sylverium et Vigilium, de Papatu dejecit.

Jam vero qui auctoritatem sumunt in episcopos: qui a Deo accipiunt mandata de religione: qui reducunt arcam Dei, componunt sacros Psalmos, præsentunt sacerdotibus, ædificant templa, habent conciones de cultu Dei: qui templa repurgant, demoluntur excelsa, incendunt lucos: qui sacerdotes admonent officii, et illis scribunt leges vitæ: qui prophetas impios occidunt: qui episcopos summoveant: qui cogunt concilia episcoporum: qui cum episcopis una sedent, eosque quid agendum sit, instituunt: qui episcopum hæreticum adjudicant supplicio: qui de religione cognoscunt: qui subscribunt: qui pronunciant: atque hæc omnia, non alieno jussu, sed nomine suo, et recte, et pie faciunt: an ad eos dicemus religionis curam non pertinere? aut magistratum Christianum, qui hisce rebus sese admisceat, aut improbe, aut immodeste, aut impie facere? His rebus imperatores et reges, antiquissimi et Christianissimi, sese admiscuerunt: non tamen ea causa unquam notati sunt aut impietatis, aut immodestiæ. Et quis quærat, vel principes magis Catholicos, vel exempla illustriora?

Quod si hoc illis licebat, cum essent civiles tantum magistratus, et præessent rebus publicis: quid hodie peccaverunt nostri principes, quibus, cum eo loco sint, idem tamen non liceat? Aut quæ tanta vis doctrinæ, judicii, sanctitatis est in istis, ut præter consuetudinem omnium veterum et Catholicorum episcoporum, qui cum principibus viris de religione deliberarunt, nunc principes Christianos a causæ cognitione, et a suo congressu rejiciant? Sed recte illi cavent sibi, regnoque suo, quod alioqui vident brevi esse ruiturum. Nam si illi, quos Deus in altissimo gradu collocavit, viderent, atque intelligerent istorum artes: contemni ab illis jussa Christi: obscurari et extinguere lucem evangelii: sibi fucum fieri: imprudentibus illudi, atque obstrui aditum ad regnum Dei: nunquam illi se vel ita superbe despici, vel ita contumeliose haberi ludibrio, ita facile paterentur. Nunc autem illi eos inscitia et cæcitate obstrictos sibi habent atque obnoxios.

Nos quidem, uti diximus^a, de mutanda religione, nihil

^a See above, p. 340.

temere aut insolenter, nihil nisi cunctanter, et magna cum deliberatione fecimus: neque id unquam animum induxissemus facere, nisi nos et manifesta, atque indubitata voluntas Dei nobis in sacrosanctis Scripturis patefacta, et salutis nostræ ratio coegisset. Etsi enim discessimus ab illa Ecclesia, quam isti appellant Catholicam, et ea re nobis, apud illos qui judicare non possunt, invidiam facimus; tamen id satis est nobis, (satisque esse debet homini prudenti et pio, et de æterna vita cogitanti,) nos ab ea Ecclesia discessisse, quæ errare potuerit, quam Christus, qui errare non potest, tanto ante prædixerit erraturam, quamque nos ipsi oculis perspicue videbamus a sanctis Patribus, ab Apostolis, a Christo ipso, a primitiva et Catholica Ecclesia discessisse. Accessimus autem, quantum maxime potuimus, ad Ecclesiam apostolorum, et veterum Catholicorum episcoporum, et Patrum, quam scimus adhuc fuisse integram, utque Tertullianus ait, incorruptam virginem, nulla dum idololatria, nec errore gravi ac publico contaminatam: nec tantum doctrinam nostram, sed etiam sacramenta, precumque publicarum formam ad illorum ritus et instituta direximus. Utque Christum ipsum, et omnes fere pios fecisse scimus, religionem ab istis turpiter neglectam et depravatam, ad originem, et ad primordia revocavimus. Inde enim putavimus instaurationem petendam esse, unde prima religionis initia ducta essent. Hæc enim ratio, inquit antiquissimus Pater Tertullianus, valet adversus omnes hæreses: id esse verum, quodcunque primum: id esse adulterum, quodcunque posterius. Irenæus sæpe ad antiquissimas Ecclesias provocavit, quæ Christo fuissent viciniore, quasque credibile vix esset erravisse. Jam vero, cur ea hodie ratio non initur? Cur ad antiquarum Ecclesiarum similitudinem non redimus? Cur id a nobis hodie audiri non potest, quod olim in concilio Nicæno, a tot episcopis, et Catholicis Patribus, nullo refragante, pronuntiatum est, ἡ θη ἀρχαῖα κρατεῖρω. Esdras cum reficere vellet ruinas templi Dei, non misit Ephesum, quamvis ibi esset Dianæ templum pulcherrimum, et ornatissimum: cumque vellet sacra et cæremonias restituere, non misit Romam, quamvis fortasse audisset ibi esse hecatombas, solitaurilia, lectisternia, supplicationes, et libros Numæ Pompilii rituales. Satis ille sibi putavit fore, si exemplar veteris templi, quod ab initio Solomon ad Dei præscriptum excitaverat, et veteres illos ritus ac cæremonias, quas Deus ipse Mosi nominatim scripserat, haberet ante oculos, et sequeretur.

Aggæus propheta, cum jam templum ab Esdra reffectum esset,

et populo causa oblata satis justa videri potuisset, sibi de tanto Dei Optimi Maximi beneficio gratulandi: tamen excussit omnibus lacrymas, quod qui erant adhuc superstites, et priora templi aedificia, antequam a Babyloniis diriperetur, viderant, meminissent, multum adhuc ab ea pulchritudine abesse, quæ olim fuerat. Tum enim demum putassent, templum egregie instauratum, si ad pristinum exemplar, et veterem templi majestatem respondisset.

Divus Paulus ut cœnam Domini, quam Corinthii jam tum cœperant corrumpere, repurgaret, proposuit illis institutionem Christi, quam sequerentur: Id, inquit¹, ego vobis tradidi, quod acceperam a Domino. Et Christus, ut Pharisæorum errorem refelleret: Ad initia, inquit, redeundum est: ab initio non fuit sic.

Utque sacerdotum sordes, et avaritiam coargueret, et templum purgaret: Hæc, inquit, ab initio, domus orationis fuit, ut populus omnis pie ac caste precaretur: atque ita vos oportebat nunc quoque eam instituere. Non enim ea causa extructa fuit, ut esset spelunca latronum.

Sic omnes in sacris Scripturis pii, et laudati principes, eo maxime nomine laudati sunt, quod ambulassent in viis David patris sui; videlicet quod ad primordia et ad fontes rediissent, et religionem in integrum restituissent.

Itaque nos cum videremus omnia ab istis prorsus esse pessundata, et in templo Dei, præter miseram ruinam, nihil esse reliqui: consultissimum esse duximus, ut illas nobis Ecclesias proponeremus, quas certo sciremus, et non errasse, et missas privatas, et preces ignotas ac barbaras, et istam sacrorum corruptionem, atque alias ineptias non habuisse.

Et cum templum Domini cuperemus in integrum restitutum, non aliud fundamentum quærere voluimus quam quod jam olim ab Apostolis sciremus esse jactum, quod est Servator noster Jesus Christus.

Cumque audiremus Deum ipsum nobis loquentem in verbo suo, et videremus exempla illustra veteris et primitivæ Ecclesiæ: incerta autem esset concilii generalis expectatio, et eventus multo incertior: maxime vero, cum certi essemus de voluntate Dei, et nefas esse duceremus ninium sollicitos esse, atque anxios de sententiis hominum: non potuimus amplius cum carne et sanguine deliberare: illud potius fecimus, quod et recte possit fieri, et a piis hominibus, et catholicis episcopis sæpe multis factum esset: ut provinciali synodo nostris Ecclesiis prospiceremus. Sic enim

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 23.

veteres Patres scimus solitos esse experiri, antequam ad publicum orbis terrarum concilium veniretur. Extant hodie canones scripti in conciliis municipalibus, Carthagine sub Cypriano, Ancyrae, Neocæsariæ, Gangræ etiam in Paphlagonia, ut quidam putant, antequam Nicæni concilii Œcumenici nomen auditum esset. Ad hunc modum olim sine concilio generali statim domi privata disceptatione occursum est Pelagianis et Donatistis. Sic cum imperator Constantinus aperte studeret Auxentio Arianarum partium episcopo, Ambrosius episcopus Christianus, non ad concilium generale, (in quo, videlicet, propter imperatoris potentiam, et studium partium videbat nihil posse fieri) sed ad clerum, populumque suum, hoc est, ad provincialem synodum provocavit. Sic decretum est in concilio Nicæno, ut in singulos annos bis, in Carthaginensi, ut minimum semel, episcoporum conventus in singulis provinciis haberentur: quod Chalcedonense concilium ait, ea causa fuisse factum, ut si qui errores aut abusus uspiam emersissent, statim in ipso vestigio, ubi nati fuissent, extinguerentur. Ita, cum Secundus et Palladius Aquileiense concilium, quod non esset generale ac publicum, repudiarent; Ambrosius episcopus Mediolanensis respondit, non debere illud novum cuiquam videri, aut peregrinum, si occidentis episcopi convocent synodos, et agant conventus provinciales: id enim antea et ab occidentalibus episcopis non raro, et a Græcis sæpe factum esse. Ita Carolus Magnus imperator concilium habuit provinciale in Germania, contra concilium Nicænum secundum, de tollendis imaginibus. Nec nobis quidem prorsus inaudita, aut nova est ea ratio. Nos enim habuimus aliquando in Anglia synodos provinciales ^a, et domesticis legibus Ecclesias nostras ordinavimus. Quid multis? Certe concilia illa plenissima et maxima, et quibus isti solent tantopere gloriari, si cum omnibus Ecclesiis, quæ per totum orbem terrarum agnoscunt et confitentur nomen Christi, conferantur; quid obsecro aliud videri possunt, quam privata quædam episcoporum concilia, et synodi provinciales? Nam etsi forte Italia, Gallia, Hispania, Anglia, Germania, Dania, Scotia conveniat: absit autem Asia, Græcia, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Ægyptus, Æthiopia, India, Mauritania, quibus in locis omnibus, et Christiani homines multi sunt, et episcopi: quomodo potest cuiquam sano hujusmodi concilium videri generale? Aut cum

^a See *Twisden on Schism*, *Barrow on the Pope's Supremacy*, &c. &c. But the best proof of this is seen in the Collections printed of the decrees and canons of these synods and provincial councils by Sir Henry Spelman, Dr. David Wilkins (4 vols. fol.), Johnson's Collection (2 vols. 8vo.), &c.

tot partes orbis absint, quomodo possunt vere dicere, se habere consensum orbis terrarum? Aut quale tandem erat illud concilium proximum Tridentinum? Aut quomodo dici potuit generale, cum ad illud ex omnibus regnis et regionibus Christianis, quadraginta tantum episcopi convenissent, et ex illis aliqui ita diserti, ut remittendi esse viderentur ad Grammaticos: ita vero docti, ut nunquam perlegerint sacras literas? Quicquid est, veritas evangelii Jesu Christi non pendet a conciliis; aut, ut Paulus ait ¹, ab humano die. Quod si illi, quibus Ecclesia Dei curæ esse oportuit, sapere nolint, et officio suo defuerint, atque animos suos contra Deum et ejus Christum obfirmaverint, et rectas vias Domini pervertere perrexerint: Deus lapides excitabit, et pueros infantes disertos faciet; ut semper existant aliqui, a quibus istorum mendacia refutentur. Potest enim Deus, non solum sine conciliis, sed etiam invitis conciliis, et tueri, et promovere regnum suum. Multæ, inquit Solomon ², sunt cogitationes in humano corde: sed Domini consilium manet firmum. Non enim est sapientia, non est prudentia, non est consilium contra Dominum. Humanis operibus, inquit Hilarius ³, exstructa non durant: aliter ædificanda, aliter conservanda Ecclesia est. Ea enim posita est ⁴ in fundamentis Apostolorum et Prophetarum, et continetur uno angulari lapide, Christo Jesu. Multa vero clarissime et ad hæc tempora appositissime D. Hieronymus: Quoscunque, inquit ⁵, Diabolus deceperit, et quasi suavi et pernicioso carmine Sirenarum illexerit ad dormiendum, eos excitat sermo divinus, et dicit: Surge qui dormis, elevare, et illuminabit te Christus. In adventu ergo Christi, et sermonis Dei, et doctrinæ Ecclesiasticæ, et summationis Ninivæ speciosissimæ meretricis, elevabitur et prosperabit populus, qui sub magistris antea fuerat sopitus; et ibit ad montes Scripturarum; ibi inveniet montes Mosen, et Jesum filium Nave: montes Prophetas: montes Novi Testamenti, Apostolos et Evangelistas. Et cum ad tales montes confugerit, et in hujusmodi montium fuerit lectione versatus: si non invenerit qui eum doceat, (messis enim erit multa, operarii pauci:) tamen et populi studium comprobabitur, quod confugerint ad hujusmodi montes, et magistrorum negligentia coarguetur. Hæc Hieronymus, ita perspicue, ut nihil opus sit interprete: ita ad ea, quæ nos jam oculis videmus evenisse, accommodate, ut nobis quidem

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 3.

² Prov. xix. 21.

³ Hilarius in Psal. cxxvi.

⁴ Ephes. ii. 20.

⁵ In Prophetam Naum. c. 3. ad finem ca. Eph. v. 14.

videatur, universum statum temporum nostrorum, et ornatissimæ illius meretricis Babylonicæ ruinam, et Ecclesiæ Dei instaurationem, et cæcitatem atque ignaviam episcoporum, et studium atque alacritatem populi, quasi Spiritu prophetico prædicere, et ante oculos nostros constituere voluisse. Quis enim tam cæcus est, ut non videat istos illis magistros esse, a quibus populus, ut Hieronymus ait, in errorem inductus sit, et consopitus : aut Nini-ven istorum Roman pulcherrimis aliquando fucatam coloribus, nunc detracta persona, et melius videri, et minoris fieri : aut homines pios excitatos tanquam e gravi somno ad lucem evangelii, et ad voces Dei, nihil expectatis hujusmodi magistrorum conciliis, contulisse se ad montes Scripturarum ?

At saltem (inquiet aliquis) injussu Romani pontificis ista tentari non oportuit : illum enim unum esse nodum et vinculum societatis Christianæ : illum unum esse sacerdotem illum Levitici generis, quem Deus significaverit in Deuteronomio, a quo concilium in rebus arduis et veritatis judicium petendum sit : si quis illius judicio non obtemperet, illum in conspectu fratrum suorum oportere interfici : illum, quicquid agat, non posse a quoquam mortalium judicari : Christum in cœlis regnare, illum in terris : illum unum posse, quicquid Christus, aut Deus ipse potest : illius enim et Christi unum esse consistorium : sine illo nullam esse fidem, nullam spem, nullam Ecclesiam : qui ab illo discedat eum abjicere et repudiare salutem suam. Hæc canonistæ, parasiti Pontificum : non nimium modeste illi quidem ; vix enim plura, certe non ampliora, potuissent de Christo ipso dicere.

Nos quidem non voluptatis illius humanæ, aut commodi causa a Pontifice discessimus. Atque utinam potius ille ita se gereret, ne opus esset discessione. Verum ita res erat : nos, nisi illo relicto, non potuimus ad Christum pervenire. Neque ille nunc aliud foedus nobiscum ferire vult, quam quale olim Rex Ammonitarum Naas ferire voluit ¹ cum Jabensibus, ut illis omnibus dextros oculos effoderet. Eripere enim vult nobis sacras Scripturas, evangelium salutis nostræ, et omnem illam spem quam habemus in Christo Jesu. Aliis enim conditionibus pacem non posse convenire.

Nam quod quidam tantopere solent prædicare, Papam solum esse successorem Petri, quasi ea causa Spiritum Sanctum in sinu gerat, et errare non possit, leve ac nugatorium est. Animo pio,

¹ 1 Reg. xi. 2.

ac Deum timenti, promissa est Dei gratia ; non cathedris et successionibus. Divitiæ, inquit Hieronymus, potentiores episcopum facere possunt : omnes tamen episcopi, quicumque sunt, sunt successores Apostolorum. Quod si locus et inauguratio sola satis est ; et Manasses successit Davidi, et Caiaphas Aaroni, et idolum sæpe stetit in templo Dei. Archidamus olim Lacedæmonius, multa de se prædicabat, quod esset ex Hercule oriundus : ejus insolentiam ita refutabat Nicostratus : atqui tu ex Hercule oriundus non videris : nam ille malos homines interfecit, tu ex bonis malos facis. Cumque Pharisei jactarent successiones suas et genus, et sanguinem Abrahami ; Vos, inquit Christus¹, quæritis me interficere, hominem qui veritatem vobis locutus sum, quam audiavi a Deo : hoc Abraham nunquam fecit : vos ex patre diabolo estis, et ejus voluntati vultis obsequi.

Tamen ut aliquid successioni largiamur, an solus Papa successit Petro ? Qua ergo in re : qua in religione : in qua functione : in qua parte vitæ illi successit ? Quid unquam aut Petrus Papæ simile habuit, aut Papa Petro ? Nisi hoc forte velint dicere : Petrum, cum esset Romæ, nunquam docuisse evangelium : nunquam pavisse gregem : abstulisse claves regni cœlorum : abscondisse thesauros domini sui : tantum sedisse in Laterano, et omnia spatia purgatorii, et suppliciorum genera digito descripsisse : animas miseras, alias in cruciatum relegasse : alias accepta mercede, repente pro arbitrio exemisse : missas privatas, quæ in omnibus angulis dicerentur, tradidisse : sacra mysteria summissa voce, et aliena lingua mussitasse : Eucharistiam in omnibus templis et altaribus collocasse : eamque ante se, quocunque incederet, in asturcone gradario cum luminibus et tintinnabulis circumtulisse : oleum, ceram, lanam, campanas, calices, templa, altaria, sacro anhelitu consecrasse : jubilea, gratias, immunitates, expectationes, præventiones, annatas, pallia, usum palliorum, bullas, indulgentias, diplomata vendidisse : sese caput Ecclesiæ, et summum Pontificem, et episcoporum episcopum, et solum sanctissimum appellasse : in alienas Ecclesias jus et auctoritatem sibi usurpasse : ab omni se civili potestate exemisse : bella gessisse : principes inter se commisisse : in aurata sella corona lemniscata, apparatu Persico, regali sceptro, aureo diademate, lucentibus gemmis in hominum nobilium cervicibus equitasse. Hæc scilicet

¹ Joh. viii. 40, 41.

Petrus olim Romæ fecit, eaque successoribus suis quasi per manus tradidit! Hæc enim a Papis hodie Romæ fiunt: atque ita fiunt, quasi aliud fieri nihil debeat.—Aut, nisi hoc malint fortasse dicere, Papam ea nunc facere omnia, quæ olim scimus fecisse Petrum: discurrere in omnes terras: docere evangelium, non tantum publice sed etiam privatim per singulas domos: instare opportune, importune, tempestive, intempestive: opus facere evangelistæ: implere ministerium Christi: esse speculatorem domus Israel: accipere oracula, et voces Dei, easque ut acceperit, ita populo reddere: esse sal terræ: esse lucem mundi: non seipsum pascere, sed gregem: non implicare se civilibus negotiis hujus vitæ: non exercere dominium in populum Domini: non id quærere, ut sibi ab aliis ministretur, sed ipsum potius aliis ministrare: omnes episcopos putare socios esse suos, et pares: subjectum esse principibus tanquam a Deo missis: reddere quod Cæsaris est, Cæsari: quodque veteres episcopi Romani sine exceptione fecerunt, imperatorem Dominum suum appellare. Hæc nisi nunc Papæ faciant, et nisi ea quæ diximus Petrus fecerit, nihil est quod de nomine Petri, et de ista successione tantopere glorientur.

Quod autem de secessione nostra querantur, et nos ad societatem et fidem suam revocent, multo minus. Cobilonem, aiunt, quendam, Lacedæmonium, cum fœderis ferendi causa missus esset legatus ad regem Persarum, et aulicos forte invenisset ludentes alea, statim re infecta, rediisse domum: rogatum cur neglexisset ea facere quæ publice acceperat in mandatis, respondisse, quod ignominiosum existimasset id fore reipublicæ, si fœdus percussisset cum aleatoribus. At, si nos ad Pontificem, Pontificiosque errores redire animum induceremus, et fœdus non tantum cum aleatoribus sed etiam cum hominibus longe nequioribus feriremus; esset id nobis non tantum ad famam ignominiosum, sed etiam ad inflammandam adversus nos iram Dei, et ad opprimendam extinguendamque conscientiam nostram perniciosum. Nam nos quidem discessimus ab illo, quem videbamus multa jam secula cæcasse orbem terrarum; ab illo, qui nimium insolenter dicere solebat, se errare non posse et quidquid ageret non posse se a quoquam mortali, non a regibus, non ab imperatoribus, non a toto clero, non ab universo populo judicari; non, si mille animas secum abduceret ad inferos: ab illo, qui sibi imperium sumebat, non tantum in homines, sed etiam in Angelos Dei, ut irent, redirent, ducerent animas in

purgatorium, et easdem reducerent, cum ipse vellet: quem Gregorius clarissime dicebat esse præcursorem et antesignanum Antichristi, et a fide Catholica defecisse: a quo Coryphæi nostri^a illi, qui evangelio, atque agnitæ veritati se opponunt, ad unum omnes jampridem ultro, et libenter discesserunt: et nunc etiam ab eodem non inviti discederent, nisi eos inconstantiae nota, et pudor, et populi de se existimatio impediret. Postremo, ab illo discessimus, cui obstricti non eramus, quique præter genium quendam loci^b, et successionem, quod pro se diceret nihil habuit. Et nos quidem ab illo longe omnium justissime discessimus. Nostri enim reges, illi etiam qui auctoritatem et fidem episcoporum Romanensium observantissime sequebantur, satis jam olim senserunt jugum et tyrannidem regni Pontificii. Romani enim episcopi et Henrico regi nostro, ejus nominis secundo, diadema de capite detraxerunt, eumque abjecta omni majestate, privato tantum habitu, ut esset suis omnibus ludibrio, ad legatum suum venire demissum et supplicem voluerunt. Et in regem nostrum Joannem, episcopos et monachos, et nonnullam etiam partem nobilitatis armaverunt, et populum omnem jurejurando quo illi erant obstricti, liberarunt; eumque postremo nefarie per summum scelus, non tantum regno, sed etiam vita exuerunt: et Henricum ejus nominis octavum, nobilissimum principem, diris et fulminibus defixerunt: et in illum, modo Cæsarem, modo Gallum commoverunt; quodque in ipsis erat, regnum nostrum prædæ ac direptioni exposuerunt: homines insani ac fatui, qui aut tantum regem, larvis, et crepitaculis perterrefieri posse crederent, aut tantum regnum tam facile uno quasi bolo devorari. Et quasi hæc omnia non essent satis, universam etiam provinciam vectigalem habere voluerunt: et ex ea quotannis census injustissimos exegerunt. Tanti, videlicet, nobis constitit amicitia urbis Romæ. Quod si illi nobis ista imposturis, et malis artibus extorserunt, nihil causæ est, cur non illis eadem legitimis rationibus, et bonis legibus possint eripi^c. At si ea illis reges nostri in illa caligine superiorum temporum, inducti opinione aliqua simulatæ illorum sanctitatis, religionis ergo, ultro, et liberaliter donaverunt; postea, animadverso errore, a posteris regibus, qui eadem potestate sunt, possunt auferri. Irrita enim est donatio, nisi donatoris voluntate com-

^a The Popish bishops and others, who had conformed to Protestantism under Henry VIII. and Edward VI.

^b See *Barrow*, vol. vi. p. 292—312, above, No. VIII. in this volume.

^c Compare *Ecclesiastical Biography*, i. 24, 5; iii. 212—4. edit. 1839.

probetur ; voluntas autem videri non potest, quam error obfuscet atque impedit.

Habes, Christiane lector, non esse novum, si hodie postliminio restituta, et quasi renascens religio Christiana contumeliis et convitiis accipiat : id enim et Christo ipsi, et Apostolis accidisse. Tamen ne tu te istis adversariorum nostrorum clamoribus abduci, et tibi imponi patiaris, exposuimus tibi universam rationem religionis nostræ : quid de Deo Patre, quid de ejus unico Filio Jesu Christo, quid de Ecclesia, quid de sacramentis, quid de ministerio, quid de sacris Scripturis, quid de cæremoniis, quid de omni parte persuasionis Christianæ sentiamus. Diximus nos omnes antiquas hæreses, quas aut sacrosanctæ Scripturæ, aut vetera concilia condemnarunt, ut pestes et pernicies animorum detestari : nos disciplinam Ecclesiasticam, quam adversarii nostri prorsus enervarunt, quantum maxime possumus, revocare : et omnem vitæ licentiam, et dissolutionem morum, priscis et avitis legibus, et ea qua par est, quaque possumus severitate vindicare : nos regnorum statum, eo, quo accepimus, loco, sine imminutione ulla, aut mutatione retinere : et principibus nostris majestatem, quantum maxime possumus, incolumem conservare : nos ab illa Ecclesia, quam isti speluncam latronum fecerant, et in qua nihil integrum, aut Ecclesiæ simile reliquerant, quamque ipsi fatebantur multis in rebus erravisse, ut Lothum olim e Sodoma, aut Abrahamum e Chaldæa, non contentionis studio, sed Dei ipsius admonitu discessisse : et ex sacris libris, quos scimus non posse fallere, certam quandam religionis formam quæsisse, et ad veterum Patrum, atque Apostolorum primitivam Ecclesiam, hoc est, ad primordia atque initia, tanquam ad fontes rediisse. Auctoritatem autem in ea re, aut consensum concilii Tridentini (in quo videremus nihil recte, atque ordine geri, ubi ab omnibus in unius nomen juraretur, ubi legati principum nostrorum contemnerentur, ubi nemo nostrorum theologorum audiretur, ubi aperte partibus atque ambitioni studeretur) non expectasse : sed quod olim sancti Patres, quodque majores nostri sæpe fecerunt, provinciali conventu nostras Ecclesias restituisset : episcopi vero Romani (cui obstricti non eramus, quique nihil habebat nec Christi, nec Petri, nec Apostoli, nec omnino episcopi simile) jugum et tyrannidem, pro eo, ac debuimus, excussisse. Postremo, nos inter nos, de omnibus dogmatis et capitibus religionis Christianæ convenire, et uno ore, unoque spiritu colere Deum, et Patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi.

Quare, Christiane ac pie lector, cum videas rationes et causas,

et restitutæ apud nos religionis, et secessionis ab istis nostræ: mirari non debes, si Christo nostro obtemperare maluimus, quam hominibus. Paulus nos admonuit, ne variis istis doctrinis nos abduci pateremur: utque illos imprimis fugeremus, qui sererent dissensiones præter illam doctrinam quam a Christo et Apostolis accepissent. Jamdudum, ut noctua ad orientem Solem, ita istorum imposturæ dilabuntur, et fugiunt ad aspectum, et lucem Evangelii: et quamvis ad cælum usque exstructæ atque exaggeratæ sint; tamen levi momento, et quodammodo sua sponte corruunt. Non enim putare debes ista omnia temere, aut casu accidisse. Dei hæc voluntas fuit, ut invitis prope omnibus, Evangelium Jesu Christi in orbem terrarum his temporibus spargere-tur. Itaque divinis vocibus admoniti homines sese ultro ad Christi doctrinam contulerunt.

Nos quidem non gloriam ex ea re quæsimus, non opes, non voluptates, non otium. Hæc enim isti habent abunde omnia: et nos ea, cum apud illos essemus, multo largius et prolixius habebamus. Neque nos consensionem et pacem fugimus: sed pacis humanæ causa, cum Deo belligerari nolumus. Dulce quidem, inquit Hilarius, est nomen pacis: sed aliud est, inquit, pax; aliud servitus. Nam ut (quod isti quærent) Christus tacere jubeatur: ut prodatur veritas Evangelii: ut errores nefarii dissimulentur: ut Christianorum hominum oculis imponatur: ut in Deum aperte conspiretur, non ea pax est, sed iniquissima pactio servitutis. Est quædam, inquit Nazianzenus, pax inutilis: est quoddam utile dissidium. Nam paci cum exceptione studendum est, quantum fas sit, quantumque liceat: alioqui Christus ipse, non pacem in mundum attulit, sed gladium. Quare si nos Papa secum in gratiam redire velit, ipse prius in gratiam redire debet cum Deo. Hinc enim, inquit Cyprianus, schismata oriuntur, quia caput non quæritur, et ad fontem sacrarum Scripturarum non reditur: et cœlestis magistri præcepta non servantur. Non enim, inquit, pax ea est, sed bellum: nec Ecclesiæ jungitur, qui ab Evangelio separatur. Isti vero cauponari tantum solent nomen pacis. Pax enim illa quam tantopere quærent, otiosorum tantum est ventrum tranquillitas. Nam hæc omnia inter nos facile componi possent, nisi ambitio, venter, luxus impedirent: hinc illæ lacrymæ; animus est in patinis. Id scilicet clamant, atque obstrepunt, ut male parta fœdius et nequius tueantur. Queruntur hodie de nobis indulgentiarii, datarii, quæstores, lenones, alique qui quæstum putant esse pietatem, nec Jesu Christo serviunt, sed suo ventri.

Olim enim isti generi hominum fuit quæstus uberrimus apud sæculum prius. Nunc autem quicquid Christo accedit, id omne sibi detractum putant. Id hodie Pontifex ipse queritur; refrixisse, videlicet, pietatem, redditus suos angustiores jam esse, quam solebant. Itaque nos in odium rapit, quantum potest, et onerat contumeliis, et condemnat pro hæreticis: ut qui causam non intelligunt, putent, nullos esse homines nequiores. Nos tamen interim ea causa nec pudet, nec certe pudere debet Evangelii: Dei enim gloriam pluris facimus, quam existimationem hominum. Scimus ista vera esse omnia, quæ docemus: nec possumus aut vim facere conscientiæ nostræ, aut testimonium dicere contra Deum. Nam si nos negamus¹ partem aliquam Evangelii Jesu Christi coram hominibus, ille nos vicissim negabit coram Patre suo. Quod siqui sunt, qui offendi velint, et Christi doctrinam non ferant; cæci sunt, et duces cæcorum: veritas tamen prædicanda, et præ nobis ferenda est, et patienter expectandum est tribunal Dei.

Interim isti videant quid agant, et de salute sua cogitent, et desinant odisse ac persequi Evangelium Filii Dei, ne illum aliquando sentiant vindicem, et ultorem causæ suæ. Deus se haberi ludibrio non sinet. Jamdudum homines vident, quid agatur. Ista flamma, quanto magis reprimitur, tanto magis magisque erumpit, atque evolat. Infidelitas istorum non frustrabitur fidem Dei. Quod si duritiam istam animorum ponere, et Christi Evangelium recipere recusabunt; publicani, et peccatores antevertent illis in regno Dei.

Deus, et Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi illis omnibus oculos aperiatur, ut videre possint beatam illam spem, ad quam vocati sunt: ut una omnes glorificemus unum illum et verum Deum, eumque quem de cælo ad nos demisit, Jesum Christum: cui una cum Patre, et Sancto Spiritu, reddatur omnis honor, et gloria in omnem æternitatem. Amen.

¹ Matt. x. 33.

XII.

A PREFACE TO THEM THAT SEEK (AS THEY TERM IT) THE REFORMATION OF THE LAWS AND ORDERS ECCLESIASTICAL IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

“The country parson, if there be any of his parish that hold strange doctrines, uses all diligence to reduce them to the common faith. The *first* means he uses is prayer, beseeching the Father of lights to open their eyes, and to give him power so to fit his discourse to them, that it may effectually pierce their hearts, and convert them. The *second* means is a very loving and sweet usage of them, both in going to, and sending for them often, and in finding out courtesies to place on them; as in their tithes, or otherwise. The *third* means is the observation, what is the main foundation and pillar of their cause, whereon they rely:—as, if he be a Papist, the Church is the hinge he turns on: if a schismatic, scandal.—Wherefore the parson has diligently examined these two with himself: as, ‘What the Church is? How it began? How it proceeded? Whether it be a rule to itself? Whether it has a rule? Whether, having a rule, it ought not to be guided by it? Whether any rule in the world be obscure; and how then should the best be so; at least in fundamental things?—the obscurity in some points being the *exercise* of the Church, the light in the foundation being the *guide*;—the Church needing both an evidence, and an exercise.’—So for scandal:—‘What scandal is? When *given* or *taken*? Whether, there being two precepts, one of obeying authority, the other of not giving scandal, *that* ought not to be preferred, especially since in disobeying there is scandal also? Whether things once indifferent, being made by the precept of authority more than indifferent, it be in our power to omit or refuse them?’—These and the like points, he has accurately digested, having ever besides two great helps and persuaders on his side;—the one, a strict religious life; the other an humble and ingenuous search of truth.” GEORGE HERBERT.

THOUGH for no other cause^a, yet for this; that posterity may know we have not loosely through silence permitted things to

^a The editor possesses here, by the generous indulgence of Mr. Keble, the same advantage which he acknowledged on a former occasion (vol. i. p. 90.) namely, that of printing from sheets of the complete edition of *Hooker's* Works, which Mr. K. is now (1836) superintending at the Oxford University press. The notes in brackets, thus [], are borrowed from Mr. Keble.

pass away as in a dream, there shall be for men's information extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established amongst us, and their careful endeavour which would have upheld the same. At your hands, beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, (for in Him the love which we bear unto all that would but seem to be born of Him, it is not the sea of your gall and bitterness that shall ever drown,) I have no great cause to look for other than the selfsame portion and lot, which your manner has been hitherto to lay on them that concur not in opinion and sentence with you. But our hope is, that the God of peace shall (notwithstanding man's nature too impatient of contumelious malediction) enable us quietly, and even gladly, to suffer all things for that work sake which we covet to perform.

2. The wonderful zeal and fervour wherewith ye have withstood the received orders of this Church, was the first thing which caused me to enter into consideration, whether (as all your published books and writings peremptorily maintain) every Christian man, fearing God, stand bound to join with you for the furtherance of that which ye term the Lord's discipline. Wherein I must plainly confess unto you that before I examined your sundry declarations in that behalf, it could not settle in my head to think, but that undoubtedly such numbers of otherwise right well affected and most religiously inclined minds had some marvellous reasonable inducements, which led them with so great earnestness that way. But when once, as near as my slender ability would serve, I had with travail and care performed that part of the apostle's advice and counsel in such cases, whereby he willeth to "try all things¹," and was come at the length so far, that there remained only the other clause to be satisfied, wherein he concludes that "what good is must be held;" there was in my poor understanding no remedy, but to set down this as my final resolute persuasion: "Surely the present form of Church-government which the laws of this land have established is such, as no law of God nor reason of man hath hitherto been alleged of force sufficient to prove they do ill, who to the uttermost of their power withstand the alteration thereof." Contrariwise, "The other, which instead of it we are required to accept, is only by error and misconceit named the ordinance of Jesus Christ, no one proof as

¹ 1 Thess. v. 21.

yet brought forth whereby it may clearly appear to be so in very deed ^a."

3. The explication of which two things I have here thought good to offer into your own hands, heartily beseeching you even by the meekness of Jesus Christ, whom I trust ye love; that, as ye tender the peace and quietness of this Church, if there be in you that gracious humility which has ever been the crown and glory of a Christianly-disposed mind, if your own souls, hearts, and consciences (the sound integrity whereof can but hardly stand with the refusal of truth in personal respects) be, as I doubt not but they are, things most dear and precious unto you: "Let not the faith which ye have in our Lord Jesus Christ," be blemished "with partialities ¹;" regard not who it is which speaks, but weigh only what is spoken. Think not that ye read the words of one who bends himself as an adversary against the truth which ye have already embraced; but the words of one who desires even to embrace together with you the selfsame truth, if it be the truth; and for that cause (for no other God he knows) has undertaken the burdensome labour of this painful kind of conference. For the plainer access whereunto, let it be lawful for me to rip up to the very bottom, how and by whom your discipline was planted, at such time as this age we live in began to make first trial thereof.

II. A founder it had ^b, whom for mine own part, I think in-

^a Compare Bishop *Cooper's* Preface to his Admonition to the People of England, 4to. 1589. "What is the cause why we be with such spight and malice discredited? Surely, because, as the duty of faithful subjects doth bind us, living in the state of a Church reformed, we do endeavour to preserve those laws, which Her Majesty's authority and the whole state of the realm hath allowed and established; and do not admit a new platform of government, devised I know not by whom.

"The reasons that move us so to do are these two. First, we see no proof brought out of the word of God, that of necessity such form of government ought to be. Secondly, that by the placing of the same, it would bring so many alterations and inconveniences, as in our opinion would be dangerous to the prince, and to the realm.—Some of those inconveniences I have in this treatise laid down."

¹ James ii. 1.

^b Of the origin and progress of the Puritan controversy, as connected with the proceedings of Calvin at Geneva, see *Bancroft's* Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline, chap. 2. p. 3—38. 4to. 1593. *Covell's* Modest and Reasonable Examination, 4to. 1604. p. 32—45, 69—74; also his Just and Temperate Defence of Mr. Richard Hooker, 1603, 4to. p. 129—38. "Of Calvin and the

comparably the wisest man that ever the French Church did enjoy since the hour it enjoyed him. His bringing up was in the study of the civil law. Divine knowledge he gathered, not by hearing or reading, so much as by teaching others. For, though thousands were debtors to him, as touching knowledge in that kind: yet he to none but only to God, the Author of that most blessed fountain the Book of Life, and of the admirable dexterity of wit, together with the helps of other learning which were his guides: till being occasioned to leave France, he fell at the length upon Geneva; which city the bishop and clergy thereof had a little before (as some do affirm) forsaken, being of likelihood frightened with the people's sudden attempt for abolishment of Popish religion: the event of which enterprize they thought it not safe for themselves to wait for in that place. At the coming of Calvin thither, the form of their civil regiment was popular, as it continues at this day: neither king, nor duke, nor nobleman of any authority or power over them, but officers chosen by the people yearly out of themselves, to order all things with public consent. For spiritual government, they had no laws at all agreed upon, but did what the pastors of their souls by persuasion could win them unto. Calvin being admitted one of their preachers, and a divinity reader amongst them, considered how dangerous it was that the whole estate of that Church should hang still on so slender a thread, as the liking of an ignorant multitude is, if it have power to change whatsoever itself listeth. Wherefore taking unto him two of the other ministers¹ for more countenance of the action, (albeit the rest were all against it,) they moved, and in the end persuaded² with much ado, the people to bind themselves by solemn oath, first never to admit the Papacy amongst them again; and secondly, to live in obedience unto such orders concerning the exercise of their religion, and the form of their ecclesiastical government, as those their true and faithful ministers of God's word had agreably to scripture set down for that end and purpose.

Reformed Churches:" and the extremely valuable remarks and historical statements of Dr. *Durell*, in his very useful and instructive work, *A View of the Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas*, 1662. 4to. p. 151—74.

¹ Farel and Courant. Beza. *Vit. Calv.* prefixed to his works. Gen. 1617: from which most of these particulars are taken.

² 20 July, 1537.

2. When these things appear to be put in ure, the people also (what causes moving them thereunto, themselves best know) began to repent them of that they had done, and irefully to champ upon the bit they had taken into their mouths; the rather, for that they grew by means of this innovation into dislike with some Churches near about them, the benefit of whose good friendship their state could not well lack.

It was the manner of those times (whether through men's desire to enjoy alone the glory of their own enterprizes, or else because the quickness of their occasions required present dispatch; so it was,) that every particular Church did that within itself, which some few of their own thought good, by whom the rest were all directed. Such number of Churches then being, though free within themselves, yet small, common conference beforehand might have eased them of much after trouble. But a greater inconvenience it bred, that every later endeavoured to be certain degrees more removed from conformity with the Church of Rome, than the rest before had been: whereupon grew marvellous great dissimilitudes, and by reason thereof, jealousies, heart-burnings, jars and discords amongst them. Which, notwithstanding, might have easily been prevented, if the orders, which each Church did think fit and convenient for itself, had not so peremptorily been established under that high commanding form^a, which tendered them unto the people as things everlastingly required by the law of that Lord of lords, against whose statutes there is no exception to be taken: for by this mean it came to pass that one Church could not but accuse and condemn another of disobedience to the will of Christ, in those things where manifest difference was between them; whereas the self-same orders allowed, but yet established in more wary and suspense manner, as being to stand in force till God should give the opportunity of some general conference what might be best for every of them afterwards to do; this, I say, had both prevented all occasion of just dislike which others might take, and reserved a greater liberty unto the authors themselves of entering into farther consultation afterwards. Which, though never so necessary, they could not easily now admit, without some fear of

^a The doctrine, namely, of divine right, in its strictest sense, as claiming to be deduced expressly from Holy Scripture. See *Sanderson's Judgment on the Divine Right of Episcopacy*, above, vol. iii. p. 215. and note there.

derogation from their credit; and, therefore, that which once they had done, they became for ever after resolute to maintain.

Calvin, therefore, and the other two, his associates, stiffly refusing to administer the holy communion to such as would not quietly, without contradiction and murmur, submit themselves unto the orders which their solemn oath had bound them to obey, were in that quarrel banished the town.

3. A few years after¹ (such was the levity of that people) the places of one or two of their ministers being fallen void, they were not before so willing to be rid of their learned pastor, as now importunate to obtain him again from them who had given him entertainment, and which were loath to part with him, had not irresistible earnestness been used. One of the town ministers, that saw in what manner the people were bent for the revocation of Calvin, gave him notice of their affection in this sort.—“The senate of two hundred being assembled, they all crave Calvin. The next day a general convocation; they cry in like sort again all, ‘We will have Calvin, that good and learned man, Christ’s minister.’” “This,” says he, “when I understood, I could not choose but praise God, nor was I able to judge otherwise than that ‘this was the Lord’s doing, and that it was marvellous in our eyes,’ and that ‘the stone which the builders refused, was now made the head of the corner².’” The other two whom they had thrown out, (together with Calvin,) they were content should enjoy their exile. Many causes might lead them to be more desirous of him. First, his yielding unto them in one thing might happily put them in hope, that time would breed the like easiness of condescending further into them; for in his absence he had persuaded them, with whom he was able to prevail, that albeit himself did better like of common bread to be used in the Eucharist, yet the other they rather should accept, than cause any trouble in the Church about it³. Again, they saw that the name of Calvin waxed every day greater abroad, and that together with his fame, their infamy was spread, which had so rashly and childishy ejected him. Besides, it was not unlikely but that his credit in the world might many ways stand the poor

¹ [1541, 1 May. Spon. II. 25.]

² Luke xx. 17. [Psalm cxviii. 22, 23.]

³ [“Calvinus bonos nonnullos istâ mutatione usque adeò offensos, ut etiam à cœnâ sibi abstinendum putarent, seriò monuit, ne ob istud ἀδιάφορον litem moverent.” Beza. Vit. Calv.]

town in great stead ; as the truth is, their ministers' foreign estimation hitherto has been the best stake in their hedge. But whatsoever secret respects were likely to move them, for contenting of their minds Calvin returned (as it had been another Tully) to his old home.

4. He ripely considered how gross a thing it were for men of his quality, wise and grave men, to live with such a multitude, and to be tenants at will under them, as their ministers, both himself and others had been. For the remedy of which inconvenience he gave them plainly to understand, that if he did become their teacher again, they must be content to admit a complete form of discipline, which both they and also their pastors should now be solemnly sworn to observe for ever after. Of which discipline the main and principal parts were these:—a standing ecclesiastical court to be established ; perpetual judges in that court to be their ministers ; others of the people to be annually chosen (twice so many in number as they) to be judges together with them in the same court : these two sorts to have the care of all men's manners, power of determining all kind of ecclesiastical causes, and authority to convent, to control, to punish, as far as with excommunication, whomsoever they should think worthy, none either small or great excepted.

This device I see not how the wisest at that time living could have bettered, if we duly consider what the present estate of Geneva did then require. For their bishop and his clergy being (as it is said) departed from them by moonlight, or howsoever, being departed, to choose in his room any other bishop, had been a thing altogether impossible : and for their ministers to seek that themselves alone might have coercive power over the whole Church, would perhaps have been hardly construed at that time. But when so frank an offer was made, that for every one minister there should be two of the people to sit and give voice in the ecclesiastical consistory, what inconvenience could they easily find which themselves might not be able always to remedy ?

Howbeit (as evermore the simpler sort are, even when they see no apparent cause, jealous notwithstanding over the secret intents and purposes of wiser men) this proposition of his did somewhat trouble them. Of the ministers themselves which had stayed behind in the city when Calvin was gone, some, upon knowledge of the people's earnest intent to recall him to his place again, had before hand written their letters of submission, and assured him of

their allegiance for ever after, if it should like him to hearken unto that public suit. But yet misdoubting what might happen, if this discipline did go forward, they objected against it the example of other reformed Churches living quietly and orderly without it. Some of chiefest place and countenance amongst the laity professed with greater stomach their judgments, that such a discipline was little better than Popish tyranny disguised, and tendered unto them under a new form¹. This sort, it may be, had some fear, that the filling up of the seats in the consistory with so great a number of laymen, was but to please the minds of the people, to the end they might think their own sway somewhat; but when things came to trial of practice, their pastors' learning would be at all times of force to over-persuade simple men, who, knowing the time of their own presidentship to be but short, would always stand in fear of their ministers' perpetual authority; and among the ministers themselves, one being so far in estimation above the rest, the voices of the rest were likely to be given for the most part respectively, with a kind of secret dependency and awe: so that in show a marvellous indifferently composed senate ecclesiastical was to govern, but in effect^a one only man should, as the spirit and soul of the residue, do all in all. But what did these vain surmises boot? Brought they were now to so strait an issue, that of two things they must choose one—namely, whether they would to their endless disgrace, with ridiculous lightness, dismiss him whose restitution they had in so impotent manner desired; or else condescend unto that demand, wherein he was resolute either to have it, or to leave them. They thought it better to be somewhat hardly yoked at home, than for ever abroad discredited. Wherefore in the end those orders were

¹ [*Capito*, of Basle, writes thus to Farel in Calvin's Epist. p. 6. "Auditis, 'tyranni esse voluistis in liberam Ecclesiam, voluistis novum Pontificatum revocare.'" *Beza*: "Non deerant . . . qui Papisticam tyrannidem sic revocari clamarent."]

^a "The Presbyterian have the greatest power of any clergy in the world.—For example: admit there be twelve laymen to six presbyters, the six shall govern the rest as they please. First, because they are constant, and the others come in like churchwardens in their turns: this is a huge advantage; men will give way to them who have been in place before them. Next, the laymen have other professions to follow: the presbyters make it their sole business; and besides, too, they learn and study the art of persuading.—Some of Geneva have confessed as much." *Selden's Table Talk*; art. 'Presbytery,' § 2.

on all sides assented unto, with no less alacrity of mind than cities unable to hold out longer are wont to show, when they take conditions such as it likes him to offer them which has them in the narrow straits of advantage.

5. Not many years were over-passed, before these twice-sworn men adventured to give their last and hottest assault to the fortress of the same discipline, childishly granting by common consent of their whole senate, and that under their town seal, a relaxation to one Bertelier, whom the eldership had excommunicated¹; further also decreeing, with strange absurdity, that to the same senate it should belong to give final judgment in matter of excommunication, and to absolve whom it pleased them,—clean contrary to their own former deeds and oaths. The report of which decree being forthwith brought unto Calvin,—“Before,” says he, “this decree take place, either my blood or banishment shall sign it.” Again, two days before the communion should be celebrated, his speech was publicly to like effect: “Kill me if ever this hand do reach forth the things that are holy to them whom the Church hath judged despisers².” Whereupon, for fear of tumult, the forenamed Bertelier was by his friends advised for that time not to use the liberty granted him by the senate, nor to present himself in the Church, till they saw somewhat further what would ensue. After the communion quietly ministered, and some likelihood of peaceable ending of these troubles without any more ado, that very day in the afternoon, beside all men’s expectation, concluding his ordinary sermon, he tells them, that because he neither had learned nor taught to strive with such as are in authority, “therefore,” says he, “the case so standing as now it doth, let me use these words of the apostle unto you, ‘I commend you unto God and the word of his grace³;’” and so bade them heartily all adieu⁴.

¹ [*Calv. Epist. p. 163.*]

² [“*Inter concionandum, elatâ voce ac manu, multa de sacris mysteriis eorum contemptores locutus: ‘At ego, inquit, Chrysostomum secutus vim quidem non opponam, sed ultro me potius occidi faciliè patiar, quam hæc manus contemptoribus Dei, rite judicatis, sancta Domini porrigat.’*” *Beza.*]

³ [*Acts xx. 32.*]

⁴ [“*Locum illum insignem Actorum Apostolicorum fortè tractans, in quo Paulus Ecclesiæ Ephesinæ valedicit, testatus se eum non esse, qui adversus magistratum pugnare sciret aut doceret, cætumque multis verbis cohortatus, ut in eâ quam audivisset doctrinâ perseveraret, tandem, veluti postremam hanc concionem Genevæ habiturus, ‘Et quandoquidem, inquit, ita se res*

6. It sometimes comes to pass, that the readiest way which a wise man has to conquer, is to fly. This voluntary and unexpected mention of sudden departure caused presently the senate (for according to their wonted manner they still continued only constant in unconstancy) to gather themselves together, and for a time to suspend their own decree, leaving things to proceed as before till they had heard the judgment of four Helvetian cities¹ concerning the matter which was in strife. This to have done at the first, before they gave assent unto any order, had showed some wit and discretion in them: but now to do it was as much as to say in effect, that they would play their parts on a stage. Calvin therefore dispatches with all expedition his letters unto some principal pastor in every of those cities, craving earnestly at their hands, to respect this cause as a thing whereupon the whole state of religion and piety in that Church did so much depend, that God and all good men were now inevitably certain to be trampled under foot, unless those four cities by their good means might be brought to give sentence with the ministers of Geneva, when the cause should be brought before them: yea so to give it, that two things it might effectually contain; the one an absolute approbation of the discipline of Geneva as consonant unto the word of God, without any cautions, qualifications, ifs or ands; the other an earnest admonition not to innovate or change the same.—His vehement request herein as touching both points was satisfied. For albeit the said Helvetian Churches did never as yet observe that discipline, nevertheless, the senate of Geneva having required their judgment concerning these three questions: First, “After what manner, by God’s commandment, according to the Scripture and unspotted religion, excommunication is to be exercised:” Secondly, “Whether it may not be exercised some other way than by the consistory:” Thirdly, “What the use of their Churches was to do in this case²:” answer was returned from the said Churches, “That they had heard already of those con-

habent, liceat mihi quoque, fratres, apud vos hæc Apostoli verba usurpare, Commendo vos Deo et sermoni gratiæ ipsius:’ quæ voces tum sceleratos illos mirificè perculerunt, tum bonos etiam tanto magis seriò officii admonuerunt.” *Beza.*]

¹ [Zurich, Berne, Schaffhausen, Basle. See the letters from Calvin to Viret and Bullinger, and the case submitted to the Church of Zurich, with Bullinger’s answer, in Calvin’s *Epistles*, p. 163—71.]

² *Epist.* 166.

sistorial laws, and did acknowledge them to be godly ordinances drawing towards the prescript of the word of God; for which cause they did not think it good for the Church of Geneva by innovation to change the same, but rather to keep them as they were¹." Which answer, although not answering unto the former demands, but respecting what Master Calvin had judged requisite for them to answer, was notwithstanding accepted without any further reply: inasmuch as they plainly saw, that when stomach does strive with wit, the match is not equal. And so the heat of their former contentions began to slake.

7. The present inhabitants of Geneva, I hope, will not take it in evil part, that the faultiness of their people heretofore is by us so far forth laid open, as their own learned guides and pastors have thought necessary to discover it unto the world. For out of their books and writings it is that I have collected this whole narration, to the end it might thereby appear in what sort amongst them that discipline was planted, for which so much contention is raised amongst ourselves. The reason which moved Calvin herein to be so earnest, was, as Beza himself testifies², "For that he saw how needful these bridles were, to be put in the jaws of that city." That which by wisdom he saw to be requisite for that people, was by as great wisdom compassed.

But wise men are men, and the truth is truth. That which Calvin did for establishment of his discipline, seems more commendable^a than that which he taught for the countenancing of it

¹ [Bullinger to Calvin, Epist. p. 170: "Dudum audivisse nos de legibus istius Ecclesiæ consistorialibus, et agnoscere illas pias esse, et accedere ad verbi Dei præscriptum: ideoque non videri admittendum ut per innovationem mutantur." Calvin's own statement of the affair may be found in his correspondence, p. 163—72.]

² "Quod eam urbem viderit omnino his frænis indigere."

^a "As the bishops of Rome by their practices did grow in greatness, so their parasites by their flattering did draw and wrest the Scriptures to maintain their pride: inasmuch that of later times, even as children do imagine

That the bells do ring

Whatsoever they will sing,

so there is almost nothing in the Scriptures mentioned, no not from the sun in the firmament, to a piece of silver found in the mouth of a fish that was caught with an angle in the sea, but that the schoolmen and other Popish writers do presently conceive with themselves, that it tends to the setting forth of the Pope's great power and glory. You have heard in the second chapter, by what arguments Master Calvin induced the ministers and magistrates of Zurich, and so likewise, (as I take it,) of the *other three* cities there

established. Nature works in us all a love to our own counsels. The contradiction of others is a fan to inflame that love. Our love set on fire to maintain that which once we have done, sharpens the wit to dispute, to argue, and by all means to reason for it. Wherefore a marvel it were if a man of so great capacity, having such incitements to make him desirous of all kind of furtherances unto his cause, could espy in the whole Scripture of God nothing which might breed at the least a probable opinion of likelihood, that divine authority itself was the same way somewhat inclinable. And all which the wit even of Calvin was able from thence to draw, by sifting the very utmost sentence and syllable, is no more than that certain speeches there are which to him did seem to intimate that all Christian Churches ought to have their elderships endued with power of excommunication, and that a part of those elderships every where should be chosen out from

mentioned, to write as they did, for the obtaining of his presbytery at Geneva. *It then sufficed him*, that they were content to say but this much for his sake; "that this platform of discipline did but *cast an eye*, as it were, *toward the word of God.*" He neither urged them with the Jews' Sanhedrim, nor with their synagogues, nor with "Tell the Church," nor with "The elders that rule well," nor with any such persuasions. It is true, that, although when he first devised that platform (1537), I suppose he had not thought of many places in the Scriptures whereupon he might build it, yet before his said practices with them of Zurich (1553, &c.), he had, in some of his commentaries and other writings, made mention of those places specified; but yet he had done it very modestly, rather thereby to prove his *own* platform to be *lawful*, than to *impeach* the form of Church-government allowed of and established in *any other* reformed Churches; so that, when he dealt with them of Tigurine, forasmuch as he himself was persuaded that the form of government then at Geneva, was not only in itself lawful, but for that place also *most fit and convenient*; he *alleged not any one text of Scripture*, for the *continuance* of it there, but only showed *what mischief* would ensue in that place, *if it were abolished*; and therefore craved their assistance, in manner and form, as he gave them direction. Marry, *after it* was by his means more fully established, *then*, for the better preservation of it, *you would hardly bethink it*, what *wringing and wresting* there hath since been made of the Scriptures, to underprop it with *this translation*, with *that note*, with *such an interpretation*, and with *such a collection*. Insomuch as now there is seldom mention made of *elders* in the Old or New Testament, of the words *congregation* and *Church*, of the greatest and chiefest *judges*, of *bishops*, of *rulers*, of *thrones*, and of the *kingdom of Christ*, but Master Beza, Junius, Danæus, Cartwright, Travers, and all their scholars, do think they hear a sound that ringeth out most plainly in their ears a formal peal of their presbyterial platform." *Bancroft's Survey*, p. 397—9.

amongst the laity, after that form which himself had framed Geneva unto. But what argument are ye able to show, whereby it was ever proved by Calvin, that any one sentence of Scripture does necessarily enforce these things, or the rest wherein your opinion concurs with his against the orders of your own Church?

8. We should be injurious unto virtue itself, if we did derogate from them whom their industry has made great. Two things of principal moment there are which have deservedly procured him honour throughout the world: the one his exceeding pains in composing the Institutions of Christian religion; the other his no less industrious travails for exposition of Holy Scripture according unto the same Institutions. In which two things whosoever they were that after him bestowed their labour, he gained the advantage of prejudice against them, if they gainsaid; and of glory above them, if they consented. His writings published after the question about that discipline was once begun omit not any the least occasion of extolling the use and singular necessity thereof. Of what account the Master of Sentences^a was in the

^a "*Petri Lombardi* Episcopi Parisiensis *Sententiarum Libri IV.* quibus auctor ille in divinis Scripturis exercitatissimus universæ Theologiæ Summam ex orthodoxorum Patrum Decretis atque sententiis mirabili compendio et arte complexus est; ut jure optimo *Magister Sententiarum* meruerit cognominari." Fol. 1552. 2nd edit.

"Now out of this esteem (so hardly are we taught to keep a mean), proceeded this intolerable fault, that many were desirous, in an opinion of his worth, that all Churches, together with his learning, should swallow up, without making choice, whatsoever other imperfections remained in him. So that of what account Peter Lombard was in the Church of Rome, whom for singular reverence they called the Master of the Sentences, of the same or more, amongst the preachers of reformed Churches, Master Calvin was: and they only were judged the perfectest divines, who were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost were reputed the very canon for controversies to be judged by. To this extremity, and far greater, the partial affection of love carried a number of wise men . . . and doubtless, in some weak minds that which at first was but praise, in the end was not many steps short of idolatry." *Covel's Just and Temperate Defence of Mr. Richard Hooker.* 1603. 132, 3. Compare *Casaubon's Epistles*, 353, 4. 433, 4. 607, 8. This whole topic is admirably treated by *Bishop Sanderson*, in a Sermon preached in the year 1632.

"There is I confess much reverence to be given to the writings of the godly ancient Fathers; more to the canons and decrees of general and provincial councils; and not a little to the judgment of learned, sober, and godly divines of later and present times, both in our own and other reformed Churches. But we may not *jurare in verba*, build our faith upon them as

Church of Rome, the same and more amongst the preachers of reformed Churches Calvin had purchased; so that the perfectest divines were judged they, which were skilfullest in Calvin's writings. His books almost the very canon to judge both doctrine and discipline by. French Churches, both under others abroad and at home in their own country, all cast according to that mould which Calvin had made. The Church of Scotland^a

upon a sure foundation; nor pin our belief upon their sleeves; so as to receive for an undoubted truth whatsoever they hold, and to reject as a gross error, whatsoever they disallow, without further examination. St. John biddeth us *try the spirits before we believe them*. (1 John iv.) And the Bereans are remembered with praise for so doing. (Acts xvii.) We blame it in the schoolmen, that *some* adhere pertinaciously to the opinions of Thomas, and *others* as pertinaciously to the opinions of Scotus, in every point wherein they differ; insomuch as it were *grande piaculum*, a heinous thing, and not to be suffered, if a Dominican should dissent from Thomas, or a Franciscan from Scotus, though but in one single controverted conclusion. And we blame it justly: for St. Paul blamed the like sidings and partakings in the Church of Corinth, (whilst one professed himself to be of Paul, another of Apollos, another of Cephas,) as a fruit of carnality, unbeseeming Christians. And is it not also blameworthy in us, and a fruit of the same carnality, if any of us shall affect to be rigid Lutherans, or perfect Calvinists; or give up our judgment to be wholly guided by the writings of Luther or Calvin, or of any other mortal man whatsoever? Worthy instruments they were both of them of God's glory, and such as did excellent service to the Church in their times, whereof we yet find the benefit: and we are unthankful, if we do not bless God for it: and therefore it is an unsavoury thing for any man to gird at their names, whose memories ought to be precious. But yet were they not men? Had they received the Spirit in the *fulness* of it, and not *by measure*? Knew they otherwise than *in part*, or prophesied otherwise than *in part*? Might they not in many things, did they not in some things, mistake and err? Howsoever, the Apostle's interrogatories are unanswerable: '*What,*' (says he,) '*was Paul crucified for you?*' or, were ye *baptized in the name of Paul?*'—Even so, was either Luther or Calvin crucified for you? or were ye baptized into the name of Luther or Calvin, or any other man? that any of you should say, I am of Luther, or any other; I am of Calvin; and I of *him*; and I of *him*?—What is Calvin or Luther; nay, what is Paul, or Apollos, *but ministers by whom ye believed?* that is to say, *instruments*, but not lords of your belief." p. 306, 7. edit. 1686. fol. See also the same author, De Obligatione Conscientiæ. Prælect. III. § 29—31. Also Ecclesiastical Biography, Index in v. *Calvin*.

^a See *Bancroft's Survey*, p. 48—51. Also his *Dangerous Positions*, p. 9—33.

Of a portion of the proceedings in that country, *Bancroft*, in his Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, Feb. 9, 1558, has given us the following account, taken from an authorised declaration published by the Scottish king:

"About some six or seven years ago, certain men of the new government,

in erecting the fabric of their reformation took the self-same pattern. Till at length the discipline, which was at the first so weak, intending the erection of these Presbyteries in Scotland, began their parts' and proceeded as follows :

" They did greatly inveigh against the superiority of bishops, and likewise repined at the king's authority in causes ecclesiastical. Whereupon, in his minority, a certain number of ministers, gathering to themselves certain gentlemen and divers others, did erect by their own authority their ecclesiastical senates ; and usurping all the whole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, did alter the laws of their own pleasures, without the knowledge and approbation, either of the king or state.

" They likewise took upon them to discharge the estate of bishops, and to declare the same to be unlawful ; directing their commissioners to the king, and commanding him and the council, under pain of excommunication, never afterwards to appoint any more bishops, because they had concluded that estate to be unlawful.

" They prescribed laws to the king and state, and appointed general fastings throughout the realm, when they thought good ; especially when some factioners in the country were to move any great enterprize.

" Besides divers of the ministers having preached very factious and seditious doctrine, and being in that respect called before the king, to answer the complaints made against them, they utterly disclaimed the king's authority, as an incompetent judge ; alleging for themselves, that for such matters as were spoken in the pulpit, they ought to be exempt from the judgment and correction of princes, denying his authority flatly in causes ecclesiastical.

" The king giving commandment upon the Saturday, to certain noblemen for the feasting of the ambassador of France in Edinburgh on the next Monday after ; a number of the presbytery understanding thereof, assembled themselves together on Sunday in the morning, and presumptuously caused the ministers to proclaim a fast to be held the same Monday, and could by no means be entreated to alter their determination therein. So as, whilst the lords and the chief of the city, according to the king's commandment, were about the entertainment of the ambassador, the ministers, one after another all the day long, in their several sermons, were bitterly inveighing against them ; and had it not been for the king's great importunity, they had been all excommunicated.

" But yet another prank which they played passed all these. The king, with the advice of his estates in parliament, having resolved upon a certain fact committed by some of his subjects, that it was treason,—these men in their assembly, (esteeming their judgment to be the sovereign judgment of the realm,) did not only approve the same fact as lawful, contrary to the said act of parliament, but ordained all them to be excommunicated, who would not subscribe to their determination therein.

" When the king saw what course these men held, and how, notwithstanding the equality they pretended, they sought altogether their own advancement : how they erected that in themselves, which they had dejected in the bishops ; how they took more upon them, than ever the bishops had done ; how they did imitate preposterously the Papal jurisdiction ; how, under the

that without the staff of their approbation, who were not subject unto it themselves, it had not brought others under subjection, began now to challenge universal obedience, and to enter into open conflict with those very Churches, which in desperate extremity had been relievers of it.

9. To one of those Churches which lived in most peaceable sort, and abounded as well with men for their learning in other professions singular, as also with divines whose equals were not elsewhere to be found, a Church ordered by Gualter's discipline, and not by that which Geneva adores; unto this Church, the Church of Heidelburgh, there comes one who craving leave to dispute publicly, defends with open disdain of their government, that "to a minister with his eldership power is given by the law of God to excommunicate whomsoever, yea even kings and princes themselves¹." Here were the seeds sown of that controversy which sprang up between Beza and Erastus about the matter of excommunication, whether there ought to be in all Churches an

pretence of their presbyteries, they trod upon his sceptre, and laboured to establish an ecclesiastical tyranny of an infinite jurisdiction, such as neither the law of God or man could tolerate; and perceiving withal, that the new erected government was the mother of all faction, confusion, sedition, and rebellion; that it was an introduction to Anabaptism and popularity; that it tended to the overthrow of his state and realm, and to the decay of his crown; and that he must either discharge himself of the crown, or the ministry of that form of government;—by the consent and act of parliament, (1589,) he overthrew their presbyteries, and restored the bishops again to their places.—All this you may find more at large set down by the king himself in his said declaration." *Hickes's Collection of Tracts*, p. 293, 4. 8vo. 1709.

¹ ["Accidit, ut Anglus quidam, qui propter rem vestiarum ex Angliâ ferebatur excessisse, doctoris titulo cuperet insigniri, et de adiaphoris et vestibus disputationem proponeret. Hanc theologi admittere noluerunt, ne scilicet Anglos offenderent, . . . ut autem nostræ res turbarentur, pro nihilo, ut videtur, duxerunt. Quare inter alias hanc thesin proposuit; oportere in quâvis rectè constitutâ Ecclesiâ hanc servari procuracionem, in quâ ministri cum suo delecto ad eam rem presbyterio jus teneant, quosvis peccantes, etiam principes, excommunicandi." *Erastus*, Præf. Thesium. The dispute occurred A. D. 1568. But the work was not published till after Erastus' death, 1589: the dispute having been quieted for the time by the interference of the Church of Zurich, and Frederic, Elector Palatine. Beza replied, 1590, by his tract, "de verâ Excommunicatione et Christiano Presbyterio:" in the preface to which he charges the publisher of Erastus' work as follows, "An boni et pii homines auctores tibi fuerunt, ut clam ista excuderet? ut pro Londini, vel alterius in Angliâ civitatis nomine, Pseudonymum fictitium supponeret?" And in a letter to Whitgift, (*Strype*, Whitg. III. 302,) he intimates

eldership having power to excommunicate, and a part of that eldership to be of necessity certain chosen out from amongst the laity for that purpose. In which disputation they have, as to me it seems, divided very equally the truth between them; Beza most truly maintaining the necessity of excommunication, Erastus as truly the non-necessity of lay-elders to be ministers thereof.

10. Amongst ourselves there was in King Edward's days some question moved by reason of a few men's scrupulosity^a touching certain things. And beyond seas^b, of them which fled in the days of Queen Mary, some contenting themselves abroad with the use of their own service-book at home authorized before their departure out of the realm, others liking better the Common Prayer-book of the Church of Geneva^c translated, those smaller contentions before begun were by this means somewhat increased. Under the happy reign of Her Majesty^d which now is, the greatest matter awhile contended for was the wearing of the cap and surplice, till there came Admonitions directed unto the high court of Parliament, by men who concealing their names thought it glory enough to discover their minds and affections, which now were universally bent even against all the orders and laws, wherein this Church is found unconformable to the platform of Geneva¹. Concerning the defender^e of which Admonitions, all

the same: and Whitgift in his reply (II. 168.) allows it, though disclaiming all connivance at the publication on his own part.]

^a See *Fox* in Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. ii. p. 437—41, and notes (ii. 361—9. edit. 1839.)

^b See *Fox* in Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. iii. p. 383, and vol. iv. p. 36 (iii. 78—9. and 337—8).

^c This is printed in vol. ii. of the *Phoenix*, p. 204—59. 8vo. 1708.

^d See *Walton's* Life of Hooker in Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. iv. p. 217, &c. and notes (476—7. edit. 1839). See also a valuable letter of Hutton, Dean of York, to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, Oct. 6, 1575, in *Murdin's* State Papers, p. 262, &c.

^e Thomas Cartwright. See Ecclesiastical Biography, index, *Cartwright*.

¹ [Bishop Cooper, Adm. to the People of England, p. 160, takes the following view of the gradual advance of Puritanism. "At the beginning some learned and godly preachers, for private respects in themselves, made strange to wear the surplice, cap, or tippet: but yet so that they declared themselves to think the thing indifferent, and not to judge evil of such as did use them." (He seems to mean Grindal, Sandys, Parkhurst, Nowel, and others, 1562.) "Shortly after rose up other," (Sampson, Humfrey, Lever, Whittingham, &c.) "defending that they were not things indifferent, but distained with antichristian idolatry, and therefore not to be suffered in the Church. Not long after came another sort," (Cartwright, Travers, Field, &c.) "affirming that those matters touching apparel were but trifles, and not

that I mean to say is but this:—there will come a time when three words uttered with charity and meekness shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit. But the manner of men's writing must not alienate our hearts from the truth, if it appear they have the truth; as the followers of the same defender do think he has; and in that persuasion they follow him, no otherwise than himself does Calvin, Beza, and others, with the like persuasion that they in this cause had the truth. We being as fully persuaded otherwise, it rests that some kind of trial be used to find out which part is in error.

III. The first mean whereby nature teaches men to judge good from evil, as well in laws as in other things, is the force of their own discretion. Hereunto, therefore, St. Paul refers oftentimes his own speech, to be considered of by them that heard him. "I speak as to them which have understanding, judge ye what I say¹?" Again afterward, "Judge in yourselves, is it comely that a woman pray uncovered²?" The exercise of this kind of judgment our Saviour requires in the Jews³. In them of Berea the Scripture commends it⁴. Finally, whatsoever we do, if our own secret judgment consent not unto it as fit and good to be done, the doing of it to us is sin, although the thing itself be allowable. St. Paul's rule therefore generally is, "Let every man in his own mind be fully persuaded of that thing which he either alloweth or doth⁵."

2. Some things are so familiar and plain, that truth from falsehood, and good from evil, is most easily discerned in them, even by men of no deep capacity. And of that nature, for the

worthy contention in the Church, but that there were greater things far of more weight and importance, and indeed touching faith and religion, and therefore meet to be altered in a church rightly reformed; as the Book of Common Prayer, the administration of the Sacraments, the government of the Church, the election of ministers, and a number of other like. Fourthly, now break out another sort," (the Brownists,) "earnestly affirming and teaching that we have no church, no bishops, no ministers, no sacraments; and therefore that all that love Jesus Christ ought with all speed to separate themselves from our congregations, because our assemblies are profane, wicked, and antichristian. Thus have you heard of four degrees for the overthrow of the state of the Church of England. Now lastly of all come in these men that make their whole direction against the living of bishops and other ecclesiastical ministers; that they should have no temporal lands or jurisdiction."]

¹ 1 Cor. x. 15.

² 1 Cor. xi. 13.

³ Luke xii. 56, 57.

⁴ Acts xvii. 11.

⁵ Rom. xiv. 5.

most part, are things absolutely unto all men's salvation necessary, either to be held or denied, either to be done or avoided. For which cause St. Augustine¹ acknowledges that they are not only set down, but also plainly set down in Scripture; so that he who hears or reads may without any great difficulty understand. Other things also there are belonging (though in a lower degree of importance) unto the offices of Christian men; which, because they are more obscure, more intricate, and hard to be judged of, therefore God has appointed some to spend their whole time principally in the study of things divine, to the end that in these more doubtful cases their understanding might be a light to direct others. "If the understanding power or faculty of the soul be," (says the grand physician²) "like unto bodily sight, not of equal sharpness in all, what can be more convenient than that, even as the dark-sighted man is directed by the clear about things visible; so likewise in matters of deeper discourse the wise in heart do show the simple where his way lieth?" In our doubtful cases of law, what man is there who sees not how requisite it is that professors of skill in that faculty be our directors? So it is in all other kinds of knowledge. And even in this kind likewise the Lord has Himself appointed, that "the priest's lips should preserve knowledge, and that other men should seek the truth at his mouth, because he is the messenger of the Lord of hosts³." Gregory Nazianzen, offended at the people's too great presumption in controlling the judgment of them to whom in such cases they should have rather submitted their own, seeks by earnest entreaty to stay them within their bounds: "Presume not ye that are sheep to make yourselves guides of them that should guide you; neither seek ye to overskip the fold which they about you have pitched. It sufficeth for your part if ye can well frame yourselves to be ordered. Take not upon you to judge your judges, nor to make them subject to your laws who should be a law to you; for God is not a God of sedition and confusion, but of order and of peace⁴."

¹ [De peccator. merit. et remiss. tom. x. p. 59, where after mentioning a certain obscure subject, he adds, "Credo, quod etiam hinc divinatorum eloquiorum clarissima auctoritas esset, si homo id sine dispendio promissæ salutis ignorare non posset." And tom. x. p. 71, the marginal note is, "Scripturæ claræ in his quæ ad salutem necessaria sunt."]

² Galen de opt. docen. gen. tom. i. p. 8.

³ Mal. ii. 7.

⁴ Greg. Nazian. Orat. qua se excusat.

3. But ye will say that if the guides of the people be blind, the common sort of men must not close up their own eyes and be led by the conduct of such¹: if the priest be "partial in the law²," the flock must not therefore depart from the ways of sincere truth, and in simplicity yield to be followers of him for his place' sake, and office over them. Which thing, though in itself most true, is in your defence notwithstanding weak; because the matter wherein ye think that ye see, and imagine that your ways are sincere, is of far deeper consideration than any one amongst five hundred of you conceives. Let the vulgar sort amongst you know, that there is not the least branch of the cause wherein they are so resolute, but to the trial of it a great deal more appertains than their conceit does reach unto. I write not this in disgrace of the simplest that way given, but I would gladly they knew the nature of that cause wherein they think themselves thoroughly instructed and are not; by means whereof they daily run themselves, without feeling their own hazard, upon the dint of the apostles' sentence against "evil-speakers as touching things wherein they are ignorant³."

4. If it be granted a thing unlawful for private men, not called unto public consultation, to dispute which is the best state of civil polity⁴, (with a desire of bringing in some other kind than that under which they already live, for of such disputes I take it his meaning was;) if it be a thing confessed, that of such questions they cannot determine without rashness, inasmuch as a great part of them consists in special circumstances, and for one kind as many reasons may be brought as for another; is there any reason in the world why they should better judge what kind of regiment ecclesiastical is the fittest? For in the civil state more insight and in those affairs more experience a great deal must needs be granted them, than in this they can possibly have. When they which write in defence of your discipline and commend it unto the Highest not in the least cunning manner, are forced notwithstanding to acknowledge "that with whom the truth is they know not⁵,"

¹ Matt. xv. 14.

² Mal. ii. 9.

³ Jude 10. 2 Pet. ii. 12.

⁴ Calvin. Instit. lib. iv. cap. xx. § 8. ["Sane valde otiosum esset, quis potissimus sit politiæ in eo quo vivunt loco futurus status, à privatis hominibus disputari: quibus de constituendâ re aliquâ publicâ deliberare non licet."]

⁵ The author of the petition directed to her Majesty, p. 3. ["I do not now write either to pull down bishopricks, or erect presbyteries. With whom the truth is I will not determine, for I know not. What seems most

they are not certain ; what certainty or knowledge can the multitude have thereof ?

5. Weigh what does move the common sort so much to favour this innovation, and it shall soon appear unto you, that the force of particular reasons which for your several opinions are alleged is a thing whereof the multitude never did nor could so consider as to be therewith wholly carried ; but certain general inducements are used to make saleable your cause in gross ; and when once men have cast a fancy towards it, any slight declaration of specialities will serve to lead forward men's inclinable and prepared minds.

6. The method of winning the people's affection unto a general liking of " the cause " (for so ye term it^a) has been this. First,

probable and true to me, that I know. How the truth should come to light, that is the question." This writer was *Penry*. *Bancr. Surv.* 342.]

^a That this term was very much in the mouths and pens of some of the partizans of the Presbyterian discipline we may form a tolerable estimate by a single specimen from a work of which *John Udall* was charged with being the author, and who died in prison in the year 1592. The passage may serve also the further purpose of giving us reason for suspecting that among the followers of " the Cause," were persons to whom nothing but " the Cause " could have given any importance or celebrity whatever in matters of state, or of religion. The title of the book is *A Demonstration of Discipline*. He is describing the occasion which led him to write his work, and the benefits which he hopes may be derived from it.

" When these woeful troubles that were renewed upon us by that wretched *subscription*, that was every where urged, did begin to increase, I thought it meet to betake myself unto that which I had read, or might any way by study find out concerning *the Cause*, and collected all into a brief sum, and referred every thing unto some head and communicating the thing with divers very worthy men, I found encouragement and heartening-on generally by all whom I made acquainted therewith. So that I trust the judgments, yea and wishes also, of others so jumping with mine, many *ministers*, that love *the Cause*, and have not so thoroughly studied it, as were meet they should, may reap some profit thereby.—Now, concerning *private men* that love *the Cause*, some have great affairs in hand, and have no leisure to read the several books of this argument : some when they read are not of sufficient capacity to conceive the force of a reason, or to make use of it, to inform themselves in the grounded knowledge of *the Cause* thereby : some, which is the general fault of our religious gentlemen, will take no pains to read : some are poor, and not able to buy the books which might let him see *the Cause* : all these, I hope, may find help in some measure hereby.—Now, concerning the adversaries unto *the Cause*, they are of two sorts also ; they that know it, and they that are ignorant of it. The former, if they write any thing against it, are contented to deal in so roving a course as may rather

in the hearing of the multitude, the faults, especially of higher callings, are ripped up with marvellous exceeding severity and sharpness of reproof¹; which being oftentimes done begets a great good opinion of integrity, zeal, and holiness^a, to such con-

arise unto great volumes, than roundly to say any thing against *the Cause*: wherein Dr. Whitgift, but especially Dr. Bridges, have given us an evident example: and these, with others of their judgment, (though none in these latter days have written more unlearnedly than they of any argument of divinity whatsoever,) are contented to make the world believe, (if men will be so wilfully seduced,) that our arguments be no arguments; that they be groundless upon false foundations; and that we are not able to conclude *our Cause* in any form of reasoning. The course that is here taken, I trust, shall show that they are liars." Then he goes on to entreat the ministers, favourers of the Cause, that "as they tender the glory of God, and honour of *the Cause* which they stand in, they would diligently employ themselves, that they may be able to defend the same, and so much the rather, for that the adversaries do greatly triumph, when they meet with one that *professes the Cause*, and is not able to defend it." P. 9, with much more of a like nature.

¹ ["A certain writer for reformation . . . writes of noblemen and gentlemen . . . 'Whereof came,' says he, 'this division of such personages from others, seeing all men came of one man and one woman? Was it for their lusty hawking and hunting? for their nimble dicing, and cunning carding? for their singing and dancing? for their open bragging and swearing? for their false fltering and flattering? for their subtle killing and stealing? for their cruel polling and pilling, &c. No, no, there was no such thing.' You would be glad then, I am sure, to know what thing it was: indeed the same author does not conceal it: in effect it is (though it be delivered in better words) viz. that their rebellion and treason against their governors procured them that prerogative with the people: 'Because,' says he, 'they revenged and delivered the oppressed people out of the hands of their governors who abused their authority, and wickedly, cruelly, and tyrannously ruled over them; the people of a grateful and thankful mind gave them that estimation and honour.'" *Bancr. Sur.* p. 7, quoting "A Treatise of Obedience," p. 114. of which treatise, see Strype, *An. i.* 182. 185. It was written by Chr. Goodman against Q. Mary, and published at Geneva, 1558, with a commendatory preface by Whittingham.]

^a If we may give credit to their adversary, Dr. *Bancroft*, there was a good deal of a species of display apparent in the exterior deportment of the Puritans, which was calculated to make an impression upon the vulgar. After remarking that "it is a plausible matter with the people, to hear *them* depraved that are in authority; but especially to understand of any liberty or power which may appertain to themselves;" and that after men have suffered under abuses, "it is an acceptable point to hear the things themselves which were abused, exclaimed against,"—he goes on, "Furthermore also, it is not unknown to any of judgment, what the profession of any extraordinary zeal, and as it were contempt of the world, does work with the multitude. When they

stant reprovers of sin, as by likelihood would never be so much offended at that which is evil, unless themselves were singularly good.

7. The next thing hereunto is, to impute all faults and corruptions, wherewith the world abounds, unto the kind of ecclesiastical government established¹. Wherein, as before, by reprov- ing faults, they purchased unto themselves with the multitude a name to be virtuous; so by finding out this kind of cause they obtain to be judged wise above others; whereas in truth unto the form even of Jewish government, which the Lord himself (they all confess) did establish, with like show of reason they might impute those faults which the prophets condemn in the governors of that commonwealth, as to the English kind of regiment ecclesiastical, (whereof also God himself though in another sort^a is

see men go simply into the streets, looking downward for the most part, wringing their necks awry, shaking their heads, as though they were in some present grief; lifting up the white of their eyes sometimes, at the sight of some vanity as they walk: when they hear them give great groans; cry out against this sin, and that sin, not in them their hearers, but in their superiors; make long prayers; profess a kind of wilful poverty; speaking most earnestly against some men's having too much, and some men too little, (which beats into the people's heads a present cogitation of some division to be made, in time), when, I say, the multitude does see and hear such kind of men, they are, by-and-by, carried away with a marvellous great conceit and opinion of them; especially when withal they take upon them to show a way or manner of discipline, which shall be, forsooth, nothing prejudicial to the people, but rather bring them great liberty; and yet shall be such a way as shall reform all things amiss, and that in such sort as they themselves would either wish or desire." *Bancroft's Survey*, 62.

¹ ["The necessity of the thing is many ways apparent, both in that it has so plentiful warrant from God's own word . . . and also in that the gospel can take no root, nor have any free passage, for want of it: and the greatness of your fault appears by this; that in so doing you are the cause of all the ignorance, atheism, schisms, treasons, popery, and ungodliness, that is to be found in this land." Pref. to *Demonstr. of Discipline*.]

^a See book iii. chap. 3. § 2. "Be it that whatsoever is in the Church of God, if it be not of God, we hate it. Of God it must be; *either* as those things sometime were, which God *supernaturally* revealed, and so delivered them unto Moses for government of the commonwealth of *Israel*; *or else*, as those things which men *find out* by help of that light" (sc. of reason) "which God has given them unto that end. The very law of nature, which no man can deny but God has instituted, is not of God, unless that be of God whereof God is the author, as well this latter way, as the former." Again, book vii. vol. iii. p. 177, edit. 1793. "All things, we grant, which are in the Church, ought to be of God. But, forasmuch as they may be *two* ways

author,) the stains and blemishes found in our state; which springing from the root of human frailty and corruption, not only are, but have been always more or less, yea and (for any thing we know to the contrary) will be till the world's end complained of, what form of government soever take place.

8. Having gotten thus much sway in the hearts of men, a third step is to propose their own form of Church-government, as the only sovereign remedy^a of all evils; and to adorn it with all the glorious titles that may be. And the nature, as of men that have sick bodies, so likewise of the people in the crazedness of their minds possessed with dislike and discontentment at things present, is to imagine that any thing, the virtue whereof they hear commended, would help them; but that most, which they least have tried.

9. The fourth degree of inducement is by fashioning the very notions and conceits of men's minds in such sort, that when they read the Scripture, they may think that every thing sounds towards the advancement of that discipline, and to the utter disgrace of the contrary. Pythagoras, by bringing up his scholars in the speculative knowledge of numbers, made their conceits therein so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things natural, they imagined that in every particular thing they even beheld as it were with their eyes, how the elements of number gave essence and being to the works of nature: a thing in reason impossible; which notwithstanding, through their mis-

accounted such; *one*, if they be of his own institution, and not of ours; *another*, if they be of ours, yet with his approbation: this latter way there is no impediment, but that the same thing which is *of men*, may be also justly and truly said to be *of God*; the *same thing from heaven*, which is *from earth*." So again, in speaking of *Civil Government*: "sometimes it pleases God Himself by special appointment to choose out and nominate such as to whom dominion shall be given, which thing He did often in the commonwealth of Israel. They which in this sort receive power immediately from God, have it by mere *divine right*; they by *human*, on whom the same is bestowed according to men's discretion, when they are left freely by God to make choice of their own governors. By *which of these means soever* it happen that kings or governors be advanced unto their estates, we must acknowledge both their lawful choice to be approved of God, and themselves to be God's lieutenants; and confess their power which they have to be his." Vol. iii. 304, 5. Edit. 1793. Compare also *Hooker's Preface*, chap. x. § 8. above, vol. i. p. 144, 5, and note there.

^a See *Bancroft's Survey*, 450, 2; and for several of the "glorious titles" with which it was adorned, see the same work, 421, 3.

fashioned preconceit, appeared unto them no less certain, than if nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the creatures of God¹. When they of the "Family of Love" have it once in their heads, that Christ does not signify any one person, but a quality whereof^a many are partakers; that to be "raised" is nothing else but to be regenerated, or endued with the said quality; and that when separation of them which have it from them which have it not is here made, this is "judgment:" how plainly do they imagine that the Scripture every where speaks in the favour of that sect? And assuredly, the very cause which makes the simple and ignorant to think they even see how the word of God runneth currently on your side, is, that their minds are forestalled and their conceits perverted beforehand, by being taught, that an "elder" does signify a layman admitted only to the office or rule of government in the Church; a "doctor," one which may only teach, and neither preach nor administer the sacraments; a "deacon," one which has charge of the alms-box, and of nothing else: that the "sceptre," the "rod," the "throne" and "kingdom" of Christ, are a form of regiment, only by pastors, elders, doctors, and deacons; that by mystical semblance Mount Sion and Jerusalem are the Churches which admit, Samaria and Babylon the

¹ *Arist. Metaph. lib. i. cap. 5.*

^a "Christ is nothing with them but obedience to that doctrine which they profess. Which may easily be discerned by H. N.'s" (*Henry Nicholas's*) "description of Him, which is this; *Christus* does signify to us" (says H. N.) "the *safe-making oil* of the *God-saving being* . . . Adam is the old man and disobedience—he, and I, and such-like; but Christ is the New Man and obedience. *Where* that obedience *is*, nothing that He does is sin; and *where* that *is not*, there is nothing but sin. God has nothing so proper unto Him, wherein, by this doctrine of H. N.'s, his illuminate elders be not fellows with Him. Everlasting life, if that we believe Him, is fully felt and possessed in this life. Here is our heaven, and here is our hell. The resurrection is not corporal of the body but spiritual of the mind. Now is Christ come to judgment, and this doctrine is the last trump. They are risen again, and in perfect joy, who have perfectly embraced it; and those have already received their judgment and be in hell, who do resist it. To be guilty of death, by the sin of another, or to be justified by the righteousness of another, is a doctrine not only not received of them but throughout all their books impugned. Our sins, by this doctrine, are answered within us; and no righteousness that shall do us good, is without us. . . . They hold that every man is his own Saviour, and a Christ for himself."—*Knewstab's* Dedication to his *Confutation of monstrous and horrible Heresies, taught by H. N., and embraced of a number who call themselves the Family of Love*, 4to. 1579.

Churches which oppugn the same form of regiment. And in like sort they are taught to apply all things spoken of repairing the walls and decayed parts of the city and temple of God, by Esdras, Nehemias, and the rest; as if purposely the Holy Ghost had therein meant to foreshadow, what the authors of Admonitions to the Parliament, of Supplications to the Council, of Petitions to her Majesty, and of such other-like writs, should either do or suffer in behalf of this their cause.

10. From hence they proceed to a higher point, which is the persuading of men credulous and over-capable of such pleasing errors, that it is the special illumination of the Holy Ghost, whereby they discern those things in the word, which others reading yet discern them not. "Dearly beloved," says St. John, "give not credit unto every spirit¹." There are but two ways whereby the Spirit leads men into all truth; the one extraordinary, the other common; the one belonging but unto some few, the other extending itself unto all that are of God; the one, that which we call by a special divine excellency revelation, the other reason. If the Spirit by such revelation have discovered unto them the secrets of that discipline out of Scripture, they must profess themselves to be all (even men, women, and children) prophets. Or if reason be the hand which the Spirit has led them by; forasmuch as persuasions grounded upon reason are either weaker or stronger according to the force of those reasons whereupon the same are grounded, they must every of them from the greatest to the least be able for every several article to show some special reason as strong as their persuasion therein is earnest. Otherwise how can it be but that some other sinews there are from which that overplus of strength in persuasion does arise? Most sure it is, that when men's affections do frame their opinions, they are in defence of error more earnest a great deal, than (for the most part) sound believers in the maintenance of truth apprehended according to the nature of that evidence which Scripture yields: which being in some things plain, as in the principles of Christian doctrine; in some things, as in these matters of discipline, more dark and doubtful; frames correspondently that inward assent which God's most gracious Spirit works by it as by his effectual instrument. It is not therefore the fervent earnestness of their persuasion, but the soundness of those reasons

¹ 1 John iv. 1.

whereupon the same is built, which must declare their opinions in these things to have been wrought by the Holy Ghost, and not by the fraud of that evil spirit ¹, which is even in his illusions strong ^a.

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 11.

^a We are not without evidence of some very striking instances of this kind; and a few particulars relating to the case of Copinger, one of Cartwright's followers, may be taken as an affecting instance.—Cartwright and several others being now confined in prison, the minds of Copinger, Arthington, &c. were much exercised in devising what could be done in the present exigency. They soon persuaded themselves, that in such circumstances, nothing less than what was very extraordinary could be resorted to. They had appointed a day for fasting and prayer, which they began on Saturday night, and continued till the night of Sunday. The day after Copinger had occasion to go into Kent, and on his return he signified to his fellows how he had been extraordinarily called, both before his going, the same Saturday night, and also in his journey, since he had departed from them: how "God had revealed to him such a secret mystery as was wonderful. By the way," (said he,) "as I rid, I fancied to myself, that there was leave given me, to speak to God in a more familiar manner than at any time before. Also, I persuaded myself that his Spirit did give me many strange directions, wherein the Lord would use me to do service to his most glorious Majesty, and to his Church." With respect to the substance of these revelations, he also told Arthington, &c. that "he knew a way, how to bring the Queen to repentance; and to cause all her council and nobles to do the like out of hand; or else detect *them* to be traitors that refused." (P. 145.) Shortly after another fast being appointed, on this occasion they gave notice of the day to the preachers in prison, and desired them likewise "to commend unto God in their prayers, the holy purposes, which *any*, fearing God, should *in time*, attempt to take in hand, by seeking the glory of God, and the good of the Church." And for themselves the effect of their own prayers in this fast, was "humbly to beseech Almighty God, that *if* He had appointed to use any of them, to do any *special* service to Him, and his, and *to that end* would *extraordinarily* call them; that He would seal up his so calling by some special manner, and by his Holy Spirit; and give such extraordinary graces and gifts as were fit for so weighty an action."

"How the rest of the company sped hereby," (continues our narrator,) "I know not; but Copinger (as he says in his examination) was called again the same night in a dream; the manner whereof he thus describes:—'About the mid part of the night I thought myself in my sleep to be carried into heaven; and there being wonderfully astonished by the majesty of God, and brightness of his glory, I made a loud and most strange noise, &c.: since which time I find every day more and more comfort; and suppose there is somewhat in me to work' (he meaneth some strange reformation). Meanwhile he was not without his cautions and warnings given to him by some of the Puritan ministers themselves. Speaking of one of them, Egerton, he tells us, that he, 'withal most Christianly, wisely, and lovingly persuaded me

11. After that the fancy of the common sort has once thoroughly apprehended the Spirit to be author of their persuasions concerning discipline; then is instilled into their hearts, that the same Spirit leading men into this opinion does thereby

to be careful and circumspect over myself; to take heed lest I was deceived by the subtilty of Satan, and so misled; whereby I might endanger myself both for my liberty, estate, and credit, and also be an hindrance to *the great cause*, which I would seem to be most desirous to further. But withal he concluded, that he would be loath to quench the Spirit of God in me; or to hinder my zeal.' (P. 148.) To such a mind, Mr. Egerton's last words, it is quite certain, would be more than sufficient to nullify all the warnings that went before. Not long after, however, he received a severe check, which did make some not inconsiderable impression. 'Cartwright, Travers, Chark, and Egerton sent him word that they would leave him to himself, or rather to Satan; and that they thought him unworthy to be conferred withal.' But even then he was not left without encouragement and comfort, part of which came from fresh allies, and part even from the same quarter: for there is evidence enough to prove, that even after their last-mentioned threat, they did not cut off all intercourse with Copinger. Even Cartwright condescended to receive fresh questions proposed to him for his consideration. So that the poor man still found himself in circumstances such as enabled him to write to one of his monitors, as follows. 'I do not deny, good sir, but I have now a long time taken a strange and extraordinary course, and such as has offered occasion of suspicion of my not only doing hurt to myself, but also to the best sort of men now in question, and to *the cause itself*. "But, by *what warrant* I have done this, *that is all*. For, *if the Holy Ghost has been my warrant*, and carries me into such actions, as are differing from other men's, *what flesh and blood dare speak against it?* Forbear to censure me and such others as should deal *extraordinarily* with me, in the Lord's business committed to our charge; and *judge of us by the effects* which follow: which if you *hereafter see to be wonderful great*, then let all *ordinary* men call *themselves* to an examination,' &c. And after: 'The waste of the Church cannot be denied to be great, so that there is a place for *extraordinary* men,' &c. Again; 'My desire *heretofore has been to have had counsel and direction*: but now, by comfortable experience, I find that the action which *the Lord hath drawn me into is his own*; and He will direct it Himself by the Holy Ghost. To conclude, I beseech you to open this letter to Master Travers and Master Egerton.' (P. 163.) Again in another letter, in which he refers to the preceding, 'My calling,' (he says,) 'is especially to deal with the magistrates: another has to do with ministers, who has written a letter to you of the city. The third is *the chief, who can neither write nor read**, so that he is the *executioner of the Lord's most holy will*.' (P. 164.) Before, in the same spirit, speaking to one of the ministers of himself and the rest of his lay-conspirators, he thus expresses himself: 'They do hope, in short time, to be

* This was Hacket. See *Cosin's Conspiracy*, p. 48.

seal them to be God's children ; and that, as the state of the times now stands, the most special token to know them that are God's own from others is an earnest affection that way. This has bred high terms of separation between such and the rest of the world ; whereby the one sort are named " the brethren," " the godly ^a,"

brought forth into the sight of their and your enemies, to defend *the cause* you stand for : whose presence, God assisting them, will daunt the enemies more than yours : for that they be men *void of learning, wisdom, and gifts* ; such as can challenge nothing to themselves, but *must give all to God* ; Who, in all *the greatest works that ever have been wrought*, has used the weakest means, lest men should boast in the arm of flesh. And therefore, I beseech you, cheer up yourselves in the Lord ; for the day of our redemption is at hand ; and pray that the hand of the Lord may be strengthened in *them*, whom He has appointed to take part with you in *this cause*.' " *Bancroft's Dangerous Positions*, p. 157.

It is not necessary to enter with much minuteness into the several particulars of the design, to which these men held themselves to be called and appointed of heaven. It seems unquestionable that they contemplated some treasonable attempt against the Queen and some part of her council. The fate of the unhappy man Copinger himself was that he died of starvation, having wilfully abstained from meat seven or eight days together, in Bridewell.

The above particulars may be found detailed at greater length, from the original letters, &c. in *Cosin's Conspiracy* for pretended Reformation, 1592.

^a See *Bancroft's Dangerous Positions*, p. 120—4. Again :—" Nay, so far does this conceit carry some men, that they scarce will give a friendly countenance or salutation to any of different mind : and these do commonly call any small company of their own party, *the Church* and *the Christians* of such a town ; as *if Christ were* (I say not) *divided* betwixt us, but wholly taken away from *us* to *them* : and what wanteth this of schism in the heart ?" *Burgess* (Dr. *John*), Answer to Reply to Dr. *Morton*, 1631, 4to. p. 5. Again : " Many of the poor people hold these conceits strongly and passionately ; and esteem any minister, however gifted, and painful in his calling ; however blameless and exemplary in his conversation, to be a corrupt man, a time-server, a formalist ; or at the least a mind blinded and deceived through ignorance. Some are now resolved, that a godly Christian woman may not lawfully give herself in marriage to one of them, as if they were the children of a strange God. They doubt whether they may rely upon the ministry of such an one ; of which, if he do not conform, they doubt not at all. Yea, some think it a piece of great godliness, to go out of the Church, if a surplice be then worn ; and some charge their children, on their blessing, so to do. Some scarcely will hear their own preaching ministers, that are for conformity, if within some miles they may go to hear a far weaker, who is against it." *Ibid.* p. 4, 5.

This very same Dr. Burgess, now become a conformist, being one who had formerly been deprived, and had turned himself to the practice of medicine, by which he candidly tells us his income was much greater than it had ever been by his benefice, gives us (though apparently far from being suffi-

and so forth ; the other, worldlings, time-servers^a, pleasers of men not of God, with such like.

ciently aware even now of its weakness and folly,) an example in his own case, by what sort of conduct, on the part of the mal-content clergy, all this mischief and misery was fostered and promoted among their flocks.

To an *objection*, that he “had himself formerly refused the surplice, as the act of his deprivation sheweth :” he answers,

“I did so : but with *protestation* that I did not hold it unlawful (*i. e.* to wear it). I told some of my parishioners, that I *must* wear the surplice, or lose my place ; and they, me : requiring to know of them, *How they would accept my ministry if I wore it* ; (for my judgment they knew, *i. e.* that it was lawful to wear it). They answered, *that they should never profit by it*. Here-upon I resolved *not to stumble them* ; admonished them of their error ; told them they would repent it ere the year went about. And indeed so they did with many tears ; wishing that I had rather worn ten surplices, than to have left them. The God of heaven knoweth that I speak the truth, and nothing but the truth herein.” Ibid. p. 16. For another specimen of this unwillingness “to stumble” their people, see the case of *Withers*, of Bury, and his choice letter to Archbishop *Parker*, in *Strype’s* Life of *Parker*, p. 187—8. fol.

“But,” (says another convert to conformity, but of a sterner frame of mind,) “methinks I hear Aaron charging the people with this sin, ‘The people, thou knowest, are set on mischief.’ (Exod. xxxii. 22.) And Jeremy complaining that ‘the Prophets *prophesy falsely* ; and the people love to have it so.’ (Jer. v. 31.) It should seem the root of inconformity lies *in them*. True it is, some ministers deny or curtail their conformity, and the people love to have it so. But what people ? A people marred in their making ; catechized by their parents or pastors with false principles ; and taught to believe, that the bishops are limbs of Antichrist, the surplice a rag of Popery, conformity a mark of the Beast ; that every good man must abhor them, and pray to the King of the Church to sweep them out of his sanctuary. *Such people* love to have it so. And therefore it concerns us ministers, who should be examples to our flocks in all good things, (as St. Peter saith, 1 Pet. v. 3.) (1) To look to our own conformity ; (2) To teach our people thoroughly the points of obedience.” *Hoard, Samuel*, On Church Authority. *Hickes’s* Tracts, p. 241. 8vo. 1709. And with still greater power of argument, the whole question is thus briefly and solidly concluded by the excellent *Francis Mason*, “But in our ceremonies, some are offended because they are used, and *some* are offended because they are not used ; and that more justly ; because the not using a thing so commanded is disobedience to the prince, and may prove a very scandalous and pernicious example. If they say that *charity* bindeth me to respect the one ; I answer that the *same* charity bindeth me to regard the other ; and *duty* bindeth me to honour and obey my prince. Wherefore in a mixt congregation, what shall I do ? for both will be offended ; the one, if I use them ; the other, if I use them not. Surely in such a case I think it

my

^a “The communion was received by many sitting, and those that conformed to the Church, were called *time-servers*.” *Strype’s* Whitgift, i. 497.

12. From hence, they are easily drawn on to think it exceeding necessary, for fear of quenching that good Spirit, to use all means whereby the same may be both strengthened in themselves, and made manifest unto others. This makes them diligent hearers of such as are known that way to incline; this makes them eager to take and to seek all occasions of secret conference with such; this makes them glad to use such as counsellors and directors in all their dealings which are of weight, as contracts, testaments, and the like; this makes them, through an unweariable desire of receiving instruction from the masters of that company, to cast off the care of those very affairs which do most

my part, after fervent prayer, diligent study, and Christian conference, to consult with mine own conscience; and finding the thing commanded to be no way contrary to the word of God, I will hold it *my duty to obey my prince*. And as for those which shall be offended with my fact, I will in the spirit of meekness, both publicly and privately, render them a reason of my doing, instructing them from time to time in the doctrine of things indifferent, and in the duty of a subject to his prince." The Authority of the Church in making Canons, &c. § 35. If Francis Mason had turned physician, it is very questionable whether he would have obtained so many fees from "women and fools" (Pope), as Dr. John Burgess did. See below, § 13.

Finally, in reference to the duties, and what ought therefore to be the conduct of the clergy in this and similar instances, we will close with a passage from Bishop *Sanderson*.

"Truly, brethren, if these unhappy fruits were but *accidental* events only, *occasioned* rather than *caused*, by such our opinions, I should have thought the time mis-spent in but naming them: since the very best things that are, may by accident produce evil effects. But, seeing they do in very truth naturally and unavoidably issue therefrom as from their true and proper cause; I cannot but earnestly beseech all such as are otherwise minded, in the bowels and in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and by all the love they bear to God's holy truth, which they seem so much to stand for; to take these things into their due consideration, and to lay them close to their consciences. And as for those, my brethren of the clergy, that were of most authority in the hearts of such as bias too much that way; (for they only may have some hope to prevail with them, the rest are shut out by prejudice;) if I were in place, I should require and charge them, as they will answer the contrary to God, the Church, and their own consciences,—that they would approve their faithfulness in their ministry, by *giving their best diligence* to inform the judgments of God's people aright as concerning *the nature and use of indifferent things*: and, as in love to their souls they are bound, that they *would not humour them* in these their pernicious errors, nor suffer them *to continue therein* for want of their rebuke, either in their public teaching, or otherwise, as they shall have opportunity thereunto in private discourses." Eleventh Sermon, *ad Aulam*, § 23, p. 513. edit. 1686.

concern their estate, and to think that then they are like unto Mary, commendable for making choice of the better part. Finally, this is it which makes them willing to charge, yea, oftentimes even to overcharge themselves, for such men's sustenance and relief, lest their zeal to the cause should any way be unwitnessed. For what is it which poor beguiled souls will not do through so powerful incitements?

13. In which respect it is also noted, that most labour has been bestowed to win and retain towards this cause them whose judgments are commonly weakest by reason of their sex. And although not "women laden with sins," as the apostle St. Paul speaks, but (as we verily esteem of them for the most part) women propense and inclinable to holiness, be otherwise edified in good things, rather than carried away as captives into any kind of sin and evil, by such as enter into their houses with purpose to plant there a zeal and a love towards this kind of discipline: yet some occasion is hereby ministered for men to think, that if the cause which is thus furthered did gain by the soundness of proof whereupon it does build itself, it would not most busily endeavour to prevail where least ability of judgment is: and therefore, that this so eminent industry in making proselytes more of that sex than of the other grows, for that they are deemed apter to serve as instruments and helps^a in the cause. Apter they are through the eagerness of their affection, that makes them, which way soever they take, diligent in drawing their husbands, children, servants, friends and allies the same way; apter through that natural inclination unto pity, which breeds in them a greater readiness than in men to be bountiful towards their preachers who suffer want; apter through sundry opportunities, which they especially have, to procure encouragements for their brethren; finally, apter through a singular delight which they take in giving very

^a "Likewise there was found in Wigginton's chamber, (this was a deprived minister, an accomplice in the wild schemes of Hacket and Copinger) about a thousand printed pamphlets of two sorts: the one of Predestination; the other carrying an odd and needless title to every man that knows but the author; for it is entitled on the first side in great letters thus, 'The Fool's Bolt.' . . . These papers Wigginton procured privily to be printed at Whitsuntide last; and being examined touching them by her Majesty's council and others, he confessed, that they were all *to be sent to women*, viz. to Mistress A., Mistress B., and to I know not how many mistresses, by them to be dispersed abroad." *Cosin's Conspiracy for Pretended Reformation*, 1592. p. 56. edit. 1699.

large and particular intelligence, how all near about them stand affected as concerning the same cause.

14. But be they women or be they men, if once they have tasted of that cup, let any man of contrary opinion open his mouth to persuade them, they close up their ears^a, his reasons they weigh not, all is answered with rehearsal of the words of John, “ ‘ We are of God ; he that knoweth God heareth us¹ :’ as for the rest, ye are of the world ; for this world’s pomp and vanity it is that ye speak, and the world, whose ye are, heareth you.” Which cloak sits no less fit on the back of their cause, than of the anabaptists, when the dignity, authority, and honour of God’s magistrate is upheld against them. Show these eagerly-affected men their inability to judge of such matters ; their answer is, “ God hath chosen the simple².” Convince them of folly, and that so plainly, that very children upbraid them with it ; they have their bucklers of like defence : “ Christ’s own apostle was accounted mad : the best men evermore by the sentence of the world have been judged to be out of their right minds³.”

15. When instruction does them no good, let them feel but the least degree of most mercifully-tempered severity, they fasten on the head of the Lord’s vicegerents here on earth whatsoever they any where find uttered against the cruelty of blood-thirsty men, and to themselves they draw all the sentences which Scripture has in the favour of innocency persecuted for the truth ; yea, they are of their due and deserved sufferings no less proud, than those ancient disturbers to whom St. Augustine writes, saying, “ Martyrs rightly so named are they not which suffer for their disorder, and for the ungodly breach they have made of Christian unity, but which for righteousness’ sake are persecuted. For Agar also

^a So Knewstubb, speaking of the Family of Love, “ The only way whereby a man should enter to do them good, have they hedged and stopped up against us ; for they say, that they only are spiritual, and therefore, judge truly of the word ; that they have the sense, and we nothing but the words ; they have the spirit, and we nothing but the letter ; that they have the life and we the body ; they have the kernel and we the shell ; they have the sword, and we the scabbard.” Dedication to his Confutation of Heresies, 1579.

¹ 1 John iv. 6.

² 1 Cor. i. 27.

³ Acts xxvi. 24. Sap. v. 4. “ We fools thought his life madness.” Merc. Tris. ad Æsculap. [lib. xv. fol. 43.] Οἱ ἐν γνώσει ὄντες οὔτε τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκουσι, οὔτε οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτοῖς μεμηνέναι δὲ δοκοῦσι, καὶ γέλῳτα ὀφλισκάνουσι. Vide *Lactant.* de Justit. lib. v. cap. 16.

suffered persecution at the hands of Sarah, wherein, she which did impose was holy, and she unrighteous which did bear the burden. In like sort, with thieves was the Lord himself crucified; but they, who were matched in the pain which they suffered, were in the cause of their sufferings disjoined." . . . "If that must need be the true Church which does endure persecution, and not that which persecutes, let them ask of the apostle what Church Sarah did represent, when she held her maid in affliction. For even our mother which is free, the heavenly Jerusalem, that is to say, the true Church of God, was, as he does affirm, prefigured in that very woman by whom the bondmaid was so sharply handled. Although, if all things be thoroughly scanned, she did in truth more persecute Sarah^a by proud resistance, than Sarah her by severity of punishment."

16. These are the paths wherein ye have walked that are of the ordinary sort of men; these are the very steps ye have trodden, and the manifest degrees whereby ye are of your guides and directors trained up in that school:—a custom of inuring your ears with reproof of faults especially in your governors; an use to attribute those faults to the kind of spiritual regiment under which ye live; boldness in warranting the force of their discipline for the cure of all such evils; as light of framing your conceits to imagine that Scripture every where favours that discipline; persuasion that the cause why ye find it in Scripture is the illumination of the Spirit, that the same Spirit is a seal unto you of your nearness unto God, that ye are by all means to nourish and witness it in yourselves, and to strengthen on every side your minds against whatsoever might be of force to withdraw you from it.

IV. Wherefore to come unto you whose judgment is a lantern of direction for all the rest, you that frame thus the people's hearts, not altogether (as I willingly persuade myself) of a politic intent or purpose, but yourselves being first overborne with the weight of greater men's judgments: on your shoulders is

^a "If the maintenance of ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them, undoubtedly to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure to behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge *themselves* martyrs when they are grieved, should think withal *what* they are whom they grieve. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause must be presumed as good at the least on *our* part as on theirs, till it be in the end decided *who* have stood for truth, and *who* for error." Hooker, book iv. chap. x.

laid the burden of upholding the cause by argument. For which purpose sentences out of the word of God ye allege divers: but so, that when the same are discussed, thus it always in a manner falls out, that what things by virtue thereof ye urge upon us as altogether necessary, are found to be thence collected only by poor and marvellous slight conjectures. I need not give instance in any one sentence so alleged, for that I think the instance in any alleged otherwise a thing not easy to be given. A very strange thing sure it were, that such a discipline as ye speak of should be taught by Christ and his apostles in the word of God, and no Church ever have found it out, nor received it till this present time¹; contrariwise, the government against which ye bend yourselves be observed every where throughout all generations and ages of the Christian world, no Church ever perceiving the word of God to be against it. We require you to find out but one Church upon the face of the whole earth that has been ordered by your discipline, or has not been ordered by ours, that is to say, by episcopal regiment, since the time that the blessed apostles were here conversant.

2. Many things out of antiquity ye bring, as if the purest times of the Church had observed the self-same orders which you require; and as though your desire were that the Churches of old should be patterns for us to follow, and even glasses, wherein we might see the practice of that which by you is gathered out of Scripture. But the truth is, ye mean nothing less. All this is done for fashion's sake only; for ye complain of it as of an injury, that men should be willed to seek for examples and patterns of government in any of those times that have been before². Ye plainly hold, that from the very apostles' time till this present age, wherein yourselves imagine ye have found out a right pattern of sound discipline, there never was any time safe to be fol-

¹ [Bancroft, Sermon at St. Paul's Cross, 9 Feb. 1588, p. 10, 11, has the same affirmation and challenge almost in the same words. "A very strange matter if it were true, that Christ should erect a form of government for the ruling of his Church, to continue from his departure out of the world until his coming again; and that the same should never be once thought of or put in practice for the space of 1500 years: or at the least (to take them at their best) that the government and kingdom of Christ should then be overthrown, when by all men's confessions the divinity of his person, the virtue of his priesthood, the power of his office as He is a prophet, and the honour of his kingly authority was so godly, so learnedly, and so mightily established."]

² T. C. lib. i. p. 97.

lowed : which thing ye thus endeavour to prove. "Out of Ege-sippus" ye say that "Eusebius¹ writeth," how although "as long as the apostles lived the Church did remain a pure virgin, yet after the death of the apostles, and after they were once gone whom God vouchsafed to make hearers of the divine wisdom with their own ears, the placing of wicked error began to come into the Church. Clement also in a certain place, to confirm that there was corruption of doctrine immediately after the apostles' time, alleges the proverb, 'That there are few sons like their fathers².' Socrates says of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria³, the most famous Churches in the apostles' times, that about the year 430, the Roman and Alexandrian bishops, leaving the sacred function, were degenerate to a secular rule or dominion." Hereupon ye conclude that it is not safe to fetch our government from any other than the apostles' times^a.

¹ *Euseb.* Hist. Eccles. lib. iii. cap. 32.

² Lib. Strom. somewhat after the beginning. [Ed. Potter. tom. i. 322.]

³ Hist. Eccles. lib. vii. cap. 11.

^a The Brownists too, though they likewise occasionally would, as Hooker has expressed it, appeal to the practice and writers of the ancient Churches, yet, when pressed on that side in serious argument, concurred with Cartwright and the other Puritans in slighting all authority of Fathers, Councils, and Churches, taking shelter only in the apostolic age, or rather in the Scriptures themselves, where they made little difficulty in finding whatever the urgency of the occasion required. Thus, in Brown's principal work, "A book which shows the life and manners of all true Christians, and how unlike they are to Turks, and Papists, and Heathen folk" (4to. 1583), he says, "Yet for warranting such dunghill stuff, Augustin, and Origen, and Jerome, with such ancient Fathers, must be brought in. And was there not," he asks, "a declining even presently after the apostles' times? Did not great abuses and errors spread very largely, both in preaching and *guiding the Church*, insomuch that *anno Dom.* 120, there were great and universal disorders in almost all the west Churches, as by fastings . . . *jurisdiction and orders of the Church?*" Signat. F. While Henry Barrow, whose book, "A Brief Discovery of the False Churches" (1590, 4to.), may indeed be considered as the Brownists' Hooker, has entitled his first chapter, "Concerning the Corruptions of Christ's Church in the *first ages*:" and of whose manner of dealing with this argument we may take the following, from a subsequent part of his volume, as a specimen. "And here," says he, "I shall be forced to encounter a whole cart load of writers, councils, doctors, &c. unto all which I oppose that little book of Christ's Testament; from which they, *immediately after* the destruction of Jerusalem, and the decease of the apostles, *went astray*; changing and innovating daily more and more, until they had brought it to this estate; fashioning religion to the fancies and opinions of man, as it might best allure, retain, and please the princes and multitudes of the world, as is above in the first chapter of this treatise more particularly

3. Wherein by the way it may be noted, that in proposing the apostles' times as a pattern for the Church to follow, though the desire of you all be one, the drift and purpose of you all is not one^a. The chiefest thing which lay-reformers^b yawn for is,

shown, and may by the ancient monuments of their idolatry which still remain, as by so many arguments evidently appear." p. 204. Edit. 1707.

^a Still, notwithstanding the distinction which Hooker is here about to draw, several of the clerical Church reformers had, at one time, pursued courses calculated greatly to encourage the designs of that portion of their lay associates who joined the party, principally from the hopes which they conceived of promoting, by that means, their own schemes of Church spoliation: "of which, (says *Bacon*,) I cannot speak too hardly. It is an intelligence between incendiaries and robbers; the one to fire the house, the other to rifle it." (Works, ii. p. 518.) "They talked," says *Bancroft*, "how much of the Church livings might be employed this way, and how much that way. Tithes were Popish toys; yet laymen might have them; and ministers should be paid out of the Exchequer. Now, however," he adds, "they are grown to be wiser." And now they, all of them in a manner, do run upon this ground, namely, that kings and princes are bound by the word of God to restore to the Church such goods as heretofore they have taken from her; and generally, that nothing once separated from a common use and bestowed upon the Church may be afterwards alienated to any other use." *Survey*, 236. Again, "When the sea maketh a breach it is hardly stopped, and a door once opened to such impiety will be hardly shut again. And yet, you see, they do what they can to shut it, now that they perceive the very great falsehood which they find in their own fellowship. Certain hypocritical brethren of the laity have clapped them upon the shoulders, followed their sermons, set them at the upper end of their tables, and sought by all their strength to procure them credit and favour with the people: not that they cared, either for them or for religion, or for Christ himself; but hoping that, by the violent course which they saw these men run into, the bishops and the rest of the clergy would be grown in short time to be so odious as it would be a very small matter to dispossess them of all their livings, whereof some portion might come to their shares; which manner of policy now, you may perceive, these brethren have espied, and therefore they spare not, as you have heard, to set forth such hypocrites in their plainest colours, very lively, and, in their opinion, truly." *Survey*, p. 246. So we find them often exclaiming, in common with the other clergy, against the lay impropriations which had been lavished by Henry VIII. on some of the nobility and others his favourites and ministers at the Reformation, and even protesting against the first-fruits and tenths in the hands of the crown, maintaining that they ought to be abandoned by it, and totally extinguished, being as indeed they were, a popish and simoniacal usurpation, and no better than sacrilege and robbery. See *Travers's* Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline, p. 116; and an important chapter (the 13th) in *Bucer's* Treatise, *De Regno Christi*, addressed to Edward VI., to which *Travers* refers.

^b This conduct of some portion of the laity of the upper ranks provoked

that the clergy may through conformity in state and condition be apostolical, poor as the apostles of Christ were poor. In which one circumstance if they imagine so great perfection, they must think that Church which has such store of mendicant friars a Church in that respect most happy. Were it for the glory of God and the good of His Church indeed that the clergy should be left even as bare as the apostles when they had neither staff

a species of retort from Bancroft, for which, it is to be feared, occasions have not been wanting in all ages. "Our preachers," say they, "ought to conform themselves to the example of Christ and his apostles; their master had not a house to put his head in. The apostles, their predecessors, had neither gold nor silver, possessions, riches, goods, nor revenues: and why, then, should they, being in gifts and pains inferior unto them, have greater preferments in the world than they had? If they have a mess of pottage and a canvass doublet, may it not content them? Surely these advancements which they have do greatly hinder and hurt them.

"Even as though one should say unto you, my brethren of the poorer sort, 'These gentlemen, and wealthier sort of the laity, do greatly abuse you. The children of God, you know, are heirs of the world; and these things which the wicked have, they enjoy by usurpation. *The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof.* You have an equal portion with the best in the kingdom of God; and will you suffer this unequal distribution of these worldly benefits? Consider how in the apostles' times the faithful had all *things common*. They came and laid their goods at the apostles' feet, and division was thereof made, according to every man's necessity. You cannot but groan under the heavy burthen which is laid upon you. Your landlords do wring and grind your faces for the maintenance of their pride in apparel, their excess in diet, their unnecessary pleasures; as gaming, keeping of hawks and dogs, and such-like vanities. They enhance your rents, they take great fines, and do keep you in very unchristian slavery and bondage. Why do you not seek, for your better relief, to renew the use which was in the apostles' times? These great possessions, lands, and revenues, which the richer sort have in their hands, do, as you see, make them very proud, abate their zeal, hinder them in their virtuous proceedings, and will indeed (if order be not taken) mar and undo them.'

"Now, dearly beloved, unto you of all sorts, but especially to you of the richest, I pray you tell me how you like this doctrine? Do you think it is true, or meet to be taught? No, surely, it is not. The whole manner thereof is wholly Anabaptistical, and tendeth to the destruction and overthrow of all good rule and government. And yet I tell you it may be urged with as great necessity against the laity as the other may against the clergy. . . . In my opinion, you ought to be ashamed to open your mouths ever hereafter against the present government of the Church, until you can be contented to be so far from coveting the goods of the Church as that you are both willing and ready to deliver out of your hands such spoils and prey thereof as you have already." *Bancroft's Sermon at Paul's Cross, Feb. 9, 1588, p. 262—5. Hickes's Tracts.*

nor scrip ; that God, which should lay upon them the condition of his apostles, would I hope endue them with the self-same affection which was in that holy apostle, whose words concerning his own right virtuous contentment of heart, “as well how to want as how to abound¹,” are a most fit episcopal impress. The Church of Christ is a body mystical. A body cannot stand, unless the parts thereof be proportionable. Let it therefore be required on both parts, at the hands of the clergy, to be in meanness of state like the apostles ; at the hand of the laity to be as they were who lived under the apostles ; and in this reformation there will be, though little wisdom, yet some indifferency^a.

4. But your reformation which are of the clergy (if yet it displease you not that I should say ye are of the clergy²) seems to aim at a broader mark. Ye think that he which will perfectly reform must bring the form of Church-discipline unto the state which then it was at. A thing neither possible, nor certain, nor absolutely convenient.

Concerning the first, what was used in the apostles’ times, the Scripture fully declares not ; so that making their times the rule and canon of Church polity, ye make a rule, which being not possible to be fully known, is as impossible to be kept.

¹ Phil. iv. 12.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book vii. above, vol. iii. p. 388, 9. The same kind of argument is also prosecuted with great truth and spirit by Bishop *Cooper*. “But I pray you, what is meant by this disgracing of bishops and other chief ministers of the Church? . . . Why is the perfect rule of their office and calling, according to the pattern of the *apostles’ time*, required at their hands only? Is God the God of ecclesiastical ministers alone? Is He not the God of his people also? Does He require his word to be exactly observed of bishops and ministers alone? Does he hate vice and wickedness in them alone? Or does He lay down the rule of perfect justice to them only, and not comprehend in the same all other states of his people as well as them? Yes, truly: I think no Christian is otherwise persuaded.” *Admonition to the People of England*, 1589. 4to. p. 153, 4. And again, “Thus you see what profit the example of Christ’s poverty bringeth. But, I pray you, to whom is Christ an example? To bishops and ministers only? Did He live in poor and miserable state for ministers only? Did He die for their sins only? God forbid! He was born, He lived, He died for all mankind; and all faithful have the fruit of this his birth, his life, and his death. Therefore the example of Christ’s life must stretch much further than to bishops and ministers.” *Ibid.* p. 198. See also *Burke*, above, vol. iii. p. 114, in this collection.

² [T. C. iii. 219. “Those which were baptized in their beds were thereby made unapt to have any place among the clergy (*as they call them*).”]

Again, sith the later even of the apostles' own times had that which in the former was not thought upon; in this general proposing of the apostolical times there is no certainty which should be followed: especially seeing that ye give us great cause to doubt how far ye allow those times. For albeit "the loover^a of anti-christian building were not," ye say, as then "set up, yet the foundations thereof were secretly and under the ground laid in the apostles' times;" so that all other times ye plainly reject, and the apostles' own times ye approve with marvellous great suspicion, leaving it intricate and doubtful, wherein we are to keep ourselves unto the pattern of their times.

Thirdly, whereas it is the error of the common multitude to consider only what has been of old, and if the same were well, to see whether still it continue; if not, to condemn that presently which is, and never to search upon what ground or consideration the change might grow: such rudeness cannot be in you so well borne with, whom learning and judgment has enabled much more soundly to discern how far the times of the Church and the orders thereof may alter without offence. True it is, the ancients¹, the better ceremonies of religion are;—howbeit, not absolutely true and without exception, but true only so far forth as those different ages do agree in the state of those things, for which at the first those rites, orders, and ceremonies were instituted. In the apostles' times that was harmless, which being now revived would be scandalous; as their *oscula sancta*². Those feasts of charity³, which being instituted by the apostles, were retained in the

^a The same expression occurs in Hooker's pupil, Sir *Edwin Sandys*:—"Knowing that the final mark which the Turk shoots at is Italy, as thinking that to be *the loover* now only remaining to be *set up* for the accomplishment and perfection of his empire." *Europæ Speculum*, p. 204. "On sait que loveur, louvre en ancien Saxon, signifie *tour*." Voyez mon Dictionnaire des Beaux Arts au mot *louvre*. *Millin des Arts en Angleterre*, p. 92, n.

¹ "Antiquitas ceremoniis atque fanis tantum sanctitatis tribuere consuevit, quantum adstruxerit vetustatis." Arno. p. 746.

² Rom. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 26. 1 Pet. v. 14. In their meetings to serve God, their manner was, in the end to salute one another with a kiss; using these words: "Peace be with you." For which cause Tertullian does call it *signaculum orationis*, "the seal of prayer." *Lib. de Orat.* [c. 14.]

³ Epist. Jud. xii. Concerning which feasts, St. *Chrysostom* says, "Statis diebus mensas faciebant communes, et peractâ synaxi post sacramentorum communionem inibant convivium, divitibus quidem cibos afferentibus, pauperibus autem et qui nihil habebant etiam vocatis."

Church long after, are not now thought any where needful.—What man is there of understanding, unto whom it is not manifest how the way of providing for the clergy by tithes, the device of alms-houses for the poor, the sorting out of the people into their several parishes, together with sundry other things which the apostles' times could not have, (being now established,) are much more convenient and fit for the Church of Christ, than if the same should be taken away for conformity's sake with the ancientest and first times?

5. The orders, therefore, which were observed in the apostles' times, are not to be urged as a rule universally either sufficient or necessary. If they be, nevertheless, on your part it still remains to be better proved, that the form of discipline which ye entitle apostolical, was in the apostles' time exercised. For of this very thing ye fail^a, even touching that which ye make most account of, as being matter of substance in discipline,—I mean the power of your lay-elders, and the difference of your doctors from the pastors in all Churches. So that in sum, we may be bold to conclude, that besides these last times, which, for insolency, pride, and egregious contempt of all good order, are the worst, there are none wherein ye can truly affirm, that the complete form of your discipline, or the substance thereof, was practised.

6. The evidence, therefore, of antiquity failing you, ye fly to the judgments of such learned men, as seem by their writings to be of opinion that all Christian Churches should receive your discipline, and abandon ours. Wherein, as ye heap up the names of a number of men not unworthy to be had in honour, so there are a number, whom when ye mention, although it serve you to purpose with the ignorant and vulgar sort, who measure by tale and not by weight, yet surely they who know what quality and value the men are of, will think ye draw very near the dregs. But were they all of as great account as the best and chiefest amongst them, with us, notwithstanding, neither are they, neither ought they to be of such reckoning, that their opinion or conjecture should cause the laws of the Church of England to give place^b: much less when they neither do all agree in that opi-

^a See this fully proved in *Bilson's Perpetual Government of Christ's Church*; 1593. *Whitgift's Defence*, p. 626—60, &c.

^b “Another occasion of these controversies is the partial affectation and imitation of foreign Churches. For many of our men, during the time of

nion, and of them which are at agreement, the most part through a courteous inducement have followed one man as their guide, finally that one therein not unlikely to have swerved. If any one chance to say it is probable that in the apostles' times there were lay-elders, or not to mislike the continuance of them in the Church, or to affirm that bishops at the first were a name but not a power distinct from presbyters, or to speak anything in praise of those Churches which are without episcopal regiment, or to reprove the fault of such as abuse that calling; all these ye register for men persuaded as you are, that every Christian Church stands bound by the law of God to put down bishops, and in their rooms to elect an eldership so authorised as you would have it for the government of each parish. Deceived greatly they are, therefore, who think that all they whose names are cited amongst the favourers of this cause, are on any such verdict agreed¹.

7. Yet touching some material points of your discipline, a kind of agreement we grant there is amongst many divines of reformed Churches abroad. For, first, to do as the Church of Geneva did, the learned in some other Churches must needs be the more willing, who having used in like manner not the slow and tedious help of proceeding by public authority, but the people's more quick endeavour for alteration, in such an exigent I persecution and since, having been conversant in Churches abroad, and received a great impression of the form of government there ordained, have violently sought to intrude the same upon our Church. But I answer, 'Consentiamus in eo quod convenit, non in eo quod receptum est;—let us agree in this, that every Church do that which is convenient for the state of itself, and not in particular customs.' Although their Churches had received the better form, yet many times is to be sought 'non quod optimum, sed è bonis quid proximum;—not that which is best, but of good things, that which is the best and readiest to be had.' Our Church is not now to plant; it is settled and established. It may be, in civil states, a republic is a better policy than a kingdom: yet, God forbid that lawful kingdoms should be tied to innovate and make alterations. 'Qui mala introduct, voluntatem Dei oppugnat revelatam in rebus;—he that bringeth in *evil* customs, resisteth the will of God revealed in his Word: he that bringeth in *new* things, resisteth the will of God revealed in the things themselves.' 'Consule providentiam Dei, cum verbo Dei;—take counsel of the *providence* of God, as well as of his *Word*.' Neither do I admit that their form, although it were possible and convenient, is better than ours." Lord Bacon, on the Controversies in the Church of England. Works, vol. ii. p. 511. 8vo. 1803. Compare Hooker, b. iv. c. 13.

¹ [Full evidence of this point may be seen in *Whitgift's* two works.]

see not well how they could have stayed to deliberate about any other regiment than that which already was devised to their hands, that which in like case had been taken, that which was easiest to be established without delay, that which was likeliest to content the people by reason of some kind of sway which it gives them. When therefore the example of one Church was thus at the first almost through a kind of constraint or necessity followed by many, their concurrence in persuasion about some material points belonging to the same polity is not strange. For we are not to marvel greatly, if they which have all done the same thing, do easily embrace the same opinion as concerning their own doings.

8. Besides, mark, I beseech you, that which Galen in matter of philosophy notes¹; for the like falls out even in questions of higher knowledge. It fares many times with men's opinions as with rumours and reports. "That which a credible person tells is easily thought probable by such as are well persuaded of him. But if two, or three, or four, agree all in the same tale, they judge it then to be out of controversy, and so are many times overtaken for want of due consideration; either some common cause leading them all into error, or one man's oversight deceiving many through their too much credulity and easiness of belief." Though ten persons be brought to give testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they have of the thing whereunto they come as witnesses, appear to have grown from some one amongst them, and to have spread itself from hand to hand, they all are in force but as one testimony. Nor is it otherwise here where the daughter Churches do speak their mother's dialect; here where so many sing one song, by reason that he is the guide of the choir, concerning whose deserved authority amongst even the gravest divines we have already spoken at large. Will ye ask what should move so many learned to be followers of one man's judgment, no necessity of argument forcing them thereunto? Your demand is answered by yourselves. Loth ye are to think that they, whom ye judge to have attained as sound knowledge in all points of doctrine as any since the apostles' time, should mistake in discipline². Such is naturally our affection, that whom

¹ *Galen. clas. 2. lib. de cujusque Anim. Peccat. Notitiâ atque Medelâ, t. i. p. 366. Basil. 1538.*

² *Petition to the Queen's Majesty, p. 14.*

in great things we mightily admire, in them we are not persuaded willingly that any thing should be amiss. The reason whereof is, "for that as dead flies putrify the ointment of the apothecary, so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisdom¹." This in every profession has too much authorized the judgments of a few. This with Germans has caused Luther, and with many other Churches Calvin, to prevail in all things. Yet are we not able to define, whether the wisdom of that God, who sets before us in holy Scripture^a so many admirable patterns of virtue, and no one of them without somewhat noted wherein they were culpable; to the end, that to Him alone it might always be acknowledged, "Thou only art holy, thou only art just;" might not permit these worthy vessels of his glory to be in some things blemished with the stain of human frailty, even for this cause, lest we should esteem of any man above that which behoves.

V. Notwithstanding, as though ye were able to say a great deal more than hitherto your books have revealed to the world, earnest challengers ye are of trial by some public disputation^b. Wherein if the thing ye crave be no more than only leave to dispute openly about those matters that are in question, the schools in universities (for any thing I know) are open unto you. They have their yearly acts and commencements, besides other disputations both ordinary and upon occasion, wherein the several parts of our own ecclesiastical discipline are oftentimes offered unto that kind of examination; the learnedest of you have been of late years noted seldom or never absent from thence at the time of those greater assemblies; and the favour of proposing there in convenient sort whatsoever ye can object, (which thing myself have known them to grant of scholastical courtesy unto strangers) neither has (as I think) nor ever will (I presume) be denied you.

¹ Eccles. x. 1.

^a Compare *John Hale's* Sermon, "On St. Peter's Fall."

^b Passages of this nature in their writings are frequent, and some very pertinent are cited by Mr. Keble. But occasionally, their modes of conducting these challenges assumed a much more serious character; partaking largely of the unconstitutional, and the seditious. "One resolution was, that some twenty or thirty of them should have come in their gowns, with all gravity, to the parliament-house door; and *there have desired by petition* a disputation." *Bancroft's Survey*, 81. The Houses of Parliament had no authority to grant permission for any such disputation.

2. If your suit be to have some great extraordinary confluence, in expectation whereof the laws that already are should sleep and have no power over you, till in the hearing of thousands ye all did acknowledge your error and renounce the further prosecution of your cause: haply they whose authority is required unto the satisfying of your demand do think it both dangerous to admit such concurrence of divided minds, and unmeet that laws^a, which being once solemnly established are to exact obedience of all men and to constrain thereunto, should so far stoop as to hold themselves in suspense from taking any effect upon you till some disputer can persuade you to be obedient. A law is the deed of the whole body politic, whereof if ye judge yourselves to be any part, then is the law even your deed also. And were it reason in things of this quality to give men audience, pleading for the overthrow of that which their own very deed has ratified? Laws that have been approved may be (no man doubts) again repealed, and to that end also disputed against, by the authors thereof themselves. But this is when the whole does deliberate what laws each part shall observe, and not when a part refuses the laws which the whole has orderly agreed upon.

3. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as the cause we maintain is (God be thanked) such as needs not to shun any trial, might it please them on whose approbation the matter depends to condescend so far unto you in this behalf, I wish heartily that proof were made even by solemn conference in orderly and quiet sort, whether you would yourselves be satisfied, or else could by satisfying others draw them to your part. Provided always, first, inasmuch as ye go about to destroy a thing which is in force, and to draw in that which has not as yet been received; to impose on us that which we think not ourselves bound unto, and to over-

^a So the Earl of Worcester describes in a letter to Lord Cranborne (afterwards the Lord Treasurer Salisbury), his having interposed at the Hampton Court Conference, (1604) to repress an offer made by Montague, afterwards Bishop of Winchester. "And yet I cannot let pass that when these puritan ministers were with the king, the dean of the chapel publicly avouched that whatsoever he were that stood upon these nice terms of conformity, he (the dean) would undertake, upon loss of his life, to confute him with learning, and satisfy him with reason. But I said, It was not convenient. The cause having been *coram judice*, and positively set down that they were but matters indifferent, it required *now obedience*; and not every day for every private conscience a particular disputation." *Lodge's Illustrations of British History*, vol. iii. p. 267. 1791. 4to.

throw those things whereof we are possessed ; that therefore ye are not to claim in any such conference other than the plaintiff's or opponent's part, which must consist altogether in proof and confirmation of two things : the one, that our orders by you condemned we ought to abolish ; the other, that yours we are bound to accept in the stead thereof : secondly, because the questions in controversy between us are many, if once we descend unto particularities ; that for the easier and more orderly proceeding therein the most general be first discussed, nor any question left off, nor in each question the prosecution of any one argument given over and another taken in hand, till the issue whereunto by replies and answers both parts are come, be collected, read, and acknowledged as well on the one side as on the other to be the plain conclusion which they are grown unto : thirdly, for avoiding of the manifold inconveniences whereunto ordinary and extemporal disputers are subject ; as also because, if ye should singly dispute one by one as every man's own wit did best serve, it might be conceived by the rest that haply some other would have done more ; the chiefest of you do all agree in this action, that whom ye shall then choose your speaker, by him that which is publicly brought into disputation be acknowledged by all your consents not to be his allegation but yours, such as ye all are agreed upon, and have required him to deliver in all your names ; the true copy whereof being taken by a notary, that a reasonable time be allowed for return of answer unto you in the like form. Fourthly, whereas a number of conferences have been had in other causes with the less effectual success, by reason of partial and untrue reports published afterwards unto the world ; that to prevent this evil, there be at the first a solemn declaration made on both parts, of their agreement to have that very book and no other set abroad, wherein their present authorized notaries do write those things fully and only, which being written and there read, are by their own open testimony acknowledged to be their own. Other circumstances hereunto belonging, whether for the choice of time, place, and language, or for prevention of impertinent and needless speech, or to any end and purpose else—they may be thought on when occasion serves.

In this sort to broach my private conceit for the ordering of a public action I should be loth, (albeit I do it not otherwise than under correction of them whose gravity and wisdom ought in such cases to overrule,) but that so venturous boldness I see is a thing

now general; and am thereby of good hope, that where all men are licensed to offend, no man will show himself a sharp accuser.

VI. What success God may give unto any such kind of conference or disputation, we cannot tell. But of this we are right sure, that nature, Scripture¹, and experience itself, have all taught the world to seek for the ending of contentions by submitting itself unto some judicial and definitive sentence, whereunto neither part that contends may under any pretence or colour refuse to stand. This must needs be effectual and strong. As for other means without this, they seldom prevail. I would therefore know, whether for the ending of these irksome strifes, wherein you and your followers do stand thus formally divided against the authorized guides of this Church, and the rest of the people subject unto their charge; whether I say ye be content to refer your cause to any other higher judgment than your own, or else intend to persist and proceed as ye have begun, till yourselves can be persuaded to condemn yourselves. If your determination be this, we can be but sorry that ye should deserve to be reckoned with such, of whom God Himself pronounces, "The way of peace they have not known²."

2. Ways of peaceable conclusion there are, but these two certain: the one, a sentence of judicial decision given by authority thereto appointed within ourselves; the other, the like kind of sentence given by a more universal authority. The former of which two ways God himself in the law prescribes, and his Spirit it was which directed the very first Christian Churches in the world to use the latter.

The ordinance of God in the law was this. "If there arise a matter too hard for thee in judgment, between blood and blood, between plea, &c. then shalt thou arise, and go up unto the place which the Lord thy God shall choose; and thou shalt come unto the priests the Levites, and unto the judge that shall be in those days, and ask, and they shall show thee the sentence of judgment, and thou shalt do according to that thing, which they of that place which the Lord hath chosen show thee, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee; according to the law which they shall teach thee, and according to the

¹ Heb. vi. 16. "An oath for confirmation is to them an end of all strife."

² Rom. iii. 17.

judgment which they shall tell thee, shalt thou do ; thou shalt not decline from the thing which they shall show thee to the right hand nor to the left. And that man that will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the priest (that stands before the Lord thy God to minister there) or unto the judge, that man shall die, and thou shalt take away evil from Israel ¹."

When there grew in the Church of Christ a question, Whether the Gentiles believing might be saved, although they were not circumcised after the manner of Moses, nor did observe the rest of those legal rites and ceremonies whereunto the Jews were bound ; after great dissension and disputation about it, their conclusion in the end was to have it determined by sentence at Jerusalem ; which was accordingly done in a council there assembled for the same purpose ². Are ye able to allege any just and sufficient cause wherefore absolutely ye should not condescend in this controversy to have your judgments overruled by some such definitive sentence, whether it fall out to be given with or against you ; that so these tedious contentions may cease ?

3. Ye will perhaps make answer, that being persuaded already as touching the truth of your cause, ye are not to hearken unto any sentence, no not though angels should define otherwise, as the blessed apostle's own example teaches ³ : again, that men, yea councils, may err ; and that, unless the judgment given do satisfy your minds, unless it be such as ye can by no further argument oppugn, in a word, unless you perceive and acknowledge it yourselves consonant with God's word ; to stand unto it not allowing it were to sin against your own consciences.

But consider ^a I beseech you first as touching the apostle, how that wherein he was so resolute and peremptory, our Lord Jesus Christ made manifest unto him even by intuitive revelation,

¹ Deut. xvii. 8.

² Acts xv.

³ [Gal. i. 8.]

^a Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. 10.

When the occasion arose for the Puritans to have to withstand their own progeny the Brownists, a bolder and more consistent race of schismatics than themselves, though much less dangerous, they pressed the Brownists with this same kind of argument : and it may be worth our while to see what answer Brown, the father of that separation, was able to make to it. We cannot tell how far any of the Puritans were admonished by recognizing their own features in this looking-glass. The extract is derived from the "Treatise of Reformation, without tarrying for any," a species of preface to his grand work, above-cited, on the "Life and Manners of all true Christians."

"Ho!"

whercin there was no possibility of error. That which you are persuaded of, ye have it no otherwise than by your own only pro-

“Ho!” say they, *i. e.* their Puritan censurers, “If we were prophets, or if we were apostles, then should we preach, though the magistrate forbid us. But we are but bare pastors or preachers, and therefore we must fear their frowning and threats, and keep silence thereat.” But let them speak. Had not the magistrates as full, and the same, power over the apostles, as over other pastors: or were apostles more exempted from their obedience to magistrates, than other preachers? For, *let every soul be subject to the higher powers*, says the Scripture. Therefore, as they could not displace, nor discharge apostles from their office and calling, no more can they do lawful pastors and preachers: for, *whether it be right in the sight of God, to obey men rather than God, let all men judge*. But to this they answer, that Peter said this, being an apostle. But indeed, must apostles only follow their calling, though men do discharge them, and may not others do it likewise? For, *as God hath distributed to every man the gift* (says the Scripture); *as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk*: and so *ordained Paul in all the Churches*. If then the magistrate will command the soldier to be a minister, or the preacher to give over his calling, and change it for another; they ought not to obey him, for they have not the gift, and God has called them this way, rather than that. Yet if the magistrate call one of a lower calling to a higher, to the which he is fit and prepared, he ought to obey, for God has called him thereto. And in all things we must *first* look what is the Lord’s will and charge, and *then* what is the will of man. For *we are bought for a price*, says St. Paul; and we may not be servants to the unlawful commandings of men. And this freedom have all Christians, that they consider what is lawful, and what is profitable: what they *may* do, and what is *expedient*; and in *no case be brought under the power of any thing*, as St. Paul teaches us. Whatsoever does most edify, that must we choose, and avoid the contrary; and whatsoever is most expedient, that must be done; and so we must apply ourselves, all unto all, that notwithstanding we hold our liberty. For, if either magistrate or other would take that from us, we *must not give place by yielding unto them, no not for an hour*; and this liberty is the free use of our callings and gifts, *as we see most agreeing to the word of God, and expedient for his glory*. Therefore, the magistrate’s commandment must not be a rule unto me of *this* and *that* duty, but *as I see it agree with the word of God*. So then, it is an abuse of my gift and calling, if I cease preaching for the magistrate when it is my calling to preach: *yea, woe unto me, if I preach not!* for *necessity is laid upon me*; and if I do it unwillingly, yet the dispensation is committed unto me. And this dispensation did not the magistrate give me, but God, by consent and ratifying of the Church: and, therefore, as the magistrate gave it not, so can he not take it away The magistrate so using me cannot be a Christian, but forsakes the Church: and how then should my office in the Church depend on *him* which is none of the Church? And the welfare of the Church must be more regarded and sought, than the welfare of whole kingdoms and countries; as it is written, *Because thou wast precious in my sight, and thou wast honourable, and I loved thee; therefore, will*

bable collection, and therefore such bold asseverations as in him were admirable, should in your mouths but argue rashness. God was not ignorant^a that the priests and judges, whose sentence in matters of controversy He ordained should stand, both might and oftentimes would be deceived in their judgment. Howbeit, better it was in the eye of his understanding, that sometime an erroneous sentence definitive should prevail, till the same authority perceiving such oversight, might afterwards correct or reverse it, than that strifes should have respite to grow, and not come speedily unto some end.

Neither wish we that men should do any thing which in their hearts they are persuaded they ought not to do, but this persuasion ought (we say) to be fully settled in their hearts; that in litigious and controverted causes of such quality, the will of God is to have them do whatsoever^b the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine, yea, though it seem in their private

I give men for thee, and people for thy sake. And again, he says, *I gave Egypt for thy ransom, Ethiopia and Seba for thee.* The Lord shall therefore judge these men; and cut them off, head and tail, branch and rush, in one day And therefore let them not *flee* to their odd *distinction* of *ordinary* and *extraordinary*; as though *Paul* might guide the Church, without tarrying for the magistrate, and *We* may not." *Signat.* A 4.—B.

^a See Laud's Conference with Fisher, § 32. p. 148, 9.

^b On this passage *Knott*, the Jesuit, having remarked, "Mr. Hooker, esteemed by many Protestants an incomparable man, yields as much as we have alleged out of you. 'The will of God is' (says he) 'to have them to do whatsoever the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine, yea, though it seem, in their private opinion, to swerve utterly from that which is right.' Does not this man tell Luther *what* the will of God was; which he transgressing, must of necessity be guilty of schism? And must not Mr. Hooker either acknowledge the universal infallibility of the Church, or else drive men into the perplexities and labyrinths of dissembling against their conscience?" Chillingworth thus replies, "For Mr. Hooker, if writing against Puritans he had said something unawares that might give advantage to Papists, it were not inexcusable; seeing it is a matter of such extreme difficulty, to hold such a temper in opposing one extreme opinion as not to seem to favour the others. Yet if his words be rightly considered, there is nothing in them that will do you any service. For, though he says that *men are bound to do whatsoever the sentence of final decision shall determine*, as it is plain men are bound to yield such an obedience to all courts of civil judicature; yet he says not, they are *bound to think* that determination lawful, and that sentence just. Nay, it is plain, he says, that they *must do according to the judge's sentence, though in their private opinion it seem unjust*. As if I be cast wrongfully in a suit at law, and sentenced to pay a hundred pounds, I am bound to pay the money; yet I know no law of God or man that binds

opinion to swerve utterly from that which is right: as no doubt many times the sentence amongst the Jews did seem unto one me in conscience to acquit the judge of error in his sentence He supposes and allows, that in their private opinion they may *think* this sentence to which they yield a *passive obedience*, to swerve utterly from that which is right. If you will draw his words to such a conclusion, as if he had said *they must think the sentence of judicial and final decision just and right*, though it *seem in their private opinion to swerve utterly from what is right*; it is manifest you make him contradict himself, and make him say in effect, they must think thus, though at the same time they think the contrary.

“This answer to this place the words themselves offered me, even as they are alleged by you. But upon perusal of the place in the author himself, I find that here, as elsewhere, you and Mr. Brerely wrong him extremely. For, mutilating his words, you make him say *that* absolutely, which he there expressly limits to some certain cases.

“‘In litigious and controverted cases of such a quality,’ says he, ‘the will of God is to have them do whatsoever the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine.’ Observe, I pray, he says, not *absolutely* and in *all* causes, this is the will of God: but only in *litigious* causes, of the quality of those whereof he there entreats. In such matters as have plain Scripture or reason, neither *for* them nor *against* them, and wherein men are persuaded this or that way, upon their own only probable collection, in such cases, *this persuasion*, says he, *ought to be fully settled in men’s hearts*, that *the will of God is, that they should not disobey the certain commands of their lawful superiors*, upon *uncertain grounds*: but *do that which the sentence of judicial and final decision shall determine*.—For the purpose: a question there is, whether a surplice may be worn in divine service? The authority of superiors enjoins this ceremony, and neither Scripture nor reason plainly forbids it. Sempronius, notwithstanding, is by some inducements, which he confesses to be only probable, led to this persuasion; that the thing is unlawful. The query is whether he ought, for *matter of practice*, to follow the injunction of authority or his own private and only probable persuasion? Mr. Hooker resolves for the former upon this ground, that the certain commands of the Church we live in, are to be obeyed in all things, not certainly unlawful. . . . But, as for requiring a blind and unlimited obedience to ecclesiastical decisions universally, and in all cases, even when plain texts or reason seems to control them, Mr. H. is as far from making such an idol of ecclesiastical authority, as the Puritans whom he writes against.” *Religion of Protestants*, &c. chap. v. § 109, 10.

“Subscribing to a synod, or to the articles of a synod, is no such terrible thing as they make it; because if I am of a synod, it is agreed, (either tacitly or expressly,) *that which the major part determines*, the rest are involved in: and therefore I subscribe, though my own private opinion be otherwise. And upon the same ground I may without scruple subscribe to what those have determined whom I sent, though my private opinion be otherwise;—having respect to that which is the ground of all assemblies—the major part carries it.” *Selden’s Table Talk*, art. *Synod*. § 6.

part or other contending, and yet in this case, God did then allow them to do that which in their private judgment it seemed, yea and perhaps truly seemed, that the law did disallow. For if God be not the author of confusion but of peace, then can He not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence; without which almost impossible it is that either we should avoid confusion, or ever hope to attain peace. To small purpose had the council of Jerusalem been assembled, if once their determination being set down, men might afterwards have defended their former opinions. When therefore they had given their definitive sentence, all controversy was at an end. Things were disputed before they came to be determined; men afterwards were not to dispute any longer but to obey^a. The

^a "While things are in agitation, private men may, if any thing seem to them inexpedient, modestly tender their thoughts, together with the reasons thereof, to the consideration of those that are in authority; to whose care and wisdom it belongs, in prescribing any thing concerning indifferent things, to proceed with all just advisedness and moderation: that so the subject may be encouraged to perform that obedience *with cheerfulness*, which of necessity he *must* perform howsoever. It concerns therefore superiors to look well to the *expediency* and *inexpediency* of what they enjoin in indifferent things. Wherein if there be a fault, it must lie upon *their* account: the necessity of obedience is to *us* a sufficient discharge in that behalf, only it were good we did remember, that they are to give up that account to *God only* and not to *us*. But, after things are once concluded and established by public authority, acts passed, and constitutions made concerning the same, and the will and pleasure of the higher powers sufficiently made known therein; *then* for private men to put in their vie, and with unreasonable diligence to call in question the decency or expediency of the things so established; yea, with intolerable pride to refuse obedience thereunto, merely upon this pretension, that they are indecent or inexpedient, is itself indeed the most indecent and inexpedient thing that can be imagined." *Sanderson's Sermons*, 12th ad Aulam, § 35, p. 553, edit. 1686.

"In time of a parliament, when things are under debate, they are indifferent; but in a church or state settled, there is nothing left indifferent." *Selden's Table Talk*, art. "Things indifferent."

"If we once come to leave that outloose," (outlet) "as to pretend conscience against law, who knows what inconvenience may follow? For thus, suppose an Anabaptist comes and takes my horse,—I sue him. He tells me, He did according to his conscience: his conscience tells him all things are common amongst the saints; what is mine is his: therefore you do ill to make such a law? What can I say to this man? he does according to his conscience.—If any man takes another's horse he shall be hanged. Why is not he as honest a man as he that pretends a ceremony established by law is against his conscience? Generally to pretend conscience against law is dangerous: in some cases haply we may." *Ibid.* art. "Conscience," § 3.

sentence of judgment finished their strife, which their disputes before judgment could not do. This was ground sufficient for any reasonable man's conscience to build the duty of obedience upon, whatsoever his own opinion were as touching the matter before in question. So full of wilfulness and self-liking is our nature, that without some definitive sentence, which being given may stand, and a necessity of silence on both sides afterward imposed, small hope there is that strifes thus far prosecuted will in short time quietly end.

4. Now it were in vain to ask you, whether ye could be content that the sentence of any court already erected should be so far authorised, as that among the Jews established by God Himself, for the determining of all controversies: "That man which will do presumptuously, not hearkening unto the priest that stands before the Lord to minister there, nor unto the judge, let him die." Ye have given us already to understand, what your opinion is in part concerning her sacred Majesty's court of high commission; the nature whereof is the same with that amongst the Jews, albeit the power be not so great. The other way happily may like you better, because Master Beza, in his last book save one¹ written about these matters, professes himself to be now weary of such combats and encounters, whether by word or writing, inasmuch as he finds that "controversies thereby are made but brawls;" and therefore wishes "that in some common lawful assembly of Churches, all these strifes may at once be decided."

5. Shall there be in the meanwhile no "doings?" Yes. There are the weightier matters of the law—"judgment, and mercy, and fidelity?" These things we ought to do; and these things, while we contend about less, we leave undone. Happier are they whom the Lord when He comes, shall find doing in these things, than disputing about "doctors, elders, and deacons." Or

¹ Præf. Tract. de Excom. et Presbyt. ["Ab illis peto, . . . ut me jampridem istarum concertationum pertæsum, quibus in rixas evadere potius quam mitigari, nedum extinguere controversias apparet, non inviti patiantur vel partes istas minus occupatis aliis fratribus relinquere, si fuerit opus, obeundas; vel tacitum expectare, donec aut Ecclesiæ suæ sic domi et foris vexatæ precibus hoc tribuat Dominus, ut lites omnes istæ communi aliquo legitimo ecclesiarum conventu decendantur; vel mihi denique septuagesimum primum jam annum in terris peregrinanti portus ille beatæ et perennis quietis, ad quem totus anhelus, per clementissimi Servatoris mei misericordiam patefiat."]

² Matt. xxiii. 23.

if there be no remedy but somewhat needs ye must do which may tend to the setting forward of your discipline, do that which wise men^a, who think some statute of the realm more fit to be repealed than to stand in force, are accustomed to do before they come to parliament where the place of enacting is; that is to say, spend the time in re-examining more duly your cause, and in more thoroughly considering of that which ye labour to overthrow. As for the orders which are established, sith equity and reason, the law of nature, God and man, do all favour that which is in being, till orderly judgment of decision be given against it; it is but justice to exact of you, and perverseness in you it should be to deny, thereunto your willing obedience.

6. Not that I judge it a thing allowable for men to observe those laws which in their hearts they are steadfastly persuaded to be against the law of God: but your persuasion in this case ye are all bound for the time to suspend; and in otherwise doing, ye offend against God by troubling His Church without any just or necessary cause.—Be it that there are some reasons inducing you to think hardly of our laws; are those reasons demonstrative, are they necessary, or but mere probabilities only. An argument necessary and demonstrative is such as being proposed unto any man and understood, the mind cannot choose but inwardly assent. Any one such reason discharges, I grant, the conscience, and sets it at full liberty. For the public approbation given by the body of this whole Church unto those things which are established does make it but probable that they are good; and, therefore, unto a necessary proof that they are not good, it must give place. But if the skilfullest amongst you can show that all the books ye have hitherto written be able to afford any one argument of this nature, let the instance be given. As for probabilities, what thing was there ever set down so agreeable with sound reason, but some probable show against it might be made? Is it meet that when publicly things are received, and have taken place, general obedience thereunto should cease to be exacted, in case this or that private person, led with some probable conceit, should make open protestation, “I Peter or John disallow them, and pronounce them nought?” In which case your answer will be, that concerning the laws of our Church, they are not only condemned in the opinion of “a private man,

^a Compare below, chap. ix. § 1.

but of thousands," yea, and even "of those amongst which divers are in public charge and authority¹." As though when public consent of the whole has established any thing, every man's judgment being thereunto compared were not private, howsoever his calling be to some kind of public charge: so that of peace and quietness there is not any way possible, unless the probable voice of every entire society or body politic overrule all private of like nature in the same body. Which thing effectually proves that God, being author of peace and not of confusion in the Church, must needs be author of those men's peaceable resolutions, who, concerning these things, have determined with themselves to think and do as the Church they are of decrees till they see necessary cause enforcing them to the contrary².

¹ T. C. lib. iii. p. 181.

² See *Sanderson's* Sermon iv. § 24. p. 72. "If a man be in his conscience fully persuaded that a thing is evil and unlawful, which yet in truth is not so, but lawful, the thing by him so judged unlawful cannot by him be done without sin. Even an *erroneous* conscience binds thus far, that a man cannot go against it and be guiltless; because his practice should then run cross to his judgment: and so the thing done could not be of faith. For if his reason judge it to be evil, and yet he will do it, it argues manifestly that he has a will to do evil, and so becomes a transgressor of that general law, which binds all men to eschew all evil. . . . (Further), if the things so misjudged to be unlawful, be any way necessary, either in respect of their own nature, or by the injunction of *authority*, then the person is by that his error brought into such a strait between two sins, as he can by no possible means avoid both, so long as he persist in that his error. For, both if he do the thing, he goes against the persuasion of his conscience—and that is a great sin; and if he do it not, either he omits a necessary duty, or else disobeys lawful authority: and to do either of both is a sin, too. Out of which snare, since there is no way of escape but one, which is *to rectify his judgment*, and *to quit his pernicious error*, it concerns every man, therefore, that unfeignedly desires to do his duty in the fear of God, and to keep a good conscience, not to be too stiff in his present apprehensions, but to examine well the principles and grounds of his opinions; strongly suspecting that wind that drives him upon such rocks, to be but a blast of his own fancy, rather than a breathing of the holy Spirit of truth." Again, (for the subject is a most important one,) § 29. "If the conscience have already passed a judgment upon a thing, and condemned it as simply unlawful, in that case it is true that a man ought not by any means to do that thing—no, not at the command of any magistrate; no, nor although his conscience have pronounced a wrong sentence, and erred in that judgment; for then should he do it *repugnante conscientia*, he should go directly against his own conscience,—which he ought not to do, whatsoever come of it. In such a case certainly he may not obey the magistrate. Yet let him know thus much withal, that he sins, too, in disobeying

VII. Nor is mine own intent any other in these several books of discourse, than to make it appear unto you, that for the ecclesiastical laws of this land, we are led by great reason to observe them, and ye by no necessity bound to impugn them. It is no part of my secret meaning to draw you hereby into hatred, or to set upon the face of this cause any fairer gloss than the naked truth does afford; but my whole endeavour is to resolve the conscience, and to show as near as I can what in this controversy the heart is to think, if it will follow the light of sound and sincere judgment, without either cloud of prejudice, or mist of passionate affection.

2. Wherefore seeing that laws and ordinances in particular, whether such as we observe, or such as yourselves would have established—when the mind does sift and examine them, it must needs have often recourse to a number of doubts and questions about the nature, kinds, and qualities of laws in general; whereof, unless it be thoroughly informed, there will appear no certainty to stay our persuasion upon: I have for that cause set down in the first place an introduction on both sides needful to be considered; declaring therein what law is, how different kinds of laws there are, and what force they are of, according unto each kind.

3. This done, because ye suppose the laws for which ye strive are found in Scripture, but those not against which ye strive; and upon this surmise are drawn to hold it as the very main pillar^a of your whole cause, “that Scripture ought to be the only rule of all our actions,” and consequently, that the Church orders which we observe being not commanded in Scripture, are offensive and displeasing unto God: I have spent the second book in sifting of this point, which stands with you for the first and chiefest principle whereon ye build.

4. Whereunto the next in degree is, that as God will have

the magistrate; from which sin the following the judgment of his own conscience cannot acquit him. And this is that fearful perplexity whereof I spake; whereinto many a man casteth himself by his own error and obstinacy, so that he can neither go *with* his conscience, nor *against* it, *but he shall sin*. And, *who can help it*, if a man will needs cherish an error, and persist in it?” See *Mason’s Sermon*, § 35, and notes, given below in this collection. Also *Bishop Taylor’s Sermon* before the Parliament (1661).

^a See *Sanderson’s Preface* (1557), § 20. and *Mason’s Sermon*, § 29; both given below in this collection.

always a Church upon earth, while the world does continue, and that Church stand in need of government—of which government it behoves Himself to be both the Author and Teacher: so it cannot stand with duty that man should ever presume in any wise to change and alter the same; and, therefore, “that in Scripture there must of necessity be found some particular form of polity ecclesiastical,—the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration.”

5. The first three books being thus ended, the fourth proceeds from the general grounds and foundations of your cause unto your general accusations against us, as having in the orders of our Church (for so you pretend) “corrupted the right form of Church polity with manifold Popish rites and ceremonies, which certain reformed Churches have banished from amongst them, and have thereby given us such example as (you think) we ought to follow.” This your assertion has herein drawn us to make search, whether these be just exceptions against the customs of our Church, when ye plead that they are the same which the Church of Rome has, or that they are not the same which some other reformed Churches have devised.

6. Of those four books which remain, and are bestowed about the specialities of that cause which lies in controversy, the first examines the causes by you alleged, wherefore the public duties of Christian religion—as our prayers, our sacraments, and the rest, should not be ordered in such sort as with us they are; nor that power, whereby the persons of men are consecrated unto the ministry, be disposed of in such manner as the laws of this Church do allow. The second and third are concerning the power of jurisdiction: the one, whether laymen—such as your governing elders are—ought in all congregations for ever to be invested with that power; the other, whether bishops may have that power over other pastors, and therewithal that honour, which with us they have? And because besides the power of order which all consecrated persons have, and the power of jurisdiction which neither they all nor they only have, there is a third power,—a power of ecclesiastical dominion, communicable, as we think, unto persons not ecclesiastical, and most fit to be restrained unto the prince or sovereign commander over the whole body politic: the eighth book we have allotted unto this question, and have sifted therein your objections against those pre-eminences royal which thereunto appertain.

7. Thus have I laid before you the brief of these my travails, and presented unto your view the limbs of that cause litigious between us: the whole entire body whereof being thus compact, it shall be no troublesome thing for any man to find each particular controversy's resting place, and the coherence it has with those things, either on which it depends, or which depend on it.

VIII. The case so standing, therefore, my brethren, as it does, the wisdom of governors ye must not blame, in that they further also forecasting the manifold strange and dangerous innovations which are more than likely to follow if your discipline should take place, have for that cause thought it hitherto a part of their duty to withstand your endeavours that way. The rather, for that they have seen already some small beginnings of the fruits thereof, in them who concurring with you in judgment about the necessity of that discipline, have adventured without more ado to separate themselves from the rest of the Church, and to put your speculations in execution. These men's hastiness the warier sort of you does not commend; ye wish they had held themselves longer in, and not so dangerously flown abroad before the feathers of the cause had been grown; their error with merciful terms ye reprove, naming them, in great commiseration of mind, your "poor brethren." They on the contrary side more bitterly accuse you^a as their "false brethren;" and against you they plead, saying: "From your breasts it is that we have sucked things, which when ye delivered unto us ye termed that heavenly, sincere, and wholesome milk of God's word¹, howsoever ye now abhor as poison that which the virtue thereof hath wrought and brought forth in us. You sometime our companions, guides, and familiars, with whom we have had most sweet consultations², are now become our professed adversaries, because we think the statute-congregations in England to be no true Christian Churches³;

^a "They have written books one against another, and do most bitterly condemn the doings and proceedings one of another.—'You,' (saith one sort of them) in that you *separate* yourselves from the public assemblies in England, are become plain Donatists and heretics.' 'You,' (saith the other) 'in that you, having laid the foundations whereupon we stand, and yet do join yourselves with *them*, are become mere hypocrites, and apostates. It had been better for you never to have known the truth, than by such your dealings to have so betrayed it.'" *Bancroft's Sermon*, p. 313.

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 2.

² Psalm lv. 13.

³ [See the opinions charged on Barrow and Greenwood before the court of

because we have severed ourselves from them ; and because without their leave and license that are in civil authority, we have secretly framed our own Churches according to the platform of the word of God. For of that point between you and us there is no controversy.—Alas ! what would ye have us to do ? At such time as ye were content to accept us in the number of your own, your teachings we heard, we read your writings : and though we would, yet able we are not to forget with what zeal ye have ever professed, that in the English congregations (for so many of them as be ordered according unto their own laws) the very public service of God is fraught as touching matter with heaps of intolerable pollutions, and as concerning form, borrowed from the shop of Antichrist ; hateful both ways in the eyes of the Most Holy ; the kind of their government by bishops and archbishops antichristian ; that discipline which Christ hath ‘essentially tied,’ that is to say, so united unto his Church, that we cannot account it really to be his Church which hath not in it the same discipline, that very discipline no less there despised, than in the highest throne of Antichrist ; all such parts of the word of God as do any way concern that discipline no less unsoundly taught and interpreted by all authorized English pastors, than by Antichrist’s factors themselves ; at baptism crossing, at the supper of the Lord kneeling, at both, a number of other the most notorious badges of antichristian recognizance usual. Being moved with these and the like your effectual discourses, whereunto we gave most attentive ear, till they entered even into our souls, and were as fire within our bosoms ; we thought we might hereof be bold to conclude, that sith no such antichristian synagogue may be accounted a true Church of Christ, you by accusing all congregations ordered according to the laws of England as antichristian, did mean to condemn those congregations, as not being any of them worthy the name of a true Christian Church. Ye tell us now it is not your meaning^a. But what meant your often threatenings of them,

high commission, Nov. 1587, in Paule’s *Life of Whitgift* ; Wordsworth, E. B. IV. 356. One of them is, “that all the precise, which refuse the ceremonies of the Church, and yet preach in the same Church, strain at a gnat and swallow a camel : and are close hypocrites, and walk in a left-handed policy : as Master Cartwright, Wiggington,” &c. Some further information on this subject will be given in the notes on Cranmer’s letter to Hooker.

^a In a chapter entitled “their disagreement concerning the necessity of a

who professing themselves the inhabitants of Mount Sion, were too loth to depart wholly as they should out of Babylon? Whereat

consistorial government," *Bancroft* writes as follows: "But most of all it pleases me to see how Master Cartwright draweth homeward. For as the Anabaptists by their madness kept Master Calvin within some good compass; and as Master Beza has been compelled in some sort to retire himself from his former eagerness, so assuredly the phrenetical giddiness of our new unbridled schismatics, who for pretended purity are many degrees beyond all the Savoyan disciplinarians, has wrought a miracle, to my understanding, upon Master Cartwright. For hear him, how for fear of falling into flat Donatism, he was fain to plead against one that had been his scholar, in behalf of the Church of England, so bitterly before by himself impugned. 'The ordinary assemblies,' says he in a letter to Harrison, 'of those which profess the Gospel in England, are the Churches of Christ.' Which he proveth in this sort. Those assemblies which have Christ for their head, and the same also for their foundation, are God's Churches;

"Such are the assemblies of England;

"Therefore, &c.

"Again:

"They that have performed unto them the special covenant which the Lord hath made with his Churches, of pouring his Spirit upon them, and putting his word into their mouths, are the Churches of God:

"But such are the assemblies of England;

"Therefore, &c.

"Hereunto may be added, says he further, the judgment of all the Churches of Christ in Europe, all which give the right hand of society into the house of God unto the assemblies which are in England. Again, to prove that the Church of England is the Church of God, notwithstanding it want the pretended discipline, he useth this distinction: that as it is in man's body, so is it in this matter, there are certain parts essential, and such as without the which a man cannot stand; and some serving either to his comeliness, or to his continuance—and of this latter sort he makes the discipline. And lastly, he writeth thus: 'To say that the Church of England is not the Church of God, because it has not received this discipline, methinks is all one with this, as if a man would say, It is no city, because it has no wall; or, that it is no vineyard, because it has neither hedge nor ditch.'

"Thus far Master Cartwright: in which his manner of speech you find a very great alteration from his ancient style: and as concerning the *necessity* whereof I entreat, the wind, you see, is turned. There is no more necessity in England of the Geneva platform, than that every city in this realm should be walled about. And besides, the pretended discipline is become not to be any longer of *the essence* of the Church, but as appertaining to *the comeliness* of it. But how these things will accord with the premises, and namely with his subscription before mentioned to the new Book of Discipline, where the same discipline is made to be *essential*; or whether Master Cartwright has changed his judgment again since he wrote that answer to Harrison, I will

our hearts being fearfully troubled, we durst not, we durst not continue longer so near her confines, lest her plagues might suddenly overtake us, before we did cease to be partakers with their sins: for so we could not choose but acknowledge with grief that we were, when, they doing evil, we by our presence in their assemblies seemed to like thereof, or at leastwise not so earnestly to dislike, as became men heartily zealous of God's glory. For adventuring to erect the discipline of Christ without the leave of the Christian magistrate, haply ye may condemn us as fools, in that we hazard thereby our estates and persons further than you which are that way more wise think necessary: but of any offence or sin therein committed against God, with what conscience can you accuse us, when your own positions are, that the things we observe should every of them be dearer unto us than ten thousand lives; that they are the peremptory commandments of God; that no mortal man can dispense with them, and that the magistrate grievously sinneth in not constraining thereunto? Will ye blame any man for doing that of his own accord, which all men should be compelled to do that are not willing of themselves? When God commandeth, shall we answer that we will obey, if so be Cæsar will grant us leave? Is discipline an ecclesiastical matter or a civil? If an ecclesiastical, it must of necessity belong to the duty of the minister. And the minister (you say) holdeth all his authority of doing whatsoever belongeth unto the spiritual charge of the house of God even immediately from God Himself, without dependancy upon any magistrate. Whereupon it followeth, as we suppose, that the hearts of the people being willing to be under the sceptre of Christ, the minister of God, into whose hands the Lord Himself hath put that sceptre, is without all excuse if thereby he guide them not. Nor do we find that hitherto greatly ye have disliked those Churches abroad, where the people with direction of their godly ministers have even against the will of the magistrate brought in either the doctrine or discipline of Jesus Christ. For which cause we must now think the very same thing of you, which our Saviour did sometime utter concerning false-hearted Scribes and Pharisees, 'they say, and do

leave it to be discussed by those that know his unrevealed mind better than I do. In the mean time that which he hath granted, I think it meet to take hold of." Survey, p. 447—9.

not¹.” Thus the foolish Barrowist derives his schism^a by way of conclusion, as to him it seems, directly and plainly out of your principles. Him therefore we leave to be satisfied by you from whom he has sprung.

2. And if such by your own acknowledgment be persons dangerous, although as yet the alterations which they have made are of small and tender growth; the changes likely to ensue throughout all states and vocations within this land, in case your desire should take place, must be thought upon.

First concerning the supreme power of the Highest, they are no small prerogatives, which now thereunto belonging the form of your discipline will constrain it to resign; as in the last book of this treatise we have showed at large.

Again it may justly be feared whether our English nobility, when the matter came in trial, would contentedly suffer themselves to be always at the call^b, and to stand to the sentence of a number of mean persons assisted with the presence of their poor teacher, a man (as sometimes it happens) though better able to speak, yet little or no whit apter to judge, than the rest: from whom, be their dealings never so absurd, (unless it be by way of complaint to a synod,) no appeal may be made unto any one of

¹ Matt. xxiii. 3.

^a See further evidence to this effect in *Bancroft's Survey*, chap. xxxiii. p. 430—6.

^b “Now surely it were a goodly sight to see the noblemen and gentlemen of England, discharging all these duties in their own persons; and especially ministering the cup at the holy communion. In what reputation should ministers be, that should have such eyes, such aiders, such informers! What would the people, think you, say, when they should see these noblemen and gentlemen come to the pastors with their cups in their hands severally saying, ‘May it please you, sir, there is a stranger come lately to dwell within my tribe:’ another, ‘There is a child to be baptized within my tribe:’ another, ‘This and that fellow are obstinate persons within my tribe:’ and altogether, if they know any that presumed (so) to come to the communion, ‘O Sir! here is a fellow you have not spoken withal:’ and when, I say, the people should see these things, and the like: and, on the other side, likewise perceive and hear their ministers, as I imagine, give a nod with their heads, and answer unto them, ‘Very well, you have done your duties, and we commend you for it: bring this: take away that;’ &c. would they not fall down, think you, and worship these rabbies? But, you must remember always that they hate superiority. Equality, that is it, which pleaseth them. Indeed they talk of an equality amongst themselves: but otherwise they affect no small superiority over all men besides.” *Bancroft's Survey*, p. 170.

higher power, inasmuch as the order of your discipline admits no standing inequality of courts, no spiritual judge to have any ordinary superior on earth, but as many supremacies as there are parishes and several congregations.

3. Neither is it altogether without cause that so many do fear the overthrow of all learning as a threatened sequel of this your intended discipline. For if "the world's preservation" depend upon "the multitude of the wise¹;" and of that sort the number hereafter be not likely to wax over-great, "when" (that wherewith the son of Sirach professes himself at the heart grieved) "men of understanding are" already so "little set by²:" how should their minds whom the love of so precious a jewel fills with secret jealousy even in regard of the least things which may any way hinder the flourishing estate thereof, choose but misdoubt lest this discipline, which always you match with divine doctrine as her natural and true sister, be found unto all kinds of knowledge a stepmother; seeing that the greatest worldly hopes, which are proposed unto the chiefest kind of learning, ye seek utterly to extirpate as weeds, and have grounded your platform on such propositions as do after a sort undermine those most renowned habitations, where, through the goodness of Almighty God, all commendable arts and sciences are with exceeding great industry hitherto (and so may they for ever continue) studied, proceeded in, and professed? To charge you as purposely bent to the overthrow of that, wherein so many of you have attained no small perfection, were injurious. Only therefore I wish that yourselves did well consider, how opposite certain of your positions are unto the state of collegiate societies, whereon the two universities consist. Those degrees which their statutes bind them to take are by your laws taken away³; yourselves who have sought them ye so excuse, as that ye would have men to think ye judge them not allowable, but tolerable only, and to be borne with, for some help which ye find in them unto the furtherance of your purposes, till the corrupt estate of the Church may be better reformed. Your laws forbidding ecclesiastical persons utterly the exercise of civil power must needs deprive the heads and masters in the same

¹ Sap. vi. 24.

² Ecclus. xxvi. 28.

³ [Adm. 16. The titles of oure universitie doctors, and bachelors of divinitie, are not only for vayn glory sought and graunted, but there they are the names of course, conferred rather by the prophane judgments of them that know not what office of the Church they belong too, &c.]

colleges of all such authority as now they exercise, either at home, by punishing the faults of those, who not as children to their parents by the law of nature, but altogether by civil authority are subject unto them ; or abroad by keeping courts amongst their tenants. Your laws making permanent inequality amongst ministers a thing repugnant to the word of God, enforce those colleges, the seniors whereof are all or any part of them ministers under the government of a master in the same vocation, to choose as oft as they meet together a new president. For if so ye judge it necessary to do in synods, for the avoiding of permanent inequality amongst ministers, the same cause must needs, even in these collegiate assemblies, enforce the like. Except peradventure ye mean to avoid all such absurdities by dissolving those corporations, and by bringing the universities unto the form of the school of Geneva. Which thing men the rather are inclined to look for, inasmuch as the ministry, whereinto their founders with singular providence have by the same statutes appointed them necessarily to enter at a certain time, your laws bind them much more necessarily to forbear, till some parish abroad call for them ¹.

4. Your opinion concerning the Law Civil is that the knowledge thereof might be spared, as a thing which this land does not need. Professors in that kind being few, ye are the bolder to spurn at them, and not to dissemble your minds as concerning their removal ; in whose studies, although myself have not much been conversant, nevertheless, exceeding great cause I see there is to wish that thereunto more encouragement were given, as well for the singular treasures of wisdom therein contained, as also for the great use we have thereof, both in decision of certain kinds of causes arising daily within ourselves, and especially for commerce with nations abroad, whereunto that knowledge is most requisite. The reasons wherewith ye would persuade that Scripture is the only rule to frame all our actions by, are in every respect as effectual for proof that the same is the only law whereby to determine all our civil controversies. And then what does let, but that as those men may have their desire, who frankly broach it already that the work of reformation will never be perfect till the law of Jesus Christ be received alone ; so pleaders and counsellors may bring their books of the Common Law, and bestow

¹ [Decl. of Disc. transl. by T. C. p. 155.]

them as the students of curious and needless arts¹ did theirs in the apostles' time? I leave them to scan how far those words of yours may reach, wherein ye declare that, whereas now many houses lie waste through inordinate suits of law, "this one thing will show the excellency of discipline for the wealth of the realm, and quiet of subjects; that the Church is to censure such a party who is apparently troublesome and contentious, and without *reasonable cause*, upon a mere will and stomach, does vex and molest his brother, and trouble the country²." For mine own part I do not see but that it might very well agree with your principles, if your discipline were fully planted, even to send out your writs of surcease unto all courts of England besides, for the most things handled in them^a.

5. A great deal further I might proceed and descend lower. But forasmuch as against all these and the like difficulties your answer is, that we ought to search what things are consonant to God's will, not which be most for our own ease; and therefore

¹ Acts xix. 19.

² Humb. Motion, p. 74.

^a Admonition to the people of England, by T. C. (*Bishop Cooper*.) p. 77. "First, the whole state of the laws of this realm will be altered; for the canon law must be utterly taken away, with all offices to the same belonging; which to supply with other laws and functions, without many inconveniences, will be very hard. The use and study of the civil law will be utterly overthrown; for the civilians in this realm live not by the use of the civil law, but by the offices of the canon law, and such things as are within the compass thereof. And if you take those offices and functions away, and those matters wherewith they deal in the canon law, you must needs take away the hope of reward, and by that means, their whole study. And matters of tithes, testaments, and matrimony, judgments also of adultery, slander, &c. are in these men's judgments merely temporal, and therefore to be dealt in by the temporal magistrate only, which as yet have either none at all, or very few laws touching those things. Therefore the temporal and common law of this realm must by that occasion receive also a very great alteration. . . .

"Beside this, the judicial law of the Jews, especially for such offences as are against the law of God, must be brought into this commonweal; for to this opinion do they plainly incline; for they say already flatly, that no magistrate can save the life of a blasphemmer, idolater, murderer, adulterer, incestuous person, and such like, which God by his judicial law has commanded to be put to death. The same assertion must have like authority for the contrary, that is, that a magistrate ought not to punish by death those offences that God by his judicial law has not appointed to be punished by death; and so may not our laws punish theft by death, nor divers other felonies; and so some of them have openly preached. The laws also maintaining the queen's supremacy in governing the Church, and her prerogative in matters ecclesiastical, as well elections as others, must be also abrogated."

that your discipline being (for such is your error) the absolute commandment of Almighty God, it must be received, although the world ^a by receiving it should be clean turned upside down :

^a It may not be amiss to give a specimen or two of this temper. The instance first selected will be felt to be of the more weight, when it is mentioned that it is taken from a letter styled "A godly and zealous Letter," addressed to men so estimable, on many accounts, as were Miles Coverdale, and Sampson, and Humphrey, and Lever. The writer is Anthony Gilby.

"Well! by God's power we have fought with the *wolves*," (he means the Papists,) "for these and such like Popish chaff, and God has given the victory. We have now to do with the *foxes*;" (he means the bishops, &c. of the reformed Protestant Church.) "Let us not fear. There is no craft or policy against the Lord. We have Christ and his Apostles, and all the prophets ever striving against the hypocrites of their time on our side. A straw for Popish policy! We have the word of God to warrant us to root out all monuments of superstition and idolatry; and are charged to abhor them, to account them accursed, and to defy them and detest them, as a menstruous cloth. They have not the word of God; and what wisdom is in them, says God by his prophet Jeremiah? *They talk of obedience and concord*; but there is no *obedience* against the Lord; nor any *concord* to be desired, but where God's glory and verity is preferred. Else, *better to have all the world to run in hurly-burly, and heaven and earth to shake*, than one jot of God's glory should decay, so far as in us lies." Part of a Register, p. 14. Again, what the bowels of mercy in this man were will appear from a few sentences which follow, on the same page. "That *wolf* Winchester," (Bishop Gardiner) "and his butcher Bonner fought once against us for the grounds of this gear," (i. e. for Popery, the "grounds" of the "habits and ceremonies," &c.) "but, lo! how the Lord, within two or three years, overthrew them all, *to give us courage to go forward*. We are too slack and negligent. *That monster remains*," (Bonner, it is well known, was compassionately permitted to remain, and perhaps for the security of his life, under the roof of his successors, and this minister of the gospel of mercy grudges at, and denounces the clemency,) "and is fed, as the Papists say, for their sakes. And we grant that his paunch is fed for some secret purpose. We do cry 'Kill this traitor, enemy to the crown, to the realm, to God and man, which burned God's holy Testament, and murdered his saints and servants.' We have the law of God and man for us. We are answered. 'Nay, yourselves shall be compelled to turn your cloth, your coats, and caps, and to get you into *his* livery, and to be like him in his garments.' O Elias! that thou hadst lived, or that thy spirit were amongst us! The Papists glory that the hot gospellers shall now be driven to wear their attires. Let us never give them any cause of joy, *though we should die for it*!"

Again: from the "Complaint of the Commonalty to the High Court of Parliament for a Learned Ministry" (1586). But, if it be so provided, that *hereafter* none shall be admitted into the ministry, except those which are able to preach the word of God, and that, *in the mean time*, we shall be *contented to suffer* those idol ministers which are *already* entered into the

herein lies the greatest danger of all. For whereas the name of divine authority is used to countenance these things, which are not the commandments of God, but your own erroneous collections; on Him ye must father whatsoever ye shall afterwards be led, either to do in withstanding the adversaries of your cause, or to think in maintenance of your doings. And what this may be God does know. In such kinds of error the mind once imagining itself to seek the execution of God's will, labours forthwith to remove both things and persons which any way hinder it from taking place, and in such cases if any strange or new thing seem requisite to be done, a strange and new opinion concerning the lawfulness thereof is withal received and broached under countenance of divine authority.

6. One example¹ herein may serve for many, to show that false opinions, touching the will of God to have things done, are wont to bring forth mighty and violent practices against the hinderances of them; and those practices new opinions more pernicious than the first, yea most extremely sometimes opposite to that which the first did seem to intend. Where the people took upon them the reformation of the Church by casting out Popish superstition, they having received from their pastors a general instruction "that whatsoever the heavenly Father hath not planted must be rooted out²," proceeded in some foreign places so far that down went oratories and the very temples of God themselves. For as they chanced to take the compass of their commission stricter or larger, so their dealings were accordingly more or less moderate. Amongst others there sprang up presently one kind of men, with whose zeal and forwardness the rest being compared, were thought to be marvellous cold and dull; these grounding themselves on rules more general, that whatsoever the law of Christ commands not, thereof Antichrist is the

flock to wear out their miserable days amongst us; then this mischief perchance would drive us to these extremities, *either to wish* that we had not as yet been born in the world (for, better unborn than untaught), *or else*, that some *untimely death might suddenly fall upon these idols*, lest the most part of us should be plunged in the deep pit of hell before *their cursed days were ended*. And therefore the occasion of these unnatural desires *ought not to be enforced upon us*." Part of a Register, p. 247.

¹ [See *Abp. Whitgift's* Exhortation prefixed to the Answer to the Admonition. First edition, p. 13—16.]

² Matt. xv. 13. [See *Brandt. History of the Reformation in the Low Countries*, books ii. and vii.]

author ; and that whatsoever Antichrist or his adherents did in the world, the true professors of Christ are to undo ; found out many things more than others had done, the extirpation whereof was in their conceit as necessary as of any thing before removed. Hereupon they secretly made their doleful complaints every where as they went ¹, that albeit the world did begin to profess some dislike of that which was evil in the kingdom of darkness, yet fruits worthy of a true repentance were not seen ; and that if men did repent as they ought, they must endeavour to purge the earth of all manner of evil, to the end there might follow a new world afterward, wherein righteousness only should dwell. Private repentance they said must appear by every man's fashioning his own life contrary unto the customs and orders of this present world, both in greater things and in less. To this purpose they had always in their mouths those greater things, charity, faith, the true fear of God, the cross, the mortification of the flesh ². All their exhortations were to set light of the things in this world, to count riches and honours vanity, and in token thereof not only to seek neither, but if men were possessors of both, even to cast away the one and resign the other, that all men might see their unfeigned conversion unto Christ ³. They were solicitors of men to fasts ⁴, to often meditations of heavenly things, and as it were conferences in secret with God by prayers, not framed according to the frozen manner of the world, but expressing such fervent desires as might even force God to hearken unto them. Where they found men in diet, attire, furniture of house, or any other way, observers of civility and decent order, such they reprov'd as being carnally and earthly minded. Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered seemed to pierce like a sword through them ⁵. If any man were pleasant, their manner was presently with deep sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, " Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament ⁶." So great was their delight to be always in trouble, that such as did quietly lead their lives, they judg'd of all other men to be in most dangerous case. They so much affected to cross the ordinary custom in every thing, that when other men's use was to put on better attire, they would be sure to show themselves openly abroad in worse : the ordinary names of the days

¹ Guy de Brés contre l'Erreur des Anabaptistes, p. 3.

² P. 4.

³ P. 16.

⁴ P. 118, 119.

⁵ P. 116. 120.

⁶ Luke vi. 25.

in the week they thought it a kind of profaneness to use, and therefore accustomed themselves to make no other distinction than by numbers, the first, second, third day¹.

7. From this they proceeded unto public reformation, first ecclesiastical, and then civil. Touching the former, they boldly avouched that themselves only had the truth, which thing upon peril of their lives they would at all times defend; and that since the Apostles lived, the same was never before in all points sincerely taught². Wherefore that things might again be brought to that ancient integrity which Jesus Christ by his word requires, they began to control the ministers of the gospel for attributing so much force and virtue unto the Scriptures of God read, whereas the truth was, that when the word is said to engender faith in the heart, and to convert the soul of man, or to work any such spiritual divine effect, these speeches are not thereunto applicable as it is read or preached, but as it is engrafted in us by the power of the Holy Ghost opening the eyes of our understanding, and so revealing the mysteries of God, according to that which Jeremy promised before should be, saying, "I will put my law in their inward parts, and I will write it in their hearts³." The Book of God they notwithstanding for the most part so admired, that other disputation against their opinions than only by allegation of Scripture they would not hear; besides it they thought no other writings in the world should be studied; insomuch as one of their great prophets exhorting them to cast away all respects unto human writings, so far to his motion they condescended, that as many as had any books save the Holy Bible in their custody, they brought and set them publicly on fire⁴. When they and their Bibles were alone together, what strange fantastical opinion soever at any time entered into their heads, their use was to think the Spirit taught it them. Their phrensies concerning our Saviour's incarnation, the state of souls departed, and such like⁵, are things needless to be rehearsed. And forasmuch as they were of the same suit with those of whom the Apostle speaks, saying, "They are still learning, but never attain to the knowledge of truth⁶," it was no marvel to see them every day broach some new thing, not heard of before. Which restless levity they did interpret to be their growing to spiritual perfec-

¹ P. 117.² P. 40.³ Jer. xxxi. 33. [De Brés, p. 81. 92.]⁴ P. 27. [and 702.]⁵ [De Brés, l. ii. and iii.]⁶ 2 Tim. iii. 7. P. 65.

tion, and a proceeding from faith to faith¹. The differences amongst them grew by this mean in a manner infinite, so that scarcely was there found any one of them, the forge of whose brain was not possessed with some special mystery. Whereupon, although their mutual contentions² were most fiercely prosecuted amongst themselves, yet when they came to defend the cause common to them all against the adversaries of their faction, they had ways to lick one another whole; the sounder in his own persuasion excusing *the dear brethren*³, which were not so far enlightened, and professing a charitable hope of the mercy of God towards them notwithstanding their swerving from Him in some things. Their own ministers they highly magnified as men whose vocation was from God⁴, the rest their manner was to term disdainfully Scribes and Pharisees⁵, to account their calling a human creature, and to detain the people as much as might be from hearing them. As touching sacraments⁶, baptism administered in the Church of Rome they judged to be but an execrable mockery and no baptism: both because the ministers thereof in the Papacy are wicked idolaters, lewd persons, thieves and murderers, cursed creatures, ignorant beasts; and also for that to baptize is a proper action belonging unto none but the Church of Christ, whereas Rome is Antichrist's synagogue. The custom of using godfathers and godmothers at christenings they scorned⁷. Baptizing of infants, although confessed by themselves to have been continued ever sithence the very apostles' own times, yet they altogether condemned; partly because sundry errors are of no less antiquity⁸; and partly for that there is no commandment in the gospel of Christ which says, "Baptize infants⁹;" but He contrariwise in saying, "Go preach and baptize," does appoint that the minister of baptism shall in that action first administer doctrine, and then baptism; as also in saying, "Whosoever doth believe and is baptized," He appoints that the party to whom baptism is administered shall first believe and then be baptized; to the end that believing may go before this sacrament in the receiver, no otherwise than preaching in the giver; sith equally in both¹⁰ the law of Christ declares not only what things are required, but also in what order they are required. The Eucharist they received (pretending our Lord and Saviour's example)

¹ P. 66.² P. 135.³ P. 25.⁴ P. 71.⁵ P. 124.⁶ P. 764.⁷ P. 748.⁸ P. 514.⁹ P. 722. 726. 688.¹⁰ P. 518.

after supper; and for avoiding all those impieties which have been grounded upon the mystical words of Christ, "This is my body, this is my blood," they thought it not safe to mention either body or blood in that sacrament, but rather to abrogate both, and to use no words but these, "Take, eat, declare the death of our Lord: drink, show forth our Lord's death¹." In rites and ceremonies their profession was hatred of all conformity with the Church of Rome: for which cause they would rather endure any torment than observe the solemn festivals which others did, inasmuch as Antichrist (they said) was the first inventor of them².

8. The pretended end of their civil reformation was that Christ might have dominion over all; that all crowns and sceptres might be thrown down at his feet; that no other might reign over Christian men but He, no regiment keep them in awe but his discipline, amongst them no sword at all be carried besides his, the sword of spiritual excommunication. For this cause they laboured with all their might³ in overturning the seats of magistracy³, because Christ has said, "Kings of nations⁴;" in abolishing the execution of justice⁵, because Christ has said, "Resist not evil:" in forbidding oaths, the necessary means of judicial trial⁶, because Christ has said, "Swear not at all:" finally, in bringing in community of goods⁷, because Christ by his Apostles has given the world such example, to the end that men might excel one another not in wealth, the pillar of secular authority, but in virtue.

9. These men at the first were only pitied in their error, and not much withstood by any; the great humility, zeal, and devotion, which appeared to be in them, was in all men's opinion a pledge of their harmless meaning. The hardest that men of sound understanding conceived of them was but this, *O quam honestâ voluntate miseri errant!* "With how good a meaning these poor souls do evil⁸!" Luther made request unto Frederick Duke of Saxony⁹, that within his dominion they might be favourably dealt with and spared, for that (their error exempted) they seemed otherwise right good men. By means of which merciful tolera-

¹ P. 38.

² P. 122.

³ Compare Arts. XXXVII. XXXVIII. and XXXIX. of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.

⁴ P. 841.

⁵ [Luke xxii. 25.]

⁶ P. 833.

⁷ P. 849.

⁸ P. 40.

⁹ Lactant. de Justit. lib. v. c. 19. [p. 480. ed. Oxon. 1684.]

¹⁰ P. 6.

tion they gathered strength, much more than was safe for the state of the commonwealth wherein they lived. They had their secret corner-meetings and assemblies in the night, the people flocked unto them by thousands¹.

10. The means whereby they both allured and retained so great multitudes were most effectual: first, a wonderful show of zeal towards God, wherewith they seemed to be even rapt in every thing they spake: secondly, a hatred of sin, and a singular love of integrity, which men did think to be much more than ordinary in them, by reason of the custom which they had to fill the ears of the people with invectives against their authorised guides, as well spiritual as civil: thirdly, the bountiful relief wherewith they eased the broken estate of such needy creatures, as were in that respect the more apt to be drawn away²: fourthly, a tender compassion which they were thought to take upon the miseries of the common sort, over whose heads their manner was even to pour down showers of tears, in complaining that no respect was had unto them, that their goods were devoured by wicked cormorants, their persons had in contempt, all liberty both temporal and spiritual taken from them³, that it was high time for God now to hear their groans, and to send them deliverance: lastly, a cunning sleight which they had to stroke and smooth up the minds of their followers, as well by appropriating unto them all the favourable titles, the good words, and the gracious promises in Scripture; as also by casting the contrary always on the heads of such as were severed from that retinue. Whereupon the people's common acclamation unto such deceivers was, "These are verily the men of God, these are his true and sincere prophets⁴." If any such prophet or man of God did suffer by order of law condign and deserved punishment, were it for felony, rebellion, murder, or what else, the people, (so strangely were their hearts enchanted,) as though blessed St. Stephen had been again martyred, did lament that God took away his most dear servants from them⁵.

11. In all these things being fully persuaded, that what they did, it was obedience to the will of God, and that all men should do the like; there remained, after speculation, practice, whereby the whole world thereunto (if it were possible) might be framed.

¹ P. 4. 20. 41 42.

³ P. 6, 7.

² P. 55.

⁴ P. 7.

⁵ P. 27.

This they saw could not be done but with mighty opposition and resistance ; against which to strengthen themselves, they secretly entered into league of association ¹. And peradventure considering, that although they were many, yet long wars would in time waste them out ; they began to think whether it might not be that God would have them do, for their speedy and mighty increase, the same which sometime God's own chosen people, the people of Israel, did. Glad and fain they were to have it so ; which very desire was itself apt to breed both an opinion of possibility, and a willingness to gather arguments of likelihood, that so God Himself would have it. Nothing more clear unto their seeming, than that a new Jerusalem being often spoken of in Scripture, they undoubtedly were themselves that new Jerusalem, and the old did by way of a certain figurative resemblance signify what they should both be and do. Here they drew in a sea of matter, by applying all things unto their own company, which are any where spoken concerning divine favours and benefits bestowed upon the old commonwealth of Israel : concluding that as Israel was delivered out of Egypt, so they spiritually out of the Egypt of this world's servile thralldom unto sin and superstition ; as Israel was to root out the idolatrous nations, and to plant instead of them a people which feared God ; so the same Lord's good will and pleasure was now, that these new Israelites should, under the conduct of other Joshuas, Samsons, and Gideons, perform a work no less miraculous in casting out violently the wicked from the earth, and establishing the kingdom of Christ with perfect liberty : and therefore, as the cause why the children of Israel took unto one man many wives, might be lest the casualties of war should any way hinder the promise of God concerning their multitude from taking effect in them ; so it was not unlike that for the necessary propagation of Christ's kingdom under the Gospel the Lord was content to allow as much.

12. Now whatsoever they did in such sort collect out of Scripture, when they came to justify or persuade it unto others, all was the heavenly Father's appointment, his commandment, his will and charge. Which thing is the very point, in regard whereof I have gathered this declaration. For my purpose herein is to show, that when the minds of men are once erroneously persuaded that it is the will of God to have those things

done which they fancy, their opinions are as thorns in their sides, never suffering them to take rest till they have brought their speculations into practice. The lets and impediments of which practice their restless desire and study to remove leads them every day forth by the hand into other more dangerous opinions, sometimes quite and clean contrary to their first pretended meanings: so as what will grow out of such errors as go masked under the cloak of divine authority, impossible it is that ever the wit of man should imagine, till time have brought forth the fruits of them: for which cause it behoves wisdom to fear the sequels thereof, even beyond all apparent cause of fear. These men, in whose mouths at the first sounded nothing but only mortification of the flesh, were come at the length to think they might lawfully have their six or seven wives a-piece; they which at the first thought judgment and justice itself to be merciless cruelty, accounted at the length their own hands sanctified with being embued in Christian blood; they who at the first were wont to beat down all dominion, and to urge against poor constables, "kings of nations;" had at the length both consuls and kings of their own erection amongst themselves: finally, they which could not brook at the first that any man should seek, no not by law, the recovery of goods injuriously taken or withheld from him, were grown at the last to think they could not offer unto God more acceptable sacrifice, than by turning their adversaries clean out of house and home, and by enriching themselves with all kind of spoil and pillage; which thing being laid to their charge, they had in a readiness their answer¹, that now the time was come, when according to our Saviour's promise, "the meek ones must inherit the earth²;" and that their title hereunto was the same which the righteous Israelites had unto the goods of the wicked Egyptians³.

13. Wherefore sith the world has had in these men so fresh experience, how dangerous such active errors are, it must not offend you though touching the sequel of your present mispersuasions much more be doubted, than your own intents and purposes do aptly aim at^a. And yet your words already are some-

¹ P. 41.

² Matt. v. 5.

³ Exod. xi. 2.

^a *Admonition to the People of England*; by T. C. p. 83. "The preachers of the Gospel in Germany, at the beginning, were far from meaning to move the people to rebel against their governors; but some part of doctrine indiscreetly uttered by divers of them, speaking against some abuses, gave a great

what^a, when ye affirm, that your pastors, doctors, elders, and deacons, ought to be in this Church of England, "whether her majesty and our state will or no¹;" when for the animating of your confederates ye publish the musters which ye have made of your own bands, and proclaim them to amount I know not to how many thousands²; when ye threaten, that sith neither your suits

occasion thereof, to the grief of all good men, in such sort as they were not able by any persuasion to quiet them, until it had cost a hundred thousand of them their lives. The looseness and boldness of this time in many, may justly cause some fear that the like *will happen hereafter* among us."

^a "What they will *do*, I know not; but what they have *written*, you shall hear."

"If this reformation, (said one of them, when he was of that humour,) be not hastened forward by the magistrate, the subjects ought not any longer to tarry for him, but do it themselves." The author of the *Second Admonition*, against whom, as I think, there will no exception be taken, affirms, that he and his fellows "are *forced in conscience* to speak for his new order, and (as he says) to use it." And, in another place, that "there is many a thousand that desire the same that he does; and that great troubles will come of it, if it be not provided for." . . . Another is likewise very peremptory and resolute, that "the Presbytery must prevail." (*Demonstration of Discipline*, Preface.) "And if it come to pass," says he to the bishops, "by that means which will make your hearts to ache, blame yourselves." Martin in his *first* book threatens fists; and in his *second*, he wishes "that our parliament, which is now assembled, would put down lord-bishops, and bring in the reformation which they look for, *whether her majesty will or no*."

"I assure you, my brethren, these are desperate points to be stood in. And, I do verily fear, that except good order be taken, and that in time, these things will grow to some extremities." *Bancroft's Sermon*, p. 299, 300.

¹ *Mart.* in his third Libel.

² [Second Adm. p. 59, (misprint for 65,) ed. 1617. "We beseech you to pity this case, and to provide for it; it is the case already of many a thousand in this land; yea, it is the case of as many as seek the Lord aright, and desire to have his own orders restored. Great troubles will come of it, if it be not provided for; even the same God that hath stirred me, a man unknown, to speak, though those poor men which are locked up in Newgate, neither do, nor can be suffered to speak, will daily stir up more."

Str. *Whitg.* II. 18. (from a MS.) "One of our late libellers [marg. Martyn] brags of 100,000 hands: and wishes the parliament to bring in this reformation, though it be by withstanding the queen's majesty."

Ibid. 191, in 1592, the Barrowists "were reckoned to amount to 20,000 by Sir W. Raleigh, in a speech of his in the last parliament."

"You are too broad with Martin's brood, for he has 100,000 that will set their hands to his articles, and show the queen." Pap with an Hatchet.

"Let the magistrate once consider what pestilent and dangerous beasts these wretches (the bishops) are unto the civil state. For either by their

to the parliament, nor supplications to our convocation-house, neither your defences by writing, nor challenges of disputation in behalf of that cause are able to prevail, we must blame ourselves, if to bring in discipline some such means hereafter be used as shall cause all our hearts to ache. "That things doubtful are to be construed in the better part," is a principle not safe to be followed in matters concerning the public state of a commonweal. But howsoever these and the like speeches be accounted as arrows idly shot at random, without either eye had to any mark, or regard to their lighting-place; has not your longing desire for the practice of your discipline brought the matter already unto this demurrer amongst you, whether the people and their godly pastors that way affected ought not to make separation from the rest, and to begin the exercise of discipline without the licence of civil powers, which licence they have sought for, and are not heard? Upon which question as ye have now divided yourselves, the warier sort of you taking the one part, and the forwarder in zeal the other; so in case these earnest ones should prevail, what other sequel can any wise man imagine but this, that having first resolved that attempts for discipline without superiors are lawful, it will follow in the next place to be disputed what may be attempted against superiors^a which will not have the sceptre of that disci-

own confession they are the bishops of the devil, (and so by that means will be the undoing of the state, if they be continued therein,) or else their places ought to be in this commonwealth 'whether her majesty and our state will or no, because they are not (as they say) the bishops of man.' Are they then the bishops of God? that is, have they such a calling as the Apostles, Evangelists, &c. had? that is, such a calling as ought lawfully to be in a Christian commonwealth (unless the magistrate would injure the Church, yea, maim, deform, and make a monster of the Church) whether the magistrate will or no." Ha' ye any Work for a Cooper? p. 28.

And in the Epitome, against Dr. Bridges, having quoted a passage from Bp. Aylmer's Harborough for Faithful Subjects, in which the bishop had commended "those that in King Henry VIII. days would not grant him that his proclamations should have the force of a statute." Penry proceeds, "I assure you, brother John, you have spoken many things worthy the noting, and I would our parliament men would mark this action done in King Henry VIII. days, and follow it in bringing in reformation, and putting down lord-bishops, with all other points of superstition. They may in your judgment not only do any thing against their king's or queen's mind (that is behoveful to the honour of God and the good of the commonwealth) but even withstand the proceedings of their sovereign."

^a "It may be remembered, (says Lord Bacon, giving an account of the

pline to rule over them? Yea even by you which have stayed yourselves from running headlong with the other sort, somewhat

progress of these controversies) that on that part which calls for reformation, was *first* propounded some dislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possess rich benefices; and some invectives against the idle and monastical continuance within the universities, by those who had livings to be resident upon; and such like abuses. Thence they went on to condemn the government of bishops as an hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Roman Church; and to except to sundry institutions in the Church, as not sufficiently delivered from the pollutions of former times. And lastly, they are advanced to define of an only and perpetual form of policy in the Church, which *without consideration of possibility, and foresight of peril, and perturbation of the Church and State*, must be erected and planted by the magistrate. Here they stay,—others, not able to keep footing in so steep ground, descend further:—that the same must be entered into and accepted of the people, at their peril, *without the attending of the establishment of authority*. And so, in the meantime, they refuse to communicate with us, reputing us to have no Church. This has been the progression of that side; I mean of the generality.” Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England. Works, vol. ii. p. 513. 8vo. 1803.

Bancroft, in his Sermon at St. Paul’s Cross, Feb. 9, 1588, has gone more into particulars:—After the passage, already cited in the note, p. 437, in connexion with the words ‘whether her majesty will or no,’ he thus proceeds:

“How can he conceive that such a thing should be brought to pass (if her majesty do her best to withstand it,) without a rebellion at the least, that I may go no further? Has not her highness in making of laws a negative voice? Is not ‘*lex principis opus*?’ Has not every law ‘*vim cogentem*’ of the king?

“I was informed by a magistrate of right good worship, that a preacher of this faction, in the presence of certain justices of the peace, and in a very great congregation, did, without controlment, convention, or binding-over, either to sessions or assizes, set on trouble the doctrine of the former propositions (see p. 297.) for violent reformation.

“He greatly complained of the manifold imperfections wherewith (as he said) the Church of England was grievously oppressed; and laboured very earnestly to persuade his auditory, that in France it was lawful for the people or inferior magistrates, to compel their prince to a reformation of any such deformities; or else, whether he would or no, to do it themselves. As though he should have said, If by the word of God it be lawful in France, it is likewise lawful in England.

“If these things, dearly beloved, which I have reported unto you, (in such sort as I have insisted upon them,) be not true, let me be called to mine account. But if they be true, then I trust you will confess the necessity of this exhortation.” *Hickes’s Collection of Tracts*, p. 299—301. 8vo. 1709.

Lastly, we will return again, to borrow a short passage from Lord Bacon.

“And surely, though my meaning and scope be not, as I said before, to

notwithstanding there has been done without the leave or liking of your lawful superiors, for the exercise of a part of your discipline amongst the clergy thereunto addicted¹. And lest examination of principal parties therein should bring those things to light, which might hinder and let your proceedings; behold, for a bar against that impediment, one opinion ye have newly added unto the rest even upon this occasion, an opinion to exempt you from taking oaths^a which may turn to the molestation of your brethren in that cause². The next neighbour opinion whereunto when occasion requires may follow, for dispensation with oaths already taken, if they afterwards be found to import a necessity of detecting aught which may bring such good men into trouble or damage, whatsoever the cause be³. O merciful God, what

enter into the controversies themselves, yet I do admonish the maintainers of the alone discipline, to weigh and consider seriously and attentively, *how near* they are unto them with whom I know they will not join. It is very hard to affirm that the discipline, which they say we want, is one of the *essential* parts of the worship of God; and not to affirm withal, that the people themselves, *upon peril of salvation, without staying for the magistrate*, are to gather themselves into it." Works, vol. ii. p. 514, 5.

¹ [In 1567, some of the ministers who had been silenced by the bishops for nonconformity began to set up separate assemblies, using the Geneva Prayer-book. *Strype*, Parker I. p. 478—83. In 1577, the same party, by their "use or rather abuse" (Bishop Cox to Burghley, in *Str. Ann.* II. ii. p. 611.) of prophesyings, caused the inhibition of those exercises, (Queen's letter to the Bishop of Lincoln, *ibid.* p. 612.) and the suspension of Archbishop Grindall. (*Grind.* p. 342.) In 1585, they are charged with having established synods and classes in various counties, with re-ordination, unauthorized fast-days, and other schismatical acts. (Articles against Cartwright, in Fuller, C. H. IX. 200, 201, 202.) comp. in *Strype's Whitg.* III. p. 244—56, the bill exhibited against them in the Star Chamber.]

^a "Offer them an oath . . . they have got the Jesuites' doctrine (as you may see it in their annotations upon the Rhemish Testament, Acts xxiii. and amplified lately by Cartwright and his crew,) that they may neither accuse themselves nor their brethren for doing those things which they allow of. Should they break forth into open rebellion, they might by no means be examined upon their oaths, because they will say they have done nothing but what they were bound to do; and that therefore they might detect no man, whereby to bring him within the compass of any law, for doing his duty." *Bancroft's Survey*, p. 429, 30.

² [This seems to have been first started, in a formal and public way, by Cartwright and others, when cited before the ecclesiastical commission in 1590. *Strype*, *Whitg.* II. p. 19. 26. 28—32.]

³ [The 31st article tendered to Cartwright (Fuller, *ubi sup.*) contains this clause, "That they should all teach . . . that it is not lawful to take any

man's wit is there able to sound the depth^a of those dangerous and fearful evils, whereinto our weak and impotent nature is inclinable to sink itself, rather than to show an acknowledgment of error in that which once we have unadvisedly taken upon us to defend, against the stream as it were of a contrary public resolution!

14. Wherefore if we any thing respect their error, who being persuaded even as you are, have gone further upon that persuasion than you allow; if we regard the present state of the highest governor placed over us, if the quality and disposition of our nobles, if the orders and laws of our famous universities, if the profession of the civil or the practice of the common law amongst us, if the mischiefs whereinto even before our eyes so many others have fallen headlong from no less plausible and fair beginnings than yours are: there is in every of these considerations most just cause to fear lest our hastiness to embrace a thing of so

oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing penal to himself or to his brother; especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful, for which the punishment is like to be inflicted: or having taken it in this case, need not discover the very truth.”]

^a See *Sanderson's Sermons*. Preface, § xxiii. given below in this collection.

“I have thought upon it a hundred times, and have marvelled at it; that the now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury” (Whitgift) “could foresee so directly, what would be the issue of the ‘*First Admonition*.’ If you would be pleased to read his exhortation before his confutation of that admonition, you shall find that what he hath there written long before this monster” (Brownism) “was hatched in England, he could not, if he were to write again, well write otherwise than there he has done; saving he might say, that the mischief which then he *foresaw would come to pass*, by reason of the bolstering of it by those that should have had more wit and judgment, is now apparently beginning to shew itself to as many as have eyes and wisdom to see.” *Bancroft's Survey*, p. 434.

The terms in which Hooker has expressed the depth of his apprehensions are often very striking; and in some the language is so remarkable as to appear to approach almost to “something like prophetic strain.”

“The trial which we have lived to see, may somewhat teach us what posterity is to fear.” B. iv. c. viii.

“In a word, by these or the like suggestions, received with all joy, and with like sedulity practised in certain parts of the Christian world, they have brought to pass, that as David doth say of man, so it is *in hazard to be verified* concerning the whole religion and service of God. The time thereof *may peradventure fall out to be three-score and ten years*, or if strength do serve, unto four-score, what followeth is likely to be small joy for them whosoever they be that behold it.” B. v. c. lxxix.

perilous consequence should cause posterity to feel those evils, which as yet are more easy for us to prevent than they would be for them to remedy.

IX. The best and safest way for you therefore, my dear brethren, is, to call your deeds past to a new reckoning, to re-examine the cause ye have taken in hand, and to try it even point by point, argument by argument, with all the diligent exactness ye can ; to lay aside the gall of that bitterness wherein your minds have hitherto over-abounded, and with meekness to search the truth. Think ye are men, deem it not impossible for you to err ; sift unpartially your own hearts, whether it be force of reason or vehemency of affection, which has bred and still does feed these opinions in you. If truth do any where manifest itself, seek not to smother it with glosing delusions, acknowledge the greatness thereof, and think it your best victory when the same does prevail over you.

2. That ye have been earnest in speaking or writing again and again the contrary way, shall be no blemish or discredit at all unto you. Amongst so many so huge volumes as the infinite pains of St. Augustine have brought forth, what one has gotten him greater love, commendation and honour, than the book¹ wherein he carefully collects his own oversights, and sincerely condemns them ? Many speeches there are of Job's whereby his wisdom and other virtues may appear ; but the glory of an ingenuous mind he has purchased by these words only, " Behold, I will lay mine hand on my mouth ; I have spoken once, yet will I not therefore maintain argument ; yea twice, howbeit for that cause further I will not proceed²."

3. Far more comfort it were for us (so small is the joy we take in these strifes) to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours, to be joined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity, to live as if our persons being many our souls were but one, rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions : the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy even on both sides. Brought already we are even to that estate which Gregory Nazianzen mournfully describes, saying, " My mind leadeth me" (sith there is no other remedy) " to fly and to convey myself into some

¹ [Viz. "Retractationum."]

² Job xl. 4, 5.

corner out of sight, where I may scape from this cloudy tempest of maliciousness, whereby all parts are entered into a deadly war amongst themselves, and that little remnant of love which was, is now consumed to nothing. The only godliness we glory in, is to find out somewhat whereby we may judge others to be ungodly. Each other's faults we observe as matter of exprobation and not of grief. By these means we are grown hateful in the eyes of the heathens themselves, and (which woundeth us the more deeply) able we are not to deny but that we have deserved their hatred. With the better sort of our own our fame and credit is clean lost. The less we are to marvel if they judge vilely of us, who although we did well would hardly allow thereof. On our backs they also build that are lewd, and what we object one against another, the same they use to the utter scorn and disgrace of us all. This we have gained by our mutual home-dissensions. This we are worthily rewarded with, which are more forward to strive than become men of virtuous and mild disposition."

4. But our trust in the Almighty is, that with us contentions are now at their highest float, and that the day will come (for what cause of despair is there?) when the passions of former enmity being allayed, we shall with ten times redoubled tokens of our unfeignedly reconciled love, show ourselves each towards other the same which Joseph and the brethren of Joseph were at the time of their interview in Egypt. Our comfortable expectation and most thirsty desire whereof what man soever amongst you shall any way help to satisfy, (as we truly hope there is no one amongst you but some way or other will,) the blessings of the God of peace, both in this world and in the world to come, be upon him more than the stars of the firmament in number.

XIII.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH IN MAKING CANONS AND CONSTITUTIONS CONCERNING THINGS INDIFFERENT, AND THE OBEDIENCE OF THE SUBJECT, WITH PARTICULAR APPLI- CATION TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ^a.

“In legislation ecclesiastical, the Church does either *declare* what God before had determined; or *determines*, in things which God has left *indifferent*, what is profitable and expedient, according to the general rules of order, decency, unity, and edification; according to that distinction of laws into *declarative* and *constitutive*.”—GEORGE LAWSON.

“And so it is judged; our prayers, our sacraments, our fasts, our times and places of meeting together for the worship and service of God; our marriages, our burials, our functions, elections, and ordinations ecclesiastical, almost whatsoever we do in the exercise of our religion according to laws for that purpose established, all things are some way or other thought faulty; all things are stained with superstition. Now, although it may be the wiser sort of men are not greatly moved hereat; considering how subject the very best things have been always unto cavil, when wits possessed either with disdain or dislike thereof have set them up as their mark to shoot at; safe notwithstanding it were not therefore to neglect the danger which from hence may grow, and that especially in regard of them, who desiring to serve God as they ought, but being not so skilful as in every point to unwind themselves, where the snares of glosing speech do lie to entangle them, are in mind not a little troubled, when they hear so bitter invectives against that which this Church has taught them to reverence as holy, to approve as lawful, and to observe as behoveful for the exercise of Christian duty. It seems, therefore, at least for their sakes, very meet, that such as blame us in this behalf, be directly answered; and they which follow us, informed plainly of the reasons of that we do.”—HOOKER.

^a By *Francis Mason*, B.D. some-time fellow of Merton College, Oxford; preached at Norwich the third Sunday after Trinity, 1605.

PREFACE^a.

THE author, after a prayer and good wishes for the prosperity of the Church of England, tells us, that his sermon shall be divided into two general parts, an explication and application. § 1, 2.

Before he begins his explication he tells us, first, who spake the words, *viz.* St. Paul. Secondly, to whom, and upon what occasion they were spoken, and that was to the Corinthians upon their endeavouring to impose their customs upon other Churches. § 3, 4.

I. From the EXPLICATION of the words of the text he makes five observations.

First Obs.—That some things are necessary, and some things indifferent; and then tells what he means by things necessary, and things indifferent. § 5, 6.

Things *necessary* are such as the eternal God has in his Word precisely and determinately commanded or forbidden, either expressly, or by infallible consequence.

Things *indifferent* are such as the Lord has not commanded or forbidden, but if contained in the holy Scripture, are there rather potentially than actually; comprehended in general directions, not precisely defined by particular determinations: and then adds, those things which God has neither commanded nor forbidden, He has left to be disposed by the law of man. § 6.

Second Obs.—That Church-governors are the judges of what is decent. We must take that for decent in things indifferent which seems decent in the eye of public authority.—They only have authority to make Church orders whom the Lord has made Church-governors. § 7.

Third Obs.—That all their canons must be formed according to general canons of the holy Scripture, which may aptly be reduced to the two in the text, “Let all things,” &c. § 8. And then he tells us,—

That nothing may be established which is base and beggarly.

That religious solemnities must be performed with gravity, without vanity, without luxurious pomp, or meretricious bravery.

^a An edition of this Sermon was printed in the year 1705, with a recommendation by Compton, Bishop of London; and with a Preface by Dr. George Hickes, a part of which is here given.

That nothing may be established in superstitious or idolatrous manner.

That nothing must be established contrary to the Scripture.

That things indifferent must be established as indifferent ; not as necessary to divine worship, to justification, or salvation.

That the ceremonies of the Church must not be dark and dumb.

That all canons must be for the common good.

That all things must be done without scandal.

That even things indifferent, wherein is apparent danger of superstition or idolatry, are to be removed.

That confusion by all means must be avoided.

That the Church must not exceed in superfluity of ceremonies.

That the layman must not be suffered to intrude himself into the office of a minister.

That inferior ministers must not be suffered to usurp that which belongs to the bishop. § 8.

Fourth Obs.—That all that live in the bosom of a Church must respectively observe the laws of that Church. Under which he shows,

1. How human laws may be said to bind the conscience.

2. Wherein Christian liberty does consist. § 9.

Fifth Obs.—The Church (which God has armed with authority) is to take effectual care that all things be done decently,—and that God has given to his Church in all ages, not only a rule for direction, but a rod for correction. And this (says our author) is the judgment of all learned men, as appears by the practice of the whole Christian world. § 10.

II. The APPLICATION is divided into three general parts. § 11.

1. A *declaration*, that in the Church of England the principal points are established honestly and decently.

2. A *confutation* of certain general exceptions to the contrary.

3. An *exhortation* to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

1. In the *declaration* he speaks,—

1. Of the king's supremacy, and of calling convocations. § 12.

2. Of ministers; and declares that the ministers of England are not in popular parity, but that our bishops are endued with power of giving orders, and the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction;

and that according to the purest and apostolical times, and proves it from 1 Tim. i. 3. 5. xix. 22. and Tit. i. 5. § 13.

3. Of inferior ministers; their qualifications, manners, learning, ordination, subscription; under which last head he shows that our liturgy and book of consecration were approved by Calvin, Bucer, &c. § 14—26.

4. Of the ministration; in which he gives a short account of the Liturgy, &c., and the reason why some chapters out of the Apocrypha are read, and others omitted, &c. And then having quoted some virulent passages out of some of the writers of the age, against the established Liturgy, he proceeds to reduce all their arguments into one,—the branches whereof he handles in order, and CONFUTES. § 26—28.

Viz.—Those orders and ceremonies which were neither commanded of God in holy Scripture, nor practised in the apostles' times, but are heretical, popish, and antichristian, being scandalous where they remain, and therefore cast out of the reformed Churches, are in no wise to be embraced and assented to by subscription. But such are sundry of the orders and ceremonies of the Church of England; therefore not to be embraced, &c.

2. *Confutation.* To all this he gives distinct and satisfactory answers.

1. To the first, that nothing must be, &c. but what is commanded, he answers to this effect:—If, by commanded, they comprehend things commanded in general, he proves that our ceremonies are so commanded; but if they understand a particular command, he grants that they are not so commanded: neither (says he) are those rites that they desire and contend for so commanded. § 29.

2. To the second, that our orders and ceremonies are not apostolic, he answers to this effect:—That the whole doctrine of Christianity is purposely and plentifully, but the discipline only in part, and by occasion, and sparingly delivered in holy Scripture; and consequently, what the orders apostolic were, cannot be fully known by the apostolic writings. And yet (says he) of those which are known, the grand and main points are observed in the Church of England; as namely, among others, the government by bishops, and the ceremony of laying on hands in making of ministers; and tells them that those that call for reformation do not themselves absolutely and altogether embrace the apostolic orders,—as for example, to salute with a holy kiss was an apos-

tolie order, yet they did not think fit to restore it ; so love-feasts were used, &c., yet not received now in the reformed churches, § 30.

3. To the third, that our ceremonies are Popish and Antichristian, he answers, § 31—33, first, that some of our ceremonies, and amongst the rest the cross, were before Popery ; and should it be granted that they were devised by Popes, it does not therefore follow that they were Popish and Antichristian.

But, secondly, suppose that they were devised by Papists and heretics too, yet he proves they may be used by us ; for (says he) a true opinion, if it be held by an heretic or an idolater, by Antichrist or the devil himself, must not be forsaken : for all truth is the truth of God, wheresoever it be found, though it be in the mouth of the devil. Not whatsoever heretics, idolaters, or any wicked person have done or said, but what they have done or said heretically, idolatrously, wickedly, is to be abandoned, so far as it is evil. But whatsoever in their actions is fit or requisite to be done, is from God, and therefore in that respect not to be abhorred.

Thirdly, suppose they have been abused in Popery ; must every thing that has been abused in Popery be laid aside ?—What, then, will become of Churches, bells, nay of the pulpit itself ? The idolatrous abuse of a thing does not take away the lawful use of it. The Papists kneel to their idols, must not we, therefore, pray kneeling ? &c.

4. To the fourth, that our ceremonies are Jewish, it is answered, that what we retain of Jewish ceremonies, we retain not as Jewish, but decent ; they that accuse us are guilty of the same. § 34.

5. To the fifth, that our ceremonies are scandalous, it is answered in short, that the things that we use are not of a scandalizing nature : and if people, notwithstanding, are scandalized, let them look to it, the fault is theirs, and not ours, and they must answer for it. § 35, 36.

Lastly, they propose to us the pattern of the reformed Churches ; to which it is answered, first, that, diverse countries, professing the same religion, may have diverse ceremonies. The reformed Churches have rejected some ceremonies which we retain ; the things were indifferent, and they have used their Christian liberty in refusing them, and we the like liberty in using them. Some things retained in Geneva itself are more Popish and more scan-

dalous than any retained by the Church of England,—as the wafer, &c. Secondly, our Church is independent on any other Church, and therefore not obliged to follow their customs any more than they are to follow ours. Thirdly, it is the duty of every private Christian to conform himself to the laudable customs of the Church wherein he lives. And if it be so, what will the Dissenters say for their making a schism from the Church of England, which, if they will believe their own Mr. Diodate, “is the very eye and excellency of all the Churches, Christ’s own choice purchase and peculiar, the sanctuary of the afflicted, the arsenal of the faint-hearted, the magazine of the needy, the royal standard of good hope.—A Church in that high state and pitch of holiness and glory, that on the theatre of the universal Church she has hitherto excelled and outshined all the Churches upon earth ¹.” § 37.

3. In the *exhortation* he beseeches the non-conformists in the name of the Lord Jesus, to perform all holy obeisance to God and the prince, and not to disturb the peace of the Church for bare inconveniences; and proposes to them the example of their master, Calvin, who advised his friends not to make any tumult for a thing indifferent.

In the next place he answers some objections and scruples, and proceeds further to exhort the ministers to a compliance with the Church of England, and not to leave their flocks for some ceremonies and usages, which in their own nature are indifferent. § 38—47.

To the most Reverend Father in God, Richard^a, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace Primate and Metropolitan of all England, and one of His Majesty’s most Honourable Privy Council, &c.

THE love and duty which I owe to this Church of England (most reverend Father) have put into my hand this olive branch, that is, an exhortation to holy obedience, and peaceable resolutions, which always have been the crown and glory of a Christian. For when

¹ *Diodate’s Answer to the Assembly*, p. 3. 11.

^a Bancroft, who had succeeded Whitgift in the see of Canterbury, in the year 1604, after a vacancy of more than eight months.

I pondered with myself how some of the ministry stand unresolved, and that (as I take it) because they do not duly consider the nature of things indifferent, and the duty of a subject to his sovereign ; I must confess that my bowels of compassion were moved, and the fire of affection was kindled within me. And therefore although many learned and judicious men have richly and plentifully handled this argument, yet in commiseration of those my brethren, I also have ventured to cast my poor mite into the treasury, hoping that as they walk amongst the fruitful trees, they will not disdain to pull a little berry from the lowest shrub.

The principal mark I shoot at, is to do my endeavour to settle the tender and trembling consciences of those which are not wedded to their own conceits, but have been carried away rather of weakness than of wilfulness, that such of them as it shall please the Lord, may be reduced to the tabernacles of peace, and follow the truth in love. For alas ! who can but lament to see so many spend their short and precious time in such scandalous prosecution of civil contentions, and some of them not altogether unlike to Plato's Euthyphro, who in his inconsiderate course went in all haste to accuse his own father ? But this Church (God be thanked) never wanted a Socrates to encounter and convince them, and make manifest to the world that they erred by misconstruction and unadvised zeal.

O how much better had it been to have continued their labours in the Lord's vineyard, and by bending their united forces against Babylon, to have fought the Lord's battles, to the comfort of the godly, who then might have celebrated their triumph, erected their trophy, and decked their victorious heads with laurel garlands ! O what a grief ought this to be to their souls ; so to oppose themselves against such a learned and religious Church, and so irreverently to traduce that holy Book of Common Prayer, a work of so great and admirable excellency ! concerning which, I may truly affirm, that it has been cut up like an anatomy, every vein of it has been opened, every corner searched, every rubrick ransacked, not a word but has been weighed in the balance, not a syllable but has been sifted to the uttermost ; and yet for all this, like to the bridge of Cæsar¹, the more it is oppugned, the stronger it stands. The ceremonies whereof may aptly be resembled to the altar erected by the tribe of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe

¹ *Cæsar de Bello Gall lib. iv.*

of Manasses, upon the passages of Jordan¹, at which the rest of the tribes were grievously offended, imagining that it had been for sacrifice : but when they were truly informed that it was only for a memorial that they had a part in the God of Israel, they were well content, they blessed God, and Phinehas said, “ This day we perceive the Lord is among us, because you have not done this trespass².” In like manner, some of our brethren have been offended at our ceremonies, upon an erroneous imagination of Popery and superstition ; but the Church of England has often manifested her innocency and cleared herself of those imputations. And therefore we hope that one day their eyes being opened, and their souls satisfied, they will with the princes of Israel bless God, and say with Phinehas, “ This day we perceive that the Lord is among us, because you have not done this trespass.” For the furtherance whereof, I do in all humility present this olive-branch unto your grace, whose eminent wisdom, and godly care in suppressing innovations, and preserving the well settled state of this flourishing Church, is most apparent. And therefore, as God has directed the heart of our religious sovereign, to establish you the chief pastor and father of our Church, so I beseech the Almighty to vouchsafe this fruit to your labours, that your grace may see the weak resolved, the wilful relented, the wandering reduced, and all of them returned to the bosom of the Church, like the dove to the ark, with leaves of olive in their mouths, in token that all gall and bitterness being laid aside, the swelling floods of discord are assuaged.

Your grace's in all humble duty,
FRANCIS MASON.

“ Let all things be done honestly and by order^a.”—1 CORINTH. xiv. 40.

1. My hearty desire and prayer is to Almighty God the Father of mercy, that he would so bless the ministry of the Church of England, that we all being linked in love as it were with chains

¹ Joshua xxii.

² Ver. 31.

^a This is the rendering in the Bishops' Bible.—Our present authorised version was not published till the year 1611.

of adamant, might, with one heart and one hand, religiously build the temple of the Lord, reverently perform holy obedience to God and the prince, carefully keep ourselves unspotted and unstained of this present world, and faithfully feed the flock of Jesus Christ, that depends upon us. The comfortable accomplishment whereof, whosoever shall maliciously hinder, let him take heed lest a fearful curse from the God of Jacob, come like water into his bowels, and like oil into his bones; but whosoever shall pray for the peace of Jerusalem, peace be upon him, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God! The furtherance of which blessings to the glory of Christ and the good of the Church, men and brethren beloved in the Lord, is the mark I aim at, and the scope I intend, that we all, like obedient children, may keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

2. Now this present sermon by God's gracious assistance shall be divided into two general parts: the first an *explication*; the second an *application*; a brief explication of the text, and a more ample application of it to the present estate of the Church of England, of which two points in order, beseeching the God of all grace and peace to grant us a blessing!

3. And, first, who spake these words? It is plain, the holy apostle, St. Paul. And seeing the holy men of God (as in the Old Testament, so doubtless in the New) spake not by private motion, but "as they were moved by the Holy Ghost¹:" therefore we may truly say that the Spirit uttered these words by the mouth of Paul.—But to whom were they spoken? Unto the Church of God which is at Corinth, and to them that are sanctified in Christ Jesus."—"Now what things soever were written before time, were written for our learning²." Therefore these things concern not the Church of Corinth only, but the Church of England, the Church of Geneva, and all the Churches of the saints.—Wherefore he that has an ear, let him hear what the Spirit says unto the Churches.—"Let all things be done honestly and by order."—For the plainer access whereunto, let us first consider the coherence with that which went before.

The Holy Ghost in this chapter entreats of certain spiritual gifts and graces, by many reasons advancing the gift of prophecy above the gift of tongues:—where by the way it must be observed, that by prophesying is not meant foretelling things to come,

¹ 2 Pet i. 20, 21.

² 1 Cor. i. 2. Rom. xv. 4.

but the word of “edification, exhortation, and consolation¹,” that is, the preaching of the Gospel. In handling of which argument, it pleased the Spirit to interlace certain points of Church-government concerning the public performance of prayer, thanksgiving, and prophesying², unfolded in these three branches. *First*, they which speak publicly in the Church, must speak in a “known tongue³,” or if they speak with “strange tongues⁴” there must be an “interpreter.” *Secondly*, those which prophesy, “must speak two or three, and let the others judge⁵ ;” if one sitting by have a “revelation, let the former hold his peace ;” and the spirit of the prophets must be subject to the prophets. *Thirdly*, those which publicly perform these duties must be men, and not women, for “women must keep silence in the Church⁶.”—Now the Spirit having thus as it were sprinkled this discourse with ecclesiastical orders⁷, proceeds covertly to a short but sharp reprehension of the Corinthians⁸, who, as it is probably collected, were so far in love with themselves, that they would not suffer their own customs to be called in question, but rather went about with singular arrogancy, to impose them upon other, as though other Churches were bound to follow their pattern.—Finally, there follows a general direction concerning all Church orders, folded up in these words, “Let all things be done honestly and by order.”

4. The words in the original are πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω. When it is said πάντα γινέσθω, “Let all things be done,” it is clear that the doing here spoken of, is the solemn performance of religious offices in the face of the Church. And when it is said πάντα, “all things,” without any restraint, it is evident that the Spirit rises from the former particulars, to a general conclusion, comprehending not only prayer, thanksgiving, and prophesying, but moreover the ministration of the holy sacraments, consecration to holy orders, and universally the public discharge of such sacred and reverent duties. Concerning all which, the Spirit requires that they be done, first, εὐσχημόνως, that is, as you would say, *after a good fashion*, consisting in time, place, apparel, and other things externally required for the due and decent administration. They must have an honest decency, and a decent honesty ; they must be comely to the eye, and re-

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 3.

² 1 Cor. xiv. passim.

³ Ver. 27.

⁴ Ver. 29.

⁵ Ver. 30. 32.

⁶ Ver. 34.

⁷ Sparsim disseverat de ritibus Calvinus in hunc locum.

⁸ See Calvin and Gualter upon this place, viz. ver. 36.

ferred to a godly end, that is, the advancement of "God's glory¹," and "the edification of the Church; not giving²" just occasion of "scandal to Jew or Gentile, or to the Church of God³." For, if these ends must be duly respected in matters of common life, how much more reverently and religiously should they be regarded in the solemn service of Almighty God?—And as all things must be decent and honest before God and men, so it is required in the *second* place, that all things be done *according to order*. Which *order* requires *authority* with godly wisdom in the *public disposer*, and cheerful *obedience* with gracious humility in such as are *subject* to those public constitutions.

5. So this text is a canon of canons for all such Church government; and all ecclesiastical canons must be cast in this mould. Indeed it is a golden canon or rule⁴ whereby all Christian Churches must be ruled; an exquisite touchstone whereat all ceremonies must be tried, the beam of the sanctuary whereupon all Church orders and constitutions must be weighed and balanced. And therefore let us search a little deeper into this golden mine.—For the better understanding whereof, it must be observed, that some things are *necessary*, and some things *indifferent*.

6. Necessary I call that which the eternal God has in his word precisely and determinately commanded or forbidden, either expressly or by infallible consequence. Indifferent^a, which the Lord has not so commanded nor forbidden, but is contained in the holy Scripture, rather potentially than actually; comprehended in general directions, not precisely defined by particular deter-

¹ 1 Cor. x. 31.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

³ 1 Cor. x. 32.

⁴ Regula est ad quam omnia quæ ad externam politiam spectant exigere convenit. *Calvinus*, *ibid*.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book ii. chap. iv. Also, *Sanderson's* Serm. 508. edit. 1686. "Somewhat we have gained . . . yet not much, unless it may withal certainly appear, *what* things are *indifferent*, and what not: for all the wrangling will be about that. For that, therefore (not to hold you with a long discourse, but to come up close to the point,) take it briefly thus. Every action or thing whatsoever, that cannot by just and logical deduction, either *from the light of nature or from the written word of God*, be shown to be either absolutely necessary or simply unlawful; I say, every such action or thing is in its own nature *indifferent*; and consequently permitted by our gracious Lord God to our liberty and choice, from time to time, either to do or to leave undone; either to use or to forbear to use, as in godly wisdom and charity, according to the just exigence of circumstances, we shall see it expedient." See also *Sanderson*, *De Obligat. Conscientiæ Prælect.* 6. § 22; and *Gataker* on *Lots*, chap. v. § 4. p. 124, &c. edit. 2nd, 1627; and *Bishop Barlow's* *Cases of Conscience*, Case of the Jews, p. 22—7.

minations.—Whatsoever God has in his word precisely commanded, so far as it is commanded is necessary to be done, for the not doing of it is a sin. Whatsoever God has forbidden, so long as it is forbidden, is necessary to be left undone, for the very doing of it is a sin. Whatsoever is neither commanded nor forbidden, *that* (whether it concern Church or common-wealth ^a) is left to the Lord's vicegerents upon earth, who, according to the exigence of the state, may by their discretion command it to be done, or to be left undone, and both without sin.—In the holy Scripture ¹ some things were commanded for a season, as the sacrifices of the law : forbidden for a season, as the meats mentioned in the xi. of Leviticus : indifferent for a season, as the place of erecting altars before the fabric of the tabernacle.—Some things were everlastingly commanded, as to fear God, and to keep his commandments : everlastingly forbidden, as all sin and wickedness : everlastingly left indifferent, whereof many examples might be given in meat, drink, apparel, and matters of such outward condition and quality.—For some things are correspondent to the law written in our heart, that is, the law of human nature, which, considered in the original beauty and brightness, is the same in substance with the law moral, and these are in their own nature good and everlastingly to be embraced : some things are repugnant to it, and these are in their own nature evil, and everlastingly to be abhorred. Some things the sacred law of our nature has left arbitrary, and these are in themselves and of their own nature indifferent.

But it must be noted that such things as the law of nature has left indifferent, may notwithstanding become necessary by the force and virtue of *some other* commandment divine : as for example, the eating of swine's flesh ² is a thing in its own nature indifferent ; yet there was a necessity laid upon the Jews to forbear it, because it was forbidden by the law ceremonial, which law ceasing, that necessity ceased, and so it returned to the original estate, and became indifferent, *as* in nature *so* in use. Likewise, to drink wine, or to abstain from it, is a thing in nature indifferent, but being sanctified by the Lord Jesus to a sacramental use, it is not in the power of man to cancel or disannul the holy institution of that heavenly Lawgiver.

^a See *Hooker*, book i. chap. x. § 10, 11, above, vol. i. p. 147—9.

¹ Heb. ix. 10.

² Levit. xi. 7.

And here it must be considered, that there are some comely rites and decent orders, whereof we find not precise *commandment* in the holy Scripture, which, notwithstanding, the Scripture testifieth to have been very precisely *observed* by the Apostles and apostolical men ; and are of such nature, that they agree to all places and ages : in which respect they may aptly be reduced to things necessary : because the Holy Ghost so exquisitely recording the exact observation of them by the blessed Apostles, may seem to have pointed them out to all posterity, as a *pattern* to be unchangeably followed. This is the judgment of Mr. Calvin¹ concerning imposition of hands in the consecrating to holy orders. “Although,” (says he,) “there be extant no certain precept of imposition of hands, yet because we see that it was continually used of the Apostles, that their so exact observation should be to us in place of a precept.” So concerning the translation of the Sabbath from the Saturday to the Lord’s day, it is certain that there is no special commandment in holy Scripture ; yet because that God has commanded that the seventh day shall be kept² holy and glorious to himself, and because the Jewish Sabbath was a shadow³ and in that respect abrogated ; and forasmuch as it was translated in the Apostles’ time, and that without all doubt by apostolical authority, seeing the Scripture does witness that the Lord’s day⁴ was not only renowned with divine revelations, but also observed by the Apostles themselves⁵ : and forasmuch as it stands upon such excellent reasons, as are universal for all places, and perpetual for all times, being (as it were) consecrated by the reverent consent of the Christian world ; therefore this practice may be unto us instead of a precept : it may be reputed a thing necessary, and never to be changed.

Now to apply these distinctions to our present purpose.—The religious duties of which we speak, are the precise and everlasting commandments of Jesus Christ, in regard to their *substance*, as may appear, first in preaching and baptizing : “Go teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, (and) behold I am with you always until the end of the world⁶.” I am with you, my Disciples and Apostles, in teaching and baptizing ; I am with you until the end of the world. But it is a clear case, that the Apostles did not live until

¹ *Calv.* Inst. lib. iv. 3. 16.

² *Exod.* xx. 8. *Isa.* lviii. 13.

³ *Col.* ii. 16, 17.

⁴ *Rev.* i. 10.

⁵ *Acts* xx. 7. *1 Cor.* xvi. 1, 2.

⁶ *Matt.* xxviii. 19, 20.

the end of the world, therefore the meaning of it is, I am with *you*, and *your successors*, the lawful ministers of the Gospel, until the end of the world. Wherefore the promise is perpetual, and consequently the duty of teaching and baptizing.—So in the other sacrament, “Do this in remembrance of me¹,” there is a commandment for the celebration of the Lord’s supper; and when Paul speaks of “showing forth the Lord’s death until his coming²,” he declares that the former commandment is perpetual.—Wherefore that there shall be a ministry in the Church visible to teach the word, and to minister the holy sacraments, is the everlasting ordinance of Jesus Christ.—Notwithstanding, in every one of these branches, there is somewhat *indifferent*.—That there shall be a ministry is a thing necessary, and it is necessary³ that they feed the flock of Jesus Christ; but whether they shall execute their public function in a white garment, or a black, God has neither commanded nor forbidden, He has left it as a thing indifferent.—Likewise, to baptize, is the perpetual commandment of Jesus Christ; but whether the water shall be in a font, or a bason, whether to be applied by dipping or sprinkling, once or thrice, God has neither commanded, nor forbidden; He has left it as a thing indifferent.—In like manner the celebration of the Lord’s supper is a thing commanded: but whether the bread shall be leavened or unleavened, whether it shall be baked in a loaf, or in a cake, round or square, God has neither commanded nor forbidden, He has left it as a thing indifferent.—So in the second course of this celestial banquet the cup is necessary⁴, the Popish withholding whereof is the violating of God’s holy ordinance; but, as Mr. Calvin says, *Rubrum an album nihil refert*⁵; that is, the kind or colour of the wine, be it red or white, is not material to the being of the sacrament.—Again, wine being liquid, must needs be in a cup or vessel; but whether this cup shall be gold or silver, wood or stone, God has neither commanded nor forbidden, He has left it as a thing indifferent.—Wherefore it is a clear case, that *some* things are necessary, *some* things indifferent.—Things necessary, are the weightier matters of the law: things indifferent may be well compared to mint and cummin. Things necessary are registered in the tables of the Almighty, that is, in the volumes of holy Scripture, (for whatsoever is necessary for

¹ Luke xxii. 19.² 1 Cor. xi. 26.³ 1 Cor. ix. 16.⁴ Matt. xxvi. 27. 29.⁵ *Calv. Inst.* iv. 17. 43.

me either to believe, or to do, or to leave undone, that I may please God in this life, and inherit glory in the life to come ; all that is richly contained in holy Scripture, either directly, or by invincible consequence ;) but things indifferent are there rather in an unlimited generality than in any distinct and particular manner.—Finally, things necessary God has reserved to Himself, no men, no angels¹, have authority to alter them ; but things indifferent being of a variable nature², are referred to the discretion of the Church³, as may appear by the words of my text ; wherein the Spirit speaking to the Churches, wills all things to be done after a good manner : not defining *what* manner, but referring all to the discretion of the Church, *so* things be ordered in an honest and decent manner.

7. *Secondly*, when the Spirit says unto the Churches, “ Let all things be done decently,” it may be demanded, “ who shall be the judge of decency ? ” To me it seems an honest and decent ceremony, to kneel at the holy communion ; some others do rather delight to receive⁴ sitting ; and some peradventure will prefer standing or walking. To me a white garment seems comely in public administration : some others do rather allow of the black⁵. Now in this variety of opinions who shall be the judge^a ? who shall govern and sway the matter ? Surely they whom the Lord has made Church governors.—If private men will make public orders, and require us to accept of them, they must show their commission ; otherwise we must take that for decent in things indifferent which seems decent in the eye of public authority. And verily for private men to range without the compass of their calling, and upon their private opinions to control the public judgment of the Church in a matter of decency, is in my opinion a matter very undecent.—Likewise, seeing the Spirit has said, “ Let all things be done by order ; ” therefore doubtless in the Church of God there must be an order.—But who shall appoint this order ? Shall every man do what he list ? *that* were disorder. Shall private men make public constitutions ? *that* were against good

¹ Gal. i. 8.

² *Calv.* Inst. iv. 10. 13. T. C. vide Dr. Whitgift, Archbp. tract. ii. p. 86.

³ *Hæc indifferentia sunt et Ecclesiæ libertate posita. Calv.* Inst. iv. 17. 43.

⁴ *Admon. et T. C. vide Archbp. Whit. p. 596. et deinceps.*

⁵ *Eccles. dis. fol. 100. Si de colore agitur, mihi quidem magis decorus niger color videtur.*

^a Compare *Hooker*, Preface, chap. vi. § 1, &c. and the notes, above, p. 409, &c. in this volume.

order. Therefore it remains that they only have authority to make Church orders whom the Lord has made Church governors. —Now in an absolute kingdom^a, as this of England¹, the king, by the law of God^b, is the only supreme governor of all per-

^a This epithet “absolute” was, in Mason’s time, frequently applied to the kingdom of England. We have examples of this in other instances in the course of this present sermon. An elaborate note of Hume’s on this epithet will be found in his reign of King James I. chap. 45, note B.B. Mr. John More, in a letter to his master, Sir Ralph Winwood, giving an account of King James’s famous speech, in the banqueting house at Whitehall, to the two Houses of Parliament, March 21, 1609, 10, says, that this speech had this plausible conclusion, that “howsoever the sovereignty of kings was absolute in general, yet in particular the kings of England were restrained by their oath and the privileges of the people;” and so His Majesty condemned Dr. Cowell’s opinion, who is like to be censured for his position. *Winwood’s Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 141, 2.

“But it may be said, if our kings be absolute, so as no power on earth can oblige or limit them, then they may by themselves make and abrogate laws, lay taxes on the people, &c.

“This does not follow: for although no power on earth is superior to them, or can oblige or limit them, yet they may limit themselves by oath or promise; and so our kings have limited their power, and promised and (in their coronation oath) sworn to do none of those things without the consent of their people in parliament.

“But does not this limiting themselves take away and destroy their absoluteness?

“No. If any other power could lay obligations and limitations upon them, then, I grant, they were not absolute; but to limit themselves is consistent with absolute power.” *Barlow’s Cases of Conscience*; “Case of Pardoning Murder,” p. 11, 12.

According to these elder writers the term “absolute” seems therefore to have been considered as not incompatible with the circumstances and condition of a “limited” monarchy.

Lord Bacon puts it thus: There is “a twofold power in the king:

“1. His *absolute* power, whereby he may levy forces against any nation.

“2. His *limited* power, which is declared and expressed in the laws what he may do.” A Preparation for the Union of the Laws of England and Scotland. Works, vol. ii. p. 304.

¹ Sir Edw. Coke, de jure Regis eccl.

^b But, by *what kind* of “law of God?” This can be predicated only in a very restricted and limited sense. The king of England has his supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, not because this is an *absolute* kingdom, but by act of Parliament (viz. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.): and with respect to the divine law in the Scriptures, Hooker has said, and it should seem justly, “As for supreme power in ecclesiastical affairs, the *word* of God does no where appoint that *all* kings should have it, neither that *any* should *not* have it: for which cause it seems to stand altogether by *human* right, that unto Christian kings there

sons¹ and causes² ecclesiastical and civil within his own kingdom ; therefore the king and those which under the king have the regiment of the Church lawfully committed unto them have lawful authority to make Church orders.

8. *Thirdly*, though Church governors may make Church laws, yet they may not establish what they list. God has³ inrailed their authority with certain bounds and limits which they may not pass. All their canons must be framed according to the general canons of the holy Scripture, which may aptly be reduced to these two expressed in my text: “ Let all things be done honestly and by order :” first, *honestly*, that is (as was before declared) in *decent* sort, with relation to the *glory of God*, and the *edification* of the Church, *without scandal* ; secondly, *according to order*, for God is the God of order, and not of confusion.

Now if all things in the Church must be done *decently*, then nothing may be established which is base or beggarly: “ The ceremonies of the Church, though they cannot always be costly, yet they must always be comely.” Again, if all things be decent, then religious solemnities must be performed with gravity ; magnificent they may be and sumptuous, according to circumstance of time, person, and place ; but always without vanity, without luxurious pomp, or meretricious bravery.—If all things must be done to the *glory of God*,—then nothing may be established in superstitious or idolatrous manner, for that were repugnant to the glory of his *majesty* : then nothing must be established contrary to the Scripture, for that were repugnant to the glory of his *wisdom* : then things indifferent must be established as indifferent^a, not as meritorious or satisfactory, not as necessary to divine worship, to justification, or salvation⁵ ; for this were repugnant to the glory of his *grace*.—If all things must be done to

is such dominion given.” Vol. iii. p. 305. edit. 1793. Neither is there any thing in this inconsistent with what is said by Hooker in other places ; or by Art. XXXVII. of the Church of England. Compare *Powell's Discourses*, &c., p. 368—9. 8vo. 1776.

¹ Rom. xiii. 1.

² 1 Pet. ii. 13.

³ Non permisit nobis vagam effrenamque licentiam, sed cancellos (ut ita loquar) circumdedit. *Calvin* in hunc locum.

⁴ Rom. xiii. 4. compared with Exod. xxii. 20. Levit. xxiv. 16. Numb. xv. 35. Deut. xiii. 5. xviii. 20.

^a See *Sanderson's Sermons*, Preface, § 13 and 16, given below in this collection. Also, Ser. i. § 19, 20.

⁵ Gal. v. 2. See Calvin upon that place.

edification, then the ceremonies of the Church must not be “dark and dumb, but so clearly set forth that every man may know what they mean, and to what use they serve.”—If all things must be done to edification, then Church governors must duly intend the souls’ health of God’s people, framing all their canons for the common good.—To which purpose the Church of Jesus Christ uses her ceremonies^a, either to imprint in men’s minds some reverend mystery of religion, as when she appointed thrice¹ pouring on of water in baptism, signifying the trinity of the persons, or once to signify the unity of the Godhead²; or else some sanctified affection, as when we pray kneeling, by the bending of the knee signifying the bending of the heart; or confess our faith standing, to betoken our boldness; or else she desires to kindle devotion, as when she praises the Lord with the melody of music; or to put men in mind of their duty, and so the *black* garment may admonish the minister of *gravity*, the “white of purity³.” The ornaments of the university may admonish the people to honour Him whom the Church has honoured, and may put the minister in mind of his duty, seeing he has received the ensigns of learning and virtue.—Finally, even things of inferior regard must in their kind tend to edification. The very bells must give a certain sound, that it may appear when they call us to the Church, when they warn us to pray for the sick, when they signify that a brother or sister is departed. Yea, the very pulpits and seats must be so placed as every man may conveniently hear; so every thing according to his nature and degree must be referred to edification.—If all things must be done *without scandal*, then nothing which is sinful may be established; for all sin is of scandalizing nature: yea, even things indifferent, wherein is apparent danger of superstition or idolatry, are to be removed; “for we must abstain from all appearance of evil.”—If all things must be done *in order*, then confusion by all means must be avoided, and consequently the Church must not exceed in superfluity of ceremonies, lest religion itself be overshadowed (as it were a grape) with much abundance of leaves. If all things must be done in order, then the layman must not be suf-

^a See *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 1. Also, book v. passim.

¹ *Tertul.* de Coron. Militis, cap. 3.

² *Greg.* epist. lib. primo 41. In tribus mersionibus personarum trinitas, et in unâ potest divinitatis singularitas demonstrari.

³ In signum honestatis vitæ. *Zipp.* Poli. Eccles. lib. i. cap. 12. Symbolum innocentie et sanctitatis. *Zanch.* de Op. Redemp. cap. 16.

ferred to intrude himself into the office of a minister, in ministering the word and sacraments; nor the inferior minister to usurp that which belongs to the bishop, but every man must keep his own rank, and therein proceed according to order.—And *that* no marvel, seeing the whole fabric^a of the world, both the celestial orbs and the globe of elements are framed and upholden by order. The fixed stars in their motions and revolutions keep a most firm and fixed order. The planets, though compared with the fixed they may seem to wander, yet in truth they observe a most certain and never-wandering order. The day in opening and closing, the moon in waxing and waning, the sea in ebbing and flowing, have their interchangeable course, wherein they continue an unchangeable order. “The stork, swallow, turtle, and crane, know their appointed time¹, and the cranes²” do also fly in order. “The grasshoppers have no king, yet go they forth all by bands³.” The bees are little creatures, yet they are great observers of order. Amongst men in peace nothing can flourish, in wars nothing can prosper, without order. Order proceeds from the throne of the Almighty, it is the beauty of nature, the ornament of art, the harmony of the world.—Now, shall all things be in order, and the Church of God only without order? God forbid!—The Church is a “garden enclosed⁴,” and a garden must be in order; “the house of God,” and God’s house should be in order⁵; an “army with banners⁶,” and an army should be marshalled in order.—Therefore in the Church of God, “Let all things be done honestly and by order.”

9. *Fourthly*, we may observe, that as Church-governors may make Church laws, so all that live in the bosom of that Church must respectively observe the same; for otherwise how can all things be done honestly and according to order?—Therefore as the *enacting* of good laws, so the *observation* of them is necessary⁷.

But some will demand *what degree* of necessity is required;

^a The reader will not fail to be here reminded of the celebrated close of the first book of the Ecclesiastical Polity. See above, vol. i. p. 188. Indeed the whole sermon shows how attentively this author had studied in the school, and imbibed the spirit and doctrines, of Hooker; though it may be remarked as something singular, that it does not appear he has ever once formally referred to him.

¹ Jer. viii. 7.

² Cicero de Natura Deor. lib. secundo.

³ Prov. xxx. 27.

⁴ Cant. iv. 12.

⁵ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁶ Cant. vi. 9.

⁷ Tametsi sint observatu necessariae, de probis et justis loquor, &c. *Calv.* Inst. 4. cap. 10. s. 5.

whether human laws^a do so bind the conscience that the not observing of them be a sin?—Where to it may be answered, that (to speak properly) God only reigns in the consciences of men, and sin is the transgression of the law¹, that is, of law divine. Notwithstanding, when God's law is so entwined with man's law, that man's law cannot be broken without the violation of God's law, then the breach of man's law is not without sin. Therefore, if an ecclesiastical canon be made of a matter lawful in a lawful manner, to a lawful end, by lawful authority, according to the general rules of Scripture, containing in it nothing repugnant to Scripture, nothing contrary to faith or good manners, then that law is approved in the sight of the Almighty; and seems to Calvin² and other learned divines, not merely human, but in some sort divine^b; and in the judgment of Beza does so far bind the conscience, that no man can wilfully transgress it without sin. And although the things we speak of be indifferent, yet being lawfully commanded, *the observation of them* is not a thing indifferent^c, but necessary, because the Lord has said, "Let every soul be subject to the higher power." And "though the omission of a ceremony be in itself a small matter," yet to do it with resistance of authority, "is no small matter; for whosoever resists power, resists the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall

^a See Hooker, book iii. § 9. Also Sanderson's seventh Sermon *ad Populum*, §§ 39, and 45—48. Also, *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*, Prælect. v. § 6—41, and above, vol. iii. 4, and n.

¹ 1 John iii. 5.

² Colligere promptum est has posteriores (ecclesiasticas) non esse habendas pro humanis traditionibus quando quidem fundatæ sint in hoc generali mandato, et liquidam approbationem habent quasi ex ore Christi. *Calv.* in 1 Cor. xiv. et inst. iv. 10. 30. *Zanch.* in compendio loco 16. *Bez.* ep. 24.

^b Compare Hooker's Preface, chap. iii. § 7, above, p. 385, and note.

^c See the Book of Common Prayer, "of Ceremonies, why some be abolished and some retained:" "Although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing, yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God: *Let all things be done*, says St. Paul," &c. Again, "But let ceremonies (2ndly) be as very trifles as any man can imagine them to be; yet *obedience sure is no trifle*. They mis-state the question when they talk of *pressing ceremonies*. It is obedience *formally* that is required; ceremonies not otherwise pressed, than as the *matter* wherein *that obedience* is to be exercised." Sanderson's Sermons, Preface, § 12. given below in this collection. On this principle it was that Selden has declared, "In a Church or State *settled*, there is nothing left indifferent." Table Talk, Art. "Things indifferent."

receive to themselves condemnation: and therefore we must be subject for conscience sake¹.”

But here, peradventure, it will be demanded how this does stand with Christian liberty? for answer whereof, may it please them to know that Christian liberty^a consists not in breaking of wholesome laws (God forbid!) that were fantastical and Anabaptistical; but—(to touch it so far as concerns our present purpose)—in these branches following.—*First*, we are not tied to this or that pattern, but being within ourselves a Church, not depending upon any other, our Church governors have liberty^b to establish whatsoever (being in itself indifferent) shall to their wisdom seem most expedient; always provided that all things be done honestly and in order. *Secondly*, this is our liberty, that things indifferent being established, we retain them not as a part of divine worship, not as meritorious or satisfactory, not as necessary to justification or salvation, but only for discipline and order’s sake². *Thirdly*, if there shall happen any contempt or irreverence, they may be altered and changed by lawful authority, which may likewise “ordain and publish such further ceremonies or rites as may be most for the advancement of God’s glory³,” and therefore they are not established as perpetual^c, but so long as in the eye of public judgment they shall seem convenient and profitable for the Church of Christ.

But some peradventure will reply and say, If things indifferent be such as God has not commanded, why, then, should the Church⁴ presume to impose them upon us, and so abridge our liberty, which God has not abridged? I answer, that it is no presumption at all, but the lawful use of lawful authority; for things are either *commanded* of the Lord, or *forbidden*, or *left*

¹ Rom. xiii. 1.

^a This important subject is further discussed with admirable perspicuity and force of reasoning in Bishop Sanderson’s first Sermon *ad Clerum*; his fifth Sermon *ad Clerum* (given below in this collection); in his fifth and seventh Sermons *ad Populum*, both also given below; and in the eleventh, *ad Aulam*.

^b See Art. XXXIV. of the Church of England. Also the Preface (Sanderson’s) to the Book of Common Prayer; and the ancient Preface to the same, entitled, “Of ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained.”

² Treatise of Ceremonies.

³ Act for Uniformity.

^c See *Hooker*, book i. chap. 15. § 1, &c. above, vol. i. p. 175, &c.

⁴ Where it is destitute of a commandment it may not presume by any decree to restrain that liberty which the Lord has given. T. C. lib. i. p. 152.

indifferent. That which God has certainly commanded man may not forbid; that which God has certainly forbidden man may not command or impose by any law; for that, in the judgment of St. Austin, deserves not the name of a law¹ which enjoins things unlawful. Again, if authority command the same thing which God commands, or forbid that which He has forbidden, this is not the enacting of a new law, but a dutiful *declaration* and due *execution* of God's law. But those things which God has neither commanded nor forbidden, He has left to be disposed by the law of man. In which case the sovereign may command his subject, and the Church her children; and it is the duty of the inferior therein to be obedient.—He that denies this, takes away the sun out of the world, dissolves universally the fabric of government, overthrows families, corporations, churches, and kingdoms^a, and wraps all things in the dismal darkness of anarchy and confusion. And though this be in some sort the abridging of thy liberty, yet it is for the common good, and according to the rules of equity, and the prince or Church in so commanding thee does no further abridge thy liberty than God does allow them to abridge it.

10. Lastly, when it is said unto the Churches, “Let all things be done,” it is plain that this duty is laid upon the Church to provide that these things be effectually done; and consequently, that God, which gave her this charge, has armed her with authority. She may censure disobedient children: God has given to his Church in all ages, not only “a rule for direction, but a rod of correction:” this is the judgment of all learned men, as appears by the practice of the whole Christian world.—And thus much of the *explication*, and so I come to the *application*.

11. Hitherto you have seen the balance of the sanctuary: now it remains that the canons and constitutions of *our own* Church be weighed and examined in this balance. Wherein, although I acknowledge that laws solemnly established do rather require obedience than disputation^b: yet because the laws under which

¹ Non enim jura dicenda sunt aut putanda iniqua hominum constituta. *August. de Civ. D. l. xix. cap. 21.* Justum dictum est quod justum est. *Grat. dist. 1. cap. 2.*

^a Compare *Sanderson's* fifth Sermon *ad Populum*, § 27—32. Also his fourth Sermon *ad Clerum*, § 14, and the fifth *ad Clerum*, § 15; all given below in this collection.

^b Compare *Hooker*, Preface, chap. v. § 2. and chap. vi. § 3, and note there; above, p. 410.

we live, are such (God be thanked) as need not to shun the light : and, forasmuch as many (otherwise virtuous and well disposed minds, and some of them very learned and laborious in the Church of Christ) while they have travelled in weightier matters, have mistaken some things of lesser moment : therefore give me leave in the spirit of meekness to instruct them that are contrary-minded, which I do not to call the present laws in question,—I have no such meaning,—but to quiet and settle the unresolved conscience, that we may all perform cheerful obedience to God and the prince.—And if any man think that this discourse were more seasonable in an assembly of ministers, let them consider ; first, that this famous auditory is furnished with a great number of the ministry : secondly, that this is the place of jurisdiction : thirdly, that the handling of these points is very profitable for the people ; for the true knowledge of the authority of the prince in things indifferent, is the very fountain of Christian obedience.—And though I know that the handling of these points is very subject to censure^a, yet for my brethren's sake of the ministry, my heart is turned within me, and my bowels of compassion are rowled together, and therefore I am resolved to wade through honour and dishonour, good report and bad report, for the work's sake which I covet to perform.

Now this application by God's grace shall be divided into three general parts. *First*, a *declaration*, that in the Church of England the principal points (for the time will not suffer me to speak of all) are established, honestly and in order. *Secondly*, a *confutation* of certain general exceptions to the contrary. *Thirdly*, an *exhortation* to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.—And to begin with the *declaration* ; let us first declare the order which our Church uses in making of Church orders.

12. By the ancient laws of this realm, this kingdom of England is an absolute empire and monarchy¹, consisting of one *head*, which is the king, and of a *body* politic, which body politic the law divides into two general parts, the clergy and the laity. Now the King of England being an absolute sovereign, and consequently by the law of God supreme governor over all persons and causes ecclesiastical and temporal, within his own dominions, may, by the ancient prerogative and laws of England, make an

^a Compare Hooker, book i. chap. 1. §. 1. above, vol. i. p. 90. and Sander-son's fifth Sermon *ad Clerum*, § 23.

¹ Sir Edward Coke, *de jure Reg. Eccles.* folio 8. b.

ecclesiastical commission¹, by advice whereof, or of the metropolitan², he may, according to his princely wisdom, ordain and publish such ceremonies, or rites, as shall be most for the advancement of God's glory, the edification of his Church, and the due reverence of Christ's holy mysteries and sacraments.—And it is further enacted by authority of parliament³, that the convocation shall be assembled always by virtue of the king's writ, and that their canons shall not be put in execution, unless they be approved by royal assent. According to which statute or act of parliament, it pleased our gracious sovereign to direct his writ⁴ to the most reverend Father in God, the late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury his grace, by virtue whereof the bishops and others of his province were summoned: and because particular Churches should not be left destitute, the ministers of every diocese had liberty to choose two clerks out of their own body by common consent to represent the rest. These assembling at the place and time appointed, by virtue of other his majesty's writs directed to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord Bishop of London then being, duly authorized president of the convocation, proceeded to consultation, and after long deliberation set down their conclusions, which being the constitutions^a of the sacred synod, and the same presented to the king, ratified by his royal assent, confirmed by his highness's letters patents, under the great seal of England, and by his sovereign authority published, commanded and enjoined to be diligently observed, executed, and equally kept by all the subjects of this kingdom, have a binding force, and are in the nature of a law, and therefore may be justly called the king's ecclesiastical laws,—in making whereof the Church of England, without all controversy, proceeds honestly and in order.

13. But to come to *particulars*,—let us first consider our *ministry*, and then our *ministration*.

The ministers of England^b are not in popular parity, but our *bishops* are advanced above the rest, being endued with power of giving orders, and the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction: and

¹ Sir Edward Coke, de jure Reg. Eccles. folio 8. b.

² Act for Uniformity. ³ Anno 25 H. VIII.

⁴ In the ratification of the canons.

^a These are the book of canons of 1604.

^b On this, and the sections which follow, concerning the ministry, compare Hooker, book v. chaps. 76—81.

that according to the purest and apostolical times. Timothy¹ and Titus² ordained presbyters, that is, ministers of the gospel, town by town; and these answer to our pastors of particular Churches, whose duty is to minister the word and sacraments. Timothy himself had the oversight of Ephesus³, Titus of Crete⁴, not only of the flocks, but of the ministers also: and had authority both to minister the word and sacraments, which was common to them with all other inferior presbyters;—and likewise to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction⁵, and by imposition of hands to consecrate to holy orders⁶.—For the better execution of which duties, it has pleased Christian kings in all ages, out of their princely favours, to grace and countenance bishops, and by their laws, examples, and bounties, to make them acceptable unto the people, well considering that the decay of the authority of ecclesiastical rulers, and the want of yielding to them reverence, honour and fear is the cause of all evil, as Chrysostom⁷ well noted, saying; “He that honours the priest does also honour God: and he that despises the priest, comes by degrees to this at last, that he waxes contumelious against God himself.—And as these glorious stars and angels are to be honoured, so again they must remember the saying of Ambrose; *Magna sublimitas magnam debet habere cautelam. Honor grandis grandiori debet sollicitudine circumvallari*.”⁸

14. Concerning *inferior* ministers, the first point to be pondered, is their *ordination*: for which purpose the *place* is famously known, being either the cathedral church, or the parish church where the bishop resides⁹. The *time*, “*jejunia quatuor temporum*,” commonly called Ember weeks, which by the wisdom of our Church, are consecrated to a most excellent use, that all the people of the land should fast and pray, that the Lord would bless his Church with learned ministers, and send forth worthy labourers into his harvest.—This is apparent by our canons and constitutions; and surely it is an honest, a decent, a holy and heavenly *preparation*.

15. After the preparation follows the *examination* both of manners and learning. For the *first*, the person desirous to enter

¹ 1 Tim. v. 22.

² Titus i. 5.

³ 1 Tim. i. 3.

⁴ Titus i. 5.

⁵ 1 Tim. v. 19.

⁶ 1 Tim. v. 22.

⁷ Homil. ii. in Ep. 2. ad Timoth.

⁸ Amb. de Dignitate Sacerdot. cap. 3.

⁹ Can. 31.

this holy calling, must exhibit letters testimonial¹ under the seal of some college, where he before remained, or of three or four grave ministers, with the subscription of other credible persons, who have known his life and behaviour, by the space of three years next before:—so careful is our Church that this should be performed honestly and in order.

16. Concerning their *learning*, our desire is, that in every parish the word of God might abound like Euphrates, and as Jordan in the time of harvest; that the doctrine of the gospel might shine as the light and overflow as Geon in time of vintage. Plant, O Lord, we beseech Thee, if it be thy pleasure, in every parish a learned minister! O Lord, let thy Urim and Thummim be with thy holy ones, that they may teach Jacob thy judgments, and Israel thy law!—But, beloved in the Lord, it is one thing to speak of these things in speculation^a, and another when we come to practice. A carpenter may contrive in his head a most exact and curious building; but when he comes to the point he can make it no better than his timber will suffer. The defender of the Admonition about thirty years ago, avouched that “two thousand sufficient preachers, which preach and feed diligently, were hard to be found in this Church².” Admit this were true, and seeing there be in England about ten thousand parishes, suppose that liberty had been granted to this great reformer, to have reduced the Church of England to his imagined platform,—what would he have done^b? Should two thousand parishes have been furnished every one with a sufficient preacher, and eight thousand been left forlorn, without public praying, or preaching, or reading divine service? Should they have had none, none at all, either to minister the communion, or to baptize their children?—This had been rude and barbarous, and the highway either to atheism, or to paganism. Should one man have had five benefices? That were contrary to his own principles, for so each parish should have had but the fifth part of a preacher.—Should there have been a general dissolution of parishes, and five reduced to one? Alas, that had been a woful and lamentable reformation.—What then remains but only

¹ Can. 34.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. lxxxi. p. 481. edit. 1793. Also book i. chap. iii. § 3. above, vol. i. p. 99.

² T. C. lib. i. p. 40. Vide *Arch.* p. 140.

^b *Hooker*, book v. chap. lxxxi. p. 482, 3.

that which the Church of England approves, that is to be sparing in the former points, and to admit some into the ministry of meaner, though tolerable sufficiency, till it please God ^a that our famous universities, which have already furnished many, may by God's grace send out their crystal streams to water the rest of the land.

And surely it were to be wished, that some greater encouragement were given to learned men, by increasing their maintenance: for alas, it is notoriously known, that many Church-livings have been so pared to the quick, that now they are hardly able to yield vital nourishment, so sharply have they been lanced, and lost their best blood.—But God be blessed, who has put into the heart of his majesty ^b a holy endeavour to cure the Church of this

^a *Hooker*, book v. chap. lxxxi. p. 481.

^b “King James I. at his accession to the English throne, was wisely sensible that nothing would more illustrate the beginning of his reign, and secure a blessing to it, than a pious care for the distressed Church and clergy. To express and prosecute this good design, he laid his royal commands upon the two archbishops, to make enquiry into the state of all the benefices and cures within their respective provinces; to *know what Churches were impropriated; how the vicarages were endowed; or how the stipendiary curacies supplied?* In obedience to these injunctions, the good old Archbishop Whitgift directed letters to his suffragan bishops, containing articles of enquiry to be diligently made and returned. . . . Dated the last of June, 1603.

“The more fully to declare this gracious intention, the king sent his letters commendatory to the two Universities,—that to Oxford dated July 10, 1603, the first year of his reign, to signify to them how ‘the zeal that religion might be well planted in this realm and all other his dominions, had caused him to enter into consideration of all means that might best serve to the furtherance thereof; wherein finding that no one thing was a greater impediment than want of competent living to maintain learned men in such places, where the ordinary benefits of the vicarages does not suffice, and the parsonages are impropriate and in laymen’s hands; he had found that there could not be a readier way to supply that defect, than if those impropriations might be converted again to the right use for which they were primarily instituted.’ The king proceeds to declare his own purpose of setting the good example, and hopes that example will induce his subjects to the imitation of it; and especially those eminent members of the state, the Colleges in the two Universities, ‘whose example,’ he adds, ‘should have great efficacy to all good men in this sort to advance the glory of Christ’s gospel.’

“But, alas! this generous prince had his bounty to the Church obstructed by the envious eye of *some*, who thought that want and lowness would make the clergy more obsequious to them; and by the griping hand of *others*, who resolved to hold fast whatever had been gotten from the Church, even till opportunity served of getting more. Both these sorts of men were jealous,

consumption: the Father of mercy give a blessing unto it, and the Lord grant that the nobility and gentry^a of this land may follow his royal example, and that every one in his degree may set his heart and hand to the further building of the Lord's temple.—In the mean time, I must needs say, that there are not a few in the Universities^b, grave, learned, and virtuous, which

and afraid of the king's intended bounty to the poorer clergy: and therefore to retard the progress of it, they had the cunning to complain of corruptions and defects in the discipline and government of the Church and clergy, to make them less the object of royal care and compassion. They more especially cast forth the popular objections of *pluralities* and non-residence; making those necessities a reason for not considering the better maintenance of the clergy, which were indeed the most urgent reason for it." *Kennett's Case of Improvements, and of the Augmentation of Vicarages*, 8vo. 1704. p. 174—6.

^a Compare above, vol. iii. p. 416. Of what had been effected by the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, by individuals and public bodies, towards the accomplishment of the important object of this devout prayer, an interesting account may be found in the valuable work of Bishop *Kennett*, cited in the preceding note; as also of the origin, progress, and consummation of the pious design of the queen, of restoring to the Church, and of appropriating towards the augmentation of poor benefices,—the revenue of first-fruits and tenths which had been vested in the crown from the 26th year of King Henry VIII. The beneficial results of that act, and of the subsidiary provisions connected with it, are detailed at large from official documents, in a valuable work by the present treasurer, (*Christopher Hodgson*, Esq.) entitled, *An Account of the Augmentation of Small Livings*; by the Governors of the Bounty of Queen Anne, for the Augmentation of the Maintenance of the Poor Clergy. 1826.

^b "As for the corruption in bestowing other meaner livings, the chief fault thereof is in the patrons themselves. For it is the usual manner of the most part of them, (I speak of too good experience,) though they may have good store of able men in the Universities, yet if an ambitious or greedy minister come not unto them, to sue for the benefice; if there be an insufficient man, or a corrupt person within two shires of them, whom they think they can draw to any composition for their own benefit, they will by one means or other find him out. And if the bishop shall make courtesy to admit him, some such shift shall be found by the law, either by *quare impedit*, or otherwise, that whether the bishop will or no, he shall be shifted into the benefice. I know some bishops, unto whom such suits against the patrons have been more chargeable in one year than they have gained by all the benefices that they have bestowed since they were bishops; or, I think, will do while they be bishops. They have injury, therefore, to be so openly slandered in the face of the world. If there be any bishop that corruptly bestows his livings by suit of Master Chancellor, or Master Steward, or any other; look, what punishment I would have any layman in that case to sustain, I would wish to

might be employed abroad, but only that sundry patrons prefer a golden purse before a golden wit. Wherein I would to God that such as are endued with right of presenting to spiritual promotions would consider what an honourable office is committed unto them, and what excellent service they may perform to the Church of God; and let them withal call to mind what a fearful account such shall one day make as cease not to prefer their private gain before the public good, but suffer souls to perish through their negligent default, or simoniacal sin.—Two reasons^a may be

a bishop double or treble.” Admonition to the People of England, by T. C. (Bishop Cooper,) p. 143, 4.

In another place he shows how these corrupt proceedings of the patrons received but too much countenance from some of the tenets of the mal-content clergy; thus constituting an instance of “that kind of truce,” which, as Hooker says in his Dedication to Abp. Whitgift, “virtue makes with vice, during war between truth and error.”

“This doctrine does very well justify the covetous and uncharitable dealings of many parishioners, which, partly by violence, partly by crafty means, detain from the ministers their portion of tithes appointed by law. This doctrine gives good countenance to corrupt patrons, who will not bestow their benefices but by composition of a good part of the fruits to their own use and commodity: and when the living shall be worth one hundred pounds by the year, they will ask whether thirty or forty pounds be not a sufficient portion for the parson. This dealing before time has been accounted little better than sacrilege or simony; but now it may be thought, (if this doctrine be good and allowable,) that it is lawfully done, and according to the Word of God; yea, and that the minister is a covetous worldling, and worthy great blame, that will not content himself with such a rate as they willingly shall allow him.” P. 227, 8.

^a See Baxter's Catechizing, above, vol. i. p. 482, and note there. Also Sanderson's Seventh Lecture, given above, vol. iii. p. 28.

This subject, of Church patronage, is also treated of very elaborately, and with great learning, by Bishop Stillingfleet.

“Afterwards (says he) there arose great contests between the Papal and royal power, which continued for several ages; and at last among us, the royal power overthrowing the other, reserved the power of nominations of bishops, as a part of the prerogative, which being allowed in frequent parliaments, the consent of the people is swallowed up therein,—since their acts do oblige the whole nation. For, not only the statute of 1 Edward VI. declares the *right of appointing bishops to be in the king*, but 25 Edward III. it is likewise declared that the *right of disposing bishopricks was in the king by right of patronage, derived from his ancestors, before the freedom of elections was granted*. Which shows not only the great antiquity of this right, but the consent of the whole nation to it. And the same is fully related in the Epistle of Edward III. to Clement V., where it is said that the king did dispose them *jure suo regio*, by his royal prerogative, *as his ancestors had done* from

rendered for patronages, building the Church and maintaining the minister; in regard whereof, this honour was granted to the

the first founding of a Christian Church here. This is likewise owned in the famous statute of Carlisle, 25 Edward III. So that there is no kingdom where this right has been more fully acknowledged by the general consent of the people, than here in England; and that from the original planting of a Christian Church here.

“As to the inferior right of patronage, it is justly thought to bear equal date with the first settlement of Christianity in peace and quietness. For when it began to spread into remoter villages, and places distant from the Cathedral Churches, where the bishop resided with his presbyters as a College together, a necessity was soon apprehended of having presbyters fixed among them. For the council of Neocæsarea mentions the *ἐπιχώριοι πρεσβύτεροι*, the country presbyters, c. 13, whom the canonists interpret to be such as were then fixed in country cures; and this council was held ten years before the council of Nice. In the time of the first council of Orange, A.D. 441, express mention is made of the right of patronage reserved to the first founders of Churches, c. 10, viz. if a bishop built a Church on his own land in another bishop's diocese, yet the right of presenting the clerk was reserved to him; and this was confirmed by the second council of Arles, c. 36. A.D. 452. By the constitution of the Emperor Zeno, A.D. 479, the rights of patronage are established upon the agreements at first made in the endowments of Churches. This constitution was confirmed by Justinian, A.D. 541, and he allows the nomination and presentation of a fit clerk. And the same were settled in the Western Church, as appears by the ninth council of Toledo, about A.D. 650. And many canons were made in several councils about regulating the rights of patronage, and the endowments of Churches, till at last it obtained by general consent, that the patron might transmit the right of presentation to his heirs, and the bishops were to approve of the persons presented, and to give institution to the benefice. The barons of England, in the Epistle to Gregory IX. plead that *their ancestors had the right of patronage from the first planting of Christianity here*. For those upon whose lands the Churches were built, and at whose cost and charges they were erected, and by whom the parochial Churches were endowed, thought that they had great reason to reserve the nomination of the clerks to themselves. And this, (so Sarisburiensis says,) *was received by a general custom of this whole kingdom*. So that the right of patronage was at first built upon a very reasonable consideration; and has been ever since received by as universal a consent as any law or custom amongst us. And the only questions now remaining are, whether such a consent can be made void by the dissent of some few persons, who plead it to be their inherent right to choose their own pastors? and supposing that it *might* be done, whether it be reasonable so to do? And, I conclude, that things being thus settled by general consent and established laws, there is no ground for the people to resume the liberty of elections.” The Unreasonableness of Separation: 4to. 1681. p. 325—8. See also *Stillingfleet's Ecclesiastical Cases*, vol. i. p. 161, &c. and 313, &c. And *Ecclesiastical Biography*, Index *Patronage*.

lord of the soil in ancient time, that he alone should present the clerk, because he alone provided for him; in remembrance whereof, the honour descended to posterity. And therefore you which enjoy this right from your noble progenitors, as you succeed them in honour, so succeed them in virtue; and as they have been honourable founders, so discharge you a good conscience, and be faithful disposers.—And you which possess the same dignity, though not by lineal descent, yet by other lawful interest, it is your part to be good stewards, and warily to discharge this Christian duty, according to that trust which the Church of Christ has reposed in you. So learning shall be nourished, virtue advanced, religion flourish, and our two famous Universities shall be exalted like the cedars in Libanus, and as the cypress trees upon the mountains of Hermon. They shall be fair as the olive tree, and sweet as the rose. They shall be fruitful as the vine, and like the terebinth shall stretch forth their branches to the glory of God, and consolation of his children.

But to return to the present state of our Church, it cannot be denied but that God has blessed this land with a great number of learned men above other nations; yet, seeing the number of parishes is exceeding great, we are constrained to tolerate some of meaner sufficiency. And yet the law¹ requires that every one to be admitted into the ministry should understand the articles of religion, not only as they be compendiously set down in the Creed, but as they are at large in our Book of Articles; neither understand them only, but be able to prove them sufficiently out of the Scripture: and that not in English only, but in Latin also.—If it be objected, that there have been sundry consecrated which are not thus qualified, I confess it may be true, and it is a just cause of lamentation: but yet, beloved, this is not the fault of the law^a, but of such as transgress the law. Now I speak in defence of the laws under which I live: if any whosoever shall transgress the laws, let him answer for himself, or bear his own burthen. That which is of God I would willingly defend; but I am no patron^b of any man's iniquity. I will conclude this point with

¹ Can. 34.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. 81.

^b “As that which has been proposed for the matter whereof we treat, is only the ecclesiastical law whereby we are governed,” says *Hooker*, at the opening of book second, in the wise and noble spirit by which he is characterized, “so neither is it my purpose to maintain any other thing than that which therein truth and reason shall approve. For concerning the dealings

the charge of St. Paul given to Timothy, and in him to all other bishops: "I testify before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, and the elect angels, that thou observe these things without hastiness of judgment, and do nothing after partiality. Lay hands suddenly on no man, neither be partaker of other men's sins^{1 a}."

17. And here let me advise those ministers which are no preachers, that they spend not their time idly, but endeavour by all means to grow in wisdom and grace, lest they be a disgrace to that holy calling. For there is no doubt but being at their entrance qualified, as the law requires, "if they shall mark what they read publicly, if they shall delight to read the Bible privately," if they shall join with it some short and easy commentary, if they shall inform their judgments by introductions and institutions of Christian religion; if they shall be willing to learn of such as can teach them, and to teach such as ought to learn of them, if they shall be diligent in catechizing, if they shall delight in conference, and meditate upon the law of God day and night, and withal be devout and fervent in prayer;—there is no doubt, I say, but that God may so bless their grain of mustard-seed, that it may grow into a goodly tree, their sparkle that it may become a flame, their drop that it may rise into a river, and overflow like Nilus with her silver streams.—Bless, O Lord, these gracious beginnings and holy endeavours; let them not be like the morning dew that drieth away, but let them grow in grace, and flourish more and more, like the tree that is planted by the river side!

18. After the examination is tendered *subscription*^{2 b}; and surely to the end that they which should teach other men obedi-

of men who administer government, and unto whom the execution of that law belongs, they have their Judge, who sitteth in heaven, and before whose tribunal they are accountable for whatsoever abuse or corruption, which being worthily disliked in this Church, the want either of care or of conscience in them has bred. *We are no patrons* of those things therefore, the best defence whereof is speedy redress and amendment. That which is of God we defend to the utmost of the ability which He has given; that which is otherwise, let it wither even in the root from whence it has sprung."

¹ 1 Tim. v. 21.

^a The reader will do well to turn here to peruse the last chapter of *Hooker's* fifth book; and still more the close and solemn appeal to bishops and others, in book seventh, § 14, &c. p. 261—85, given, in part, above, vol. iii. No. xvi.

² Can. 36.

^b *I. e.* to the three Articles in the 36th Canon.

ence may be good subjects themselves, it is expedient that they subscribe to the *first* Article, that is, to the prince's supremacy.—The *second* Article consists of two branches; the Book of Common Prayer^a, and the Book of Consecration. Concerning the first, though the Admonition to the Parliament did formerly fancy a voluntary and extemporal form of prayer, as the Spirit should move a man, yet the defender of the Admonition agrees with us, that there should be a prescript¹ and uniform² order, the observation of which uniformity both in prayer and ceremony was long ago commended by Calvin³ to the Duke of Somerset; and therefore we are agreed upon this *generality*.

But to come to *particulars*: there was set out a Book of Common Prayer in the beginning of King Edward's reign, which Alexander Alesius, a learned man of Scotland, translated into Latin as a singular comfort for the whole Christian world in those dangerous days; and this seems to be the same^b upon which Martin Bucer gave his learned censure.—In the fifth and sixth year of King Edward, the former book was reformed and brought to such singular perfection, that Archbishop Cranmer offered^c in Queen Mary's time, so he might be assisted by a few more learned men, to defend it against all comers. And profound Ridley affirmed that the "whole divine service was formed and fashioned to the true vein of Scripture." And Dr. Taylor avouched that there was set out by King Edward, "the whole Church service, with great deliberation, and advice of the best learned of the realm, authorised by the whole Parliament, fully perfected according to the rules of Christian religion in every behalf, so that no Christian conscience can be any way offended

^a In conjunction with this section, the reader will do well to peruse the admirable Preface of Bishop *Taylor* to his Apology for authorised and pre-composed forms of Liturgy.

¹ We agree of a prescript form of prayer to be used in the Church. T. C. See *Whitgift*, t. ix. p. 489.

² We also desire an uniform order, but such and in such sort as we have before declared. T. C. See *Whitgift*, p. 709.

³ Quod ad formulam precum et rituum ecclesiast. valdè probo, ut certa illa extet à quâ pastoribus discedere in functione suâ non liceat. *Calv.* ad Protect. Angl. Ep. 87.

^b It is so. See *Martini Bucer* Scripta Anglicana ferè omnia: folio, 1577. p. 370—503.

^c See *Fox*, in Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. iii. p. 513 (Cranmer). Also p. 391, 2 (Ridley), and vol. ii. p. 503 (Taylor). Or, edit. 1839, *Index Liturgy*.

with any thing therein contained." Yea, Calvin himself, though he misliked some things in our Liturgy, yet termed them *tolerable*^a. But I persuade myself that Calvin¹ would not call any thing *tolerable* which he judged *impious*; and therefore I suppose that in his judgment there was no impiety at all. And yet some in our Church have refused subscription, even in regard of those things which Calvin thought tolerable.

But to come to the form of Common Prayer, as it was established by Queen Elizabeth.—O what blessings has the Lord vouchsafed the people of this land, by means of that book! How many millions of souls have received comfort by it! How many thousands of learned men have commended and defended it!—You shall hear one for all, even that judicious Jewel, in whose opinion it contains "nothing either disagreeing from holy Scripture, or misbeseeming sober men²." And yet it has pleased our gracious sovereign^b, that some things should be explained, that the public form of prayer "might be free not only from blame

^a If the reader would see a correct estimate of the import and value of this noted *dictum* of Calvin, and a just exposure of the abuse to which it has been turned by the non-conformists, he will find it in the valuable work of Dr. John Durell, *The Government and Public Worship in the Reformed Churches beyond the Seas, and their Conformity and Agreement with the Church of England*: 4to. 1662. p. 176—83. I extract only one observation, which of itself goes a great way to set the whole matter in its true light.

"Observe *fourthly*, that Calvin *had not seen* our Liturgy, and that he delivers his judgment about the things contained in it, but upon the information which he had received from the enemies thereof. Wherefore he does not say, as it is falsely reported, in the 'History of the Troubles of Frankfurt,') that he sees in the English Liturgy, *simply* and *peremptorily*, many things *unfit* or improper; but, in the English Liturgy, *qualem describitis*, according to the description which you make of it. (And, these words, *qualem describitis*, are expunged out of Calvin's Letter in that History, by which it may be seen what credit ought to be given to that discourse.) Now, *what* was that portraiture or *description* which they were pleased to make of it, we may easily guess by them which we have seen made of late years by some of Knox's own countrymen, the true offspring of those Franco-fordian brethren. . . . So I conceive that by this time the enemies of our Book of Common Prayer see that Calvin says but little, or rather nothing, against the same." 182.

¹ *Calv. Ep.* 200. In Anglicanâ Liturgiâ qualem describitis multas esse video tolerabiles ineptias.

² *Jul. Apol. Lond.* 1591. p. 46. 170. Procl. Regis pro uniformitate, 4 Jac. 5 Mart.

^b See *Wilkins's Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 377-8.

but from suspicion." Wherefore our venerable convocation considering how this book has been allowed by such a world of witnesses, and published by the sovereign authority of most learned and religious princes, and being persuaded that it contains nothing but that which may be tolerated with a good conscience, and pondering how this Church has been troubled with turbulent spirits, and withal hoping that *subscription* might be a means to preserve the peace of the Church,—how could they do less, than commend the use of this book, and bind all that hereafter shall be admitted either to the ministry, or to any ecclesiastical promotion by their several subscriptions to approve the same?—Moreover, because it were intolerable that they which had desired consecration, and obtained it at the hands of our reverend bishops, and that (as we are constantly persuaded) in such form as is agreeable to the blessed Word of God, should speak against their own orders, or against that hand wherewith they were consecrated; therefore it is requisite that they should subscribe to the *second* branch, that is, the Book of Consecration.—And to the end that they which publicly instruct others should be seasoned themselves with true religion, and no gap left open to false or curious doctrines, it is most fit that they subscribe to the *third* and last, that is, the book of the Articles of religion; and this also (though in more severe manner) was Calvin's¹ advice to the Duke of Somerset.—In all these points the Church of England requires subscription, and is, therefore, sharply censured by her own children. But they which are such admirers of foreign Churches abroad, let them a little in this very point compare the Church of England with that famous Church of Geneva.—*First*, the Church of England requires subscription of the ministers, and not of the common people^a; but the Church of Geneva urges not the ministers only, but the people also².

¹ *Calvin* ad Protect. Ang. anno 1548. Oct. 22. Claudenda est etiam janua curiosis doctrinis. Ratio autem expedita ad eam rem una est si extet nempe summa quædam doctrinæ ab omnibus recepta, quam inter prædicandum sequantur omnes: ad quam etiam observandam, omnes episcopi et parochi jurejurando adstringantur, ut nemo ad munus ecclesiasticum admittatur nisi spondeat illum doctrinæ consensum sibi inviolatum futurum.

^a Compare *Wall*, above, vol. iii. p. 461. of this collection.

² A civibus primùm omnium contendit Calvinus ut coactus populus universus ejurato palam papatu in Christianam religionem ac disciplinam paucis capitibus comprehensam juraret, à quibus postea discedere ministris neque civibus liceret. Bern in vitâ Calvinî, ibidem.

Secondly, the Church of England requires this approbation, that her rites are not contrary to the Word of God; but the Church of Geneva will have her discipline received in a more high and glorious manner. *Thirdly*, the Church of England contents herself only with subscription; but the Church of Geneva is more peremptory, requiring a solemn oath¹.

19. After subscription follows *consecration*, or imposition of hands, which in the Church of England is performed with such words of wisdom, and in such manner, as flesh and blood should not take upon them to control.

20. And as our Church is careful to *make* good ministers, so she has a singular regard in *placing* them. And because many patrons in placing their clerks have golden gifts in more precious account than gifts of grace, therefore the Church of England has providently appointed an oath against simony².—And here I beseech all my brethren of the ministry in the bowels of Christ Jesus, to make a conscience of this oath, when they enter their livings. For how can they expect that God will bless their proceedings, if they shall make their beginnings with simony, and colour it over with perjury?

21. And as our Church is desirous that men may enter their livings with a good conscience, so she is graciously provident that they may *discharge their duty* when they are entered: wherefore the law provides for their personal residence³ and in case of absence for a learned supply.

22. And forasmuch as the Church of God in all ages has had some which after good and plausible beginnings, have notwithstanding proved firebrands of schism, and sounded the trumpet of sedition, therefore the *oath of canonical obedience*^a is a touchstone to try their present affections, a bridle to curb their future passions, and a gracious means to preserve the precious peace and unity of the Church.

23. Moreover, the messengers of peace should not only be peaceable, but also painful in *feeding the flock of Christ*; and yet

¹ Dedit tamen Dominus 20 Julii, an. 1537. Ut palam præeunte publico scriba à senatu populoque Genevensi in Christianæ religionis ac disciplinæ simul capita juraretur. Ibidem.

² Canon 40.

³ Canons 41—45.

^a “I. A. B. do swear, that I will perform true and canonical obedience to the bishop of C. and his successors, in all things lawful and honest. So help me God.” *Burn’s Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. i. art. Benefice. Gibson, &c.

sermons heretofore in some places have been very rare and dainty, insomuch that Father Latimer in his time compared them to strawberries, which came but once a year. Wherefore that instead of strawberry sermons there might be a more plentiful provision in the house of God, our Church has decreed, that if the ministers residing upon their benefices be preachers, not lawfully hindered, they shall preach every Sabbath ¹, and if they be no preachers, they shall procure monthly sermons ².

24. Furthermore, (because such is our self-pleasing vanity) we think ourselves fit to fly before our feathers be grown, and sundry to avoid the odious brand of dumb dogs and idle shepherds, are ready to stretch and strain themselves above their strength, being forward to speak when silence would better become them, therefore it is wisely enacted, that none shall preach but such as are allowed by the bishop of the diocese ³. In the mean time they must read *homilies*, that is, holy and learned sermons, publicly set out by authority.—Surely, dearly beloved, quirking brains may have their conceits, and wanton wits may be more merry than wise: but when these things are judiciously weighed in an equal balance, it will be found that the wisdom of the Church has disposed them *honestly* and *in order*.

25. And as our Church desires that *doctrine* may shine like the light of the Lord upon the holy candlestick, so she is careful that the *conversation* ⁴ of her ministers may be such as may adorn the Gospel of Christ. In making of which canon, the Church of England may seem to have set before her eyes that golden sentence, “Let thy priests, O Lord, be clothed with holiness, and let thy saints rejoice and sing ⁵.”

26. And as they should be *inwardly* decked with godliness and grace, so it is enjoined, that their *outward* apparel ⁶ shall be sober and grave, every way correspondent to their calling, that all things may be done honestly and by order.—And thus much of the *ministry*, and so I come to our *ministration* ^a.

27. The *beginning* of our Church service is with some memorable sentence of Holy Scripture appointed for that purpose, moving

¹ Canon 45.

² Canon 46.

³ Canon 49.

⁴ Canon 75.

⁵ Psalm cxxxii. 9.

⁶ Canon 74.

^a In connexion with this portion the reader will derive all possible benefit by making himself master of the corresponding chapters of the fifth book of Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity.

to repentance and prayer, or magnifying the mercy of God in Christ. Then after a holy *exhortation*, all of us, both minister and people, fall down before the throne of grace, *confessing our sins*, with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart, meekly kneeling upon our knees.—Without question (beloved) here is a holy and blessed beginning.—Now because that God which dwells in “eternity¹,” has respect to an “humble and contrite spirit,” and has appointed the minister to comfort them which mourn in Sion, therefore in the *next* place, the minister, in the name of Jesus Christ, pronounces *forgiveness of sins* to all that truly repent and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel. This is the oil of gladness, the balm of Gilead, the fountain of grace for the washing away of sins: “O the fountain of the gardens, the well of living water, and the springs of Lebanon².”—And lest any man having the pardon of his sins pronounced, should take occasion of carnal liberty, therefore our Church does presently apply a preservative against presumption, and a conservative of all grace and godliness, even *that* zealous and piercing prayer, which *the Lord Jesus Himself has taught us*.—And because when we have done all that we can, “we are unprofitable servants³,” and must “forget that which is behind, and endeavour ourselves unto that which is before⁴,” therefore as though we had yet done nothing, we beseech Him to “open our lips, that our mouth may show forth his praise.” And so with prayer to Him which is best able to help us, we give glory to the blessed Trinity; in all which what is there, which can be bettered by the wit of man?

Now forasmuch as the mind of man in prayer mounts aloft with eagle’s wings, piercing the clouds with ardent affection, and pouring out her complaints in the bosom of the Almighty; therefore lest the vehement attention which is required in prayer, should be dulled by long continuance, our Church uses a profitable variety, intermingling the reading of heavenly wisdom; wherein the soul, tasting and seeing how good and gracious the Lord is, feeds upon Him by divine contemplation; and so returns to prayer with a greater inflammation.—The *psalms* being a store-house of all godliness, wisdom, and grace, so plain to the simple, so profound to the wise, so profitable to all sorts, in all ages, in all estates, joy or grief, prosperity or adversity, our Church desires to make familiar

¹ Isaiah lvii. 15.² Can. iv. 15.³ Luke xvii. 10.⁴ Phil. iii. 13.

to all men, and therefore we read them over every month, still interlacing the hymn of glory to the blessed Trinity.—Then follow *chapters* of the Old and New Testament, intermingled with sacred hymns, all in a known language ; so God is glorified, and the people edified.—It is true that to some parts of the apocrypha we give public audience in our Church, yet we omit some books ¹ thereof, and read them not at all ; and those books we read, we read not altogether entirely, but omit some chapters ² and pieces of chapters ³, which some have thought capable of hard construction. And if any thing we read be such as may seem to sound suspiciously or doubtfully, we hold it our duty to make the most charitable and Christian construction : and if we cannot of ourselves satisfy ourselves, we are referred for resolution of our doubts to the bishop of the diocese ⁴, of whom what interpretation is to be expected, the Church does teach us, binding him to do nothing contrary to the book, and proclaiming withal in the book, that “ nothing is ordained which is not the very pure word of God, or evidently grounded upon the same ;” and therefore his interpretation being accordingly performed, should in reason satisfy and content us.—Furthermore we receive them for human compositions, and not for divine ; and therefore we read them not for confirmation of faith ⁵, but for information of manners ; and yet have I said nothing of the liberty granted by the preface ^a of the second Book of Homilies concerning the changing of chapters.—Moreover, though some portions of the canonical concerning genealogies ⁶, and some other intricate and mystical points ⁷ be not appointed to be solemnly read in our Church service, yet we

¹ As the books of Maccabees, and 3 and 4 of Esdras.

² Tob. v. in the calendar of the Book of Common Prayer explained, &c.

³ Eccles. xlv. ver. 20. and in other places.

⁴ Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

⁵ Articles Anno 1562. Art. VI.

^a “ And where it may so chance some one or other chapter in the Old Testament to fall in order to be read upon the Sundays or holidays, which were better to be changed with some other of the New Testament of more edification, it shall be well done to spend your time to consider well of such chapters beforehand.”—But this liberty, it must be remembered, does not now exist: it is taken away by the Act of Uniformity; and renounced by the declaration of conformity; “ I, A. B., do declare that I will conform to the liturgy of the Church of England.”

⁶ Gen. xxxvi. et alibi.

⁷ As in Leviticus, Canticles, &c.

usually allege and expound them in sermons.—Neither is it our meaning to advance the apocryphal which we read, *above* the canonical which we read not: for all canonical being the sacred oracles of God, have incomparable pre-eminence of excellency; yet nothing does hinder, but that something in itself of far lesser excellency, may be more familiar for popular capacity.—After the chapter of the New Testament, accompanied with a holy psalm or hymn, we all stand up boldly professing our faith before God and men, in that form which is most anciently received in the Church of Christ: for which purpose we use sometimes the creed of Athanasius, and elsewhere the creed of the council of Nice.

Having thus led our minds with heavenly meditation of the blessed word, and confessed our faith in the holy Trinity, we fall afresh to prayer. We pray for our prince, for all the states of the land, for all God's children, and that for all blessings spiritual and temporal; and we pray only to God, and only in the merits of Jesus Christ.—And because the life of man is subject to a sea of miseries, and little do we know what storm may hang over our heads, and suddenly surprise either us or any of our brethren; therefore that God's present wrath may be appeased, and future dangers graciously prevented, we humble our souls in the presence of God with a most devout *litany*, which is so pathetically penned, that it may seem to soar aloft with wings of sanctified affections, and to pierce the skies as it were with darts of devotion.—And after some time spent in prayer, we intermingle again ^a the reading of God's holy word. To beat down sin, we read God's fiery law, and fearful *commandments*, religiously beseeching Him to incline our hearts to keep his law. And to enkindle and increase our spiritual joy, we read those comfortable and selected portions of Scripture called *Epistles* and *Gospels*.—Now for the *holy communion*, it is so religiously penned, and so reverently performed in our Church, as is most apt to kindle devotion, to inflame faith, to raise up the mind from earthly cogitations, and to ravish the spirit with heavenly joy. For it is replenished with most zealous

^a The tenor of these observations sufficiently implies that, ordinarily, at least, in these times, the matins, litany, and communion office were not solemnized as separate services at different times of the day, but were used as one service continuously. Indeed, notwithstanding the common notion to the contrary, I believe it would not be difficult to prove satisfactorily, that, in parish Churches, it was never otherwise in England, after the Reformation.

exhortations, lowly confessions, piercing prayers, celestial comforts, angelical lauding and praising of God: and not presuming to come to the Lord's table trusting in our own righteousness, but in his manifold and great mercies, we beseech Him to grant that we may so eat the flesh of his dear Son, and drink his blood, that our bodies being cleansed and our souls washed, we may ever dwell in Him, and He in us. And though we are not worthy of ourselves so much as to gather up the crumbs under his table, yet after the rehearsal of Christ's holy institution (such is the mercy of God in the merits of Christ) we are made partakers of this heavenly banquet, even of the precious body and blood of Christ, for the forgiveness of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. So again pouring our prayers, and rendering thanks and glory to God on high, we conclude the celebration of these reverend mysteries, pronouncing a blessing to the people departing.

Thus we repent and pray; we rejoice and pray; we thank God and pray; we confess our faith and pray; we read and pray; we hear and pray; we preach and pray; we receive the sacraments and pray.—This is the order of our Church, which may well be called the house of prayer.—Jacob when he awaked from the dream of the ladder, said, “How reverend is this place, it is none other than the house of God, and the gate of heaven¹!” So I say unto you, Oh how reverend is this Church of England, where God is thus served! surely it is the house of God, and this gracious serving of Him is the gate of heaven.—And thus much of the *declaration*, and now I come to the *confutation*.

28. As Jacob loved Joseph above the rest of his children, and in token thereof made him a particoloured coat, so God has loved the Church of England above many other Churches: He has decked and adorned her with sundry gifts and graces: so that she is like to a king's daughter in a beautiful garment of changeable colours. Of Joseph it is said, that “the archers shot at him²,” and those archers were his brethren: so of the Church of England it may be said, that “the archers shot at her,” and some of them were her own children.—O merciful God, who would imagine that men born and bred in so holy a Church should shoot so many venomous arrows at their own mother? Some in their fiery zeal have called our Church-music “mere-

¹ Gen. xxviii. 17.

² Gen. xlix. 23.

tricious¹:" our reading of the Psalms, the "tossing of tennis-balls²:" our brief and piercing prayers, "cuts and shreds³:" our choice of the epistles and gospels, the "cutting and mangling of the Scripture⁴:" the reading of service and homilies, worse than a "stage-play⁵:" yea, our using of the Litany⁶, the Nicene Creed⁷, the Hymn of Glory⁸, the Creed of Athanasius⁹, the Evangelical Hymns¹⁰, and the Lord's Prayer¹¹ itself has not escaped their censure.—What a world are we grown unto, when thanksgiving after child-birth¹², kneeling at the communion¹³, reading the Holy Scripture¹⁴, and funeral sermons¹⁵, are made matters of reproach? Yea the whole communion book some are said to call an idol, a portuis^a, a piece of swine's flesh; yea, the very temples of God they are said to term temples of Baal, idol synagogues, abominable sties.—But I hope, my brethren of the ministry, for whose love I have undertaken this labour, are for the most part more judicious, and of a milder temper. Yet because divers of them stand as yet unresolved, imagining that we come nearer to the Church of Rome, than in duty we should, and therefore in the tenderness of their conscience, make scruple, whether they may safely join with us or no; therefore I will bend myself to answer those arguments, which in my opinion do most commonly entangle them; that is, certain *general exceptions* which are universally opposed against the orders and ceremonies of our Church.—These fiery darts fly far and wide; the people, men and women, have learned disdainfully to dash them in our faces. These I hold it my duty to quench, or at least to do my endeavour; I will therefore bring my bucket of water, and commit the event to the gracious goodness of Almighty God. And for bre-

¹ See the answer of Oxford to the petition.

² Admonition, vide Archb. *Whit.* p. 739.

³ T. C. apud Archb. *Whit.* p. 494.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 474.

⁵ A View of Popish Abuses remaining. Vide Archb. *Whit.* p. 798.

⁶ Admonition and T. C. vide Archb. *Whit.* p. 494.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 589.

⁸ T. C. vide Archb. *Whit.* p. 496.

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ Admonition, vide Archb. *Whit.* p. 494.

¹¹ Oxford's answer to the humble petition, and Archb. *Whit.* p. 803.

¹² Admon. and T. C. vide Archb. *Whit.* tr. ix. c. 7.

¹³ *Ibid.* p. 508.

¹⁴ Admon. vide Arch. *Whit.* p. 568.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 727.

^a As if borrowed from the Papists. "The Ordinall is the book which orders the manner of performing divine service: and seems to be the same which was called the *pie*, or *portuis*, and sometimes portiforium." *Burn's Ecclesiastical Law*, vol. i. art. Church.

vity's sake I will reduce all these arguments into one, the branches whereof shall be handled in order.

“Those orders and ceremonies which were neither commanded of God in Holy Scripture, nor practised in the apostles' times, but are heretical, Popish, and Antichristian, being scandalous where they remain, and therefore cast out of other reformed Churches, are in no wise to be embraced or assented unto by subscription : but such, say they, are sundry of the orders and ceremonies of the Church of England ;—therefore not to be embraced nor yielded unto by subscription.”

29. And *first*, they require ¹ that nothing should be “placed in God's Church, but those things only ^a which the Lord himself in his word commandeth.”—Now it is supposed that we have many rites, which are not commanded, as for example, where is the surplice commanded? Where is the ring in marriage commanded? Where is the cross in baptism commanded? Where is kneeling at the communion commanded? These and a number of other things are used in our Church, which (as it is objected) God in his holy Word has no where commanded.—To which objection I answer : *First*, that if under this word (*commanded*) they comprehend things commanded in general, not particularly, then these and the like orders of our Church *are* commanded.—If they demand where? I answer, in every place where God commands us to obey our prince. For the meaning of God's commandments is, that we should obey the prince in all things lawful : but things indifferent ^b, are things lawful ² : therefore God commands us to obey our prince in things indifferent ; but all these things are indifferent ; and therefore in all these God commands us to obey our prince : yea, even in this my text it is commanded, when it is said ; “Let all things be done honestly and by order.”—*Secondly*, if by (command) they understand a *particular* command ; then I grant that these things are not so commanded : but neither are their own rites ^c, they so much desire, any where thus commanded. A white surplice (I confess) is no where commanded ; neither is a black gown or cloak any where commanded : kneeling at the communion is no where commanded ; but neither is sitting, nor any other gesture which they allow, any where com-

¹ Admon. in principio.

^a See above, *Hooker's* Preface, chap. vii. § 3. p. 418, and note.

^b See above, § 8. p. 461.

² 1 Cor. x. 23.

^c See *Hooker*, book iii. chap. ii.

manded. If *our* orders may not be received, because they are not commanded, then neither can *theirs* be embraced, for they are no where commanded. If theirs be not commanded, and yet be lawful; then ours also may be lawful, though they be not commanded. Let themselves be judges, let them acquit us or condemn us, choose them whether. *Thirdly*, as they are not commanded, so are they nowhere in Holy Scripture forbidden, either directly or by consequence: if they be, let the places be produced; if they be not, then seeing they are neither commanded nor forbidden, the Lord has left them as things indifferent; and therefore authority may command them, and we may with a good conscience observe them without sin. *Fourthly*, it shall be convinced by example^a; and first, what special commandment of God was there for Purim¹, which Mardocheus enjoined, Esther² set forward, and the Jews³ established for all generations? Was the institution divine or ecclesiastical? If merely divine, let it so appear by divine authority: if ecclesiastical, then I enquire, whether it was lawful or unlawful? If lawful for the Jewish Church, why not for the Christian? If it be said that the Jewish Church was directed by the Spirit, it is true: and unless the contrary could be proved, why should we not judge the like of the Christian Church, which has more ample promises? If it be said that Esther and Mardocheus did it by special and extraordinary directions: they must consider, that we must not fly to extraordinary motions without sufficient warrant of Holy Scripture. And this seems to be done by the ordinary power of the Church. For the Jews in Shushan kept the fifteenth⁴ day of the month Adar with feasting and joy: the Jews of the villages kept the fourteenth⁵, and Mardocheus brought them to an uniformity by enjoining of both days⁶. Afterward the Jews by reason of another deliverance added the thirteenth⁷ day, changing it from fasting and mourning, to feasting and joy; and the like they did commonly upon the like occasion.—If any imagine it to be unlawful (though that imagination were very strange) let him cast his eye upon another example, I mean the Feast of the Dedication, which was no where commanded in the law, yet was solemnly

^a Compare *Sanderson's* Second Preface, § xx. given below, No. xv. in this collection.

¹ Esther ix. 21.

² Ver. 29.

³ Ver. 33. 27.

⁴ Ver. 18.

⁵ Ver. 19.

⁶ Ver. 21.

⁷ Maccab. xv. 36, 37.

observed¹; and Christ² himself may seem to have approved it by his presence.

But to leave these Jewish festivals, and to come to the Christian. Are there not many which were instituted in the primitive Church, and ever since continued in the Church of Christ? The feast of the Nativity is no where commanded in Scripture, yet has been allowed by the general consent^a of all Christian nations. Some reformed Churches³ have laid away those festivals, which bear the name of saints: yet they which use them not themselves⁴, excuse the use of them in the Church of England. The Church of Geneva⁵, at the coming of Calvin, observed no holidays, but the Sabbath only, for so it pleased Farellus and Viretus⁶ to appoint. The same decree, which banished Farellus and Calvin⁷, brought in other holidays: and Calvin, at his return from banishment, sought a middle course⁸, which was, that the feast of the Nativity should be celebrated, and as for other holidays, there should be solemn prayers in the forenoon, and the people should return to their labour in the afternoon. This proving inconvenient, they were all again abrogated, except the Sabbath only;

¹ 1 Maccab iv. 59.

² John x. 22, 23.

^a But, as Mr. *Lindsay* has remarked in his edition of *Mason's Works*, p. 615, note, "after Mason's time a set of men arose, (whether *Christians* or not, let their actions declare,) who kept that joyful day as a solemn fast. A proof of which I have in a sermon preached *before the House of Commons*, 25th December, 1644, by Thomas Thorowgood, B. D. at their *solemn fast*, and published by their order, 1645, in 4to."

This person was a member of the Assembly of Divines. In his dedication of that sermon, thus referred to by Mr. *Lindsay*, to the House before whom he preached, he has expressed himself in the following suitable terms. "But being summoned to the service," (viz. of preaching,) "it was my duty to run and prepare myself; and I found presently my lot was cast upon *that very day*, which *the providence of heaven had designed* to fall on Christmas Day, as *it is named*; *the metropolitan of all the festivals*, so Gaspar Ferrandi called it, *in the Council of Trent*."

³ *Bullinger*, Ep. 129. inter Epist. *Calv.*

⁴ The Churches of France and Flanders in their observations upon the Har. s. 16. ad Boh. Observ. 1.

⁵ Priusquam urbem unquam ingrederer, nullæ prorsus erant feriæ præter diem dominicum. *Calv.* Epist. 118.

⁶ Farello et Vireto hoc utile visum fuerit Ibid.

⁷ Quæ apud vos celebrantur eodem plebiscito acceptæ sunt, quo ego et Farellus fuimus expulsi. *Calv.* Epist. 118.

⁸ Ibid.

Calvin¹ protesting that he was not the cause thereof, yet not misliking it to be done². Other reformed Churches³ used some more, some fewer, according to their Christian liberty.—Wherefore it is clear, that the Church in all ages has used authority in things indifferent: and the customs and constitutions of the Church, which are not repugnant to the Word of God, have been generally approved, although no where commanded.—Lastly, though the Admonition would have nothing placed in the Church, but that which is commanded in the sacred Word, and grounded itself upon this assertion, as upon an oracle: yet the defender⁴ of the Admonition was forced (such is the light of truth^a) to forsake his friends the admonitioners, and to confess the plain contradictory of their position to be apparently true.

30. *Secondly*, our opposites do glance at us as though the orders and ceremonies of our Church were not *apostolic*^{5 b}. To which I answer, those apostolic times we honour and reverence, not only for doctrine, which then did run most clear, as being nearest to the crystalline fountain, but also for discipline, so far as the state of those days could possibly suffer.—But though the doctrine of the Apostles be fully set down in the Apostles' writings, yet the discipline is not so. The reason whereof is, because the doctrine is one and the same, eternal and unchangeable, and therefore it is

¹ Ego sanctè testari possum me inscio ac ne optante quidem hanc rem fuisse transactam. Ibid.

² Ego tametsi neque suasor neque impulsor fui, sic tamen decidisse non molestè fero. Ibid. 12.

³ Bullinger, Ep. 129. inter Epist. Calv.

⁴ T. C. lib. i. p. 37. 31.

^a "As becomes them that follow with all humility the ways of peace, we honour, reverence, and obey, in the very next degree unto God, the voice of the Church of God wherein we live. *They*, whose wits are too glorious to fall to so low an ebb; they which have risen and swoln so high that the walls of ordinary rivers are unable to keep them in; they whose wanton contentions in the cause whereof we have spoken, do make all where they go a sea; even they at their highest float, are constrained both to see and grant, that what their *fancy* will not yield to like, their *judgment* cannot with reason condemn. Such is evermore the final victory of all truth, that they which had not the hearts to love her, acknowledge that to hate her they have no cause." Hooker, book v. chap. lxxi. p. 377, 8.

⁵ T. C. lib. iii. p. 97. A very dangerous thing to ground any order or policy of the Church upon men at all, which indeed ought to have their standing upon the doctrine and orders of the apostles, &c.

^b On this topic *generally*, and on many of the *particulars* contained in this section, the reader may do well to consult Hooker's Preface, chap. iv. above, p. 396. also, book iv. chap. ii. and book v. chap. xv.

called an everlasting^a gospel¹: but the discipline (especially the ceremonies) is for the most part variable, according to circumstance of time and place.—Therefore the whole doctrine is purposely and plentifully; the discipline only in part, by occasion, and sparingly delivered in Holy Scripture: and consequently, what the orders apostolic were, cannot be fully known by the apostolic writings. And yet of those which are known, the grand and main points are observed in the Church of England²: as namely, among other, the government by bishops, and the ceremony of “laying on of hands in the making of ministers.”—Moreover, those that call for reformation, do not themselves absolutely and altogether embrace the apostolic orders; as for example, to “salute with a holy kiss was an apostolic order³,” which now is not thought fit to be restored in reformed Churches. So love-feasts⁴ were used in the Apostles’ time, but are not received in reformed Churches⁵. Furthermore, the Church of England alters nothing from the apostolic institution, but such things only as may be altered. One kind of physic agrees not to all bodies, neither one kind of ceremony to all Churches. The same physic which is good for the body when it is young, may be dangerous in the same disease when it is old. One manner of discipline may besem a city, and another a kingdom. One may be good for a Church newly planted, and another when it is in the flourish. One ceremony may be seemly for the time of peace, and another for the time of persecution: now, to require like where the case is unlike, agrees not with reason.—“Our Saviour did celebrate the communion after supper⁶,” and it was fit He should so, for the Passover by the law was to be eaten between the two evenings⁷: and the communion was to succeed the Passover, therefore it was fit the communion should be instituted in the evening. But for us to celebrate it in the morning is far more convenient. For I make

^a Compare Hooker, b. i. c. xv. § 3, above, vol. i. 176-7.

¹ Rev. xiv. 6.

² Accessimus quantum maximè potuimus ad Ecclesiam Apostolorum, &c. &c. Nec tantum doctrinam nostram sed etiam sacramenta precumque publicarum formam ad illorum ritus et instituta direximus. *Juell. Apol. Lond.* 1591. p. 170.

³ Rom. xvi. 16. 2 Cor. xiii. 12. 1 Thess. v. 26.

⁴ Jude 12. 1 Pet. v. 14.

⁵ Quid quod quædam illorum instituta veluti communes illas ἀγάπας ipsa necessitas abolevit. *Bezæ, Epist.* 8.

⁶ 1 Cor. xi. 25.

⁷ Exod. xii. 6.

no doubt but our learned and godly brethren, which seek reformation, will in this point rather join with the Church of England, and with all other Christian Churches which make choice of the morning than with the Anabaptists, which celebrate in the evening after supper.—And to proceed, “In the Apostles’ time they did baptize in rivers and fountains¹ ;” shall we therefore leave our Churches, and baptize our children in rivers to the imitation of the apostles? That imitation were indiscreet, for they lived in time of persecution, and therefore were glad to take the opportunity of time and place. We live in time of peace, wherein the Churches (God be thanked) are open unto us. If God for our sins should lay persecution upon us, we must be content to do as they did. And there is no doubt, but if God had given them that liberty which He has granted us, they would have done in this point as we do, and have thanked Him for the blessing of peace. “In the Apostles’ time the ministers lived by voluntary contributions²,” or by their own handy labours³, for how could they do otherwise? They lived not only in persecution, but their enemies, the Levitical priests, had the tithes during the standing of the temple: but now, when tithes are appointed for the ministers of the gospel by Christian princes, shall we return to handy labour or voluntary contributions? “In the apostles’ time, the people sold their possessions,” and laid the money at the apostles’ feet⁴; but shall our people be tied of necessity to do the like? “In the apostles’ time there were no Christian colleges,” nor universities founded; shall we therefore dissolve our famous universities, and dam up the well-springs of learning? “In the apostles’ time it was hard to find any Christian hospitals for the poor;” but is this a reason that now we should have none? “In the apostles’ time the Bible was not divided into chapters and verses⁵, as now it is;” shall we therefore reject an invention so commodious? “In the apostles’ time, the bounds of parishes were not so distinguished as now they are⁶ ;” does it therefore follow that this distinction must be taken away?—Not so (beloved): for when the state and condition is unlike, an absolute conformity is not to be urged.

¹ Acts viii. 36.

² Acts iv. 37.

³ Acts xx. 34. 1 Cor. iv. 12.

⁴ Acts iv. 37.

⁵ Sixtus Senensis Biblioth. Sanct. lib. iii. de part. Meth. 4.

⁶ *Honorius*, Archbishop of Canterbury, did first divide his province into parishes. Vide *D. Goodwine* in Cat.

31. *Thirdly*, it is commonly objected that our ceremonies are *Popish*¹ and Antichristian^a, yea and some of them not only Popish but *Jewish* also. To which it may be answered, that if their meaning be, that they are the *invention* of Antichristian Popes, this censure (as they apply it) will undoubtedly prove more sharp than sound, because many of our rites which they so brand, and amongst the rest the cross², were in the Church before the Popedom was hatched. And although it may be that some of our ceremonies were devised by the bishops of Rome: yet it follows not, that they were the invention either of heretics or of Antichrist. For though now the Church of Rome be heretical, and seems to be the very cage of Antichrist, yet in ancient time it was not so. A great number of bishops there before Sylvester were holy men and martyrs. But suppose some of our orders were *devised* by Papists and heretics, what then? “If among the filth of their heresies,” says a great controller of our Church³, “there be found any good thing, as it were a grain of good corn in a great deal of darnel, that we willingly receive, not as theirs, but as the Jews did the holy ark from the Philistines, whereof they were unjust owners.” And again he says, “it may come to pass that the synagogue of Satan may have some one thing at some time with more conveniency than the true and Catholic Church of Christ.” As for example; the Church did use in ancient time, to pour water thrice in baptism in token of the Trinity: the Eunomian heretics⁴ devised the pouring of water once, to cross the doctrine of the Trinity. But what? Shall once applying of water be for ever unlawful, because it was brought in by heretics? Our controller confesses the contrary, and affirms that it is used in most reformed Churches. And surely it is not only lawful, but in some cases more convenient: for where thrice has been abused to signify three gods, there once may be

¹ Now they must be discerned from others by Popish and Antichristian apparel, as cap, gown, tippet. And again: now we must have surplices devised by Pope Adrian. Adm.

^a On the whole of this topic *generally*, and on several heads of the argument *particularly*, the reader will do well to make himself master of the whole of the fourth book of *Hooker*. See also preface to *Sanderson's Sermons*, §§ 14—16, given below, and Sermon V. ad Clerum, §§ 16—20, also given below, No. XVIII. in this collection.

² They confess that the cross in baptism was mentioned by Cyprian. *Treatise of Cross*, printed at Amsterdam, 1604.

³ T. C. in Ep. before his second book.

⁴ *Sozom. lib. vi. cap. 26.*

expedient to betoken one God; likewise in cold countries especially in winter time, and the rather when the child is weak.—Some flowers may grow in the wilderness, and some things may proceed from heretics, and yet not unseemly to be used in the Church of Christ. Many of our colleges were built by Papists, yea and our churches partly by Papists, partly by Painims¹, and must they needs be pulled down, only because they had heathenish or heretical founders?—Furthermore, if they term all ceremonies Popish and heretical which were *used* by Papists, and heretics, then sundry absurdities will follow. For so, many innocent orders primitive, and peradventure apostolic, shall be branded with the name of Popish or heretical; for there is no doubt but sundry such have been used in the Church of Rome.—Moreover, this will breed a scrupulosity in the minds of men: for seeing there have been so many swarms of heretics, how can we assure ourselves of any ceremony, that it has not been used by heretics at one time or other? A true opinion, if it be holden by a heretic or idolator, by Antichrist, or the devil himself, it must not be forsaken; “for all truth is the truth of God, wheresoever it be found,” though it be in the mouth of the devil: and shall we abhor a ceremony which the primitive Church devised, and our national Church has judged comely and convenient, only because it had the hap to be handled of Papists? Not whatsoever heretics, idolators, or any wicked persons have done or said, but what they have done or said heretically, idolatrously, wickedly, is to be abandoned, so far as it is evil: but whatsoever in their actions is fit or requisite to be done, is from God, and therefore in that respect not to be abhorred.—Lastly, if they call them Popish because they were *abused* in Popery, we confess it to be true, they were abused to idolatry, and that most shamefully. The bells were rung to mass; the surplice was worn at mass; in the church they said their mass; in the pulpit they maintained their mass^a: but what can be concluded of all this;—*inconveniency* only, or *unlawfulness* also? If *inconveniency* only,

¹ *Greg. lib. x. Ep. 71.*

^a “These will have no font, but christen children in basons: they will wear no caps, nor surplices: *many of them will not use the old pulpits, but have new made*: they will not accept a collect or prayer, be it never so agreeable to the word of God. I marvel that they use the Churches themselves, than which nothing has been more profaned with superstition and idolatry.” Bishop *Cooper’s* Admonition to the People of England, 1589, p. 97, 8.

let it be granted for disputation sake. But do they think, that they shall ever, so long as they live, find a Church upon the face of the earth so angelical, that it shall be void of all inconvenience? or must a man, for a bare inconvenience, break out of the common pale, transgress the law of his prince, leave his pastoral charge, and make a rent in the Church of Christ? At Geneva the use of the wafer-cake being brought in, in the absence of Calvin¹, did seem to sundry godly men a thing so offensive, that they were of mind to have refrained from the Lord's Supper: but Calvin being demanded his judgment, wished them rather quietly to use it, than to make any tumult in the Church of God. How abominably the wafer-cake was abused in Popery every man may know: it was made an idol, and palpably adored with the highest kind of divine worship. Yet Calvin, though thinking it inconvenient, did earnestly admonish them, not to be contentious about a thing indifferent. The ministers and people of Geneva, virtuous and godly men, did follow this counsel of Calvin, and quietly yielded their consent, and I hope you will not accuse them that they wounded their conscience.—But if you think still, that a thing abused to idolatry, is *ipso facto* made *unlawful*, it is fit that the grounds of your opinion be examined.

32. The example of Hezekiah's breaking in pieces the brazen serpent^{2a}, will not prove that King James ought of necessity to abolish the cross, the surplice, and other things you dislike. For the brazen serpent was plainly made an idol, and so it continued at that very day: but when our gracious sovereign came unto the crown, neither the cross nor any thing else was used idolatrously by the Church of England. If it be replied that Queen Elizabeth at her entrance to the crown, did find many things polluted with superstition and idolatry, which as you suppose, ought to have been removed by the example of Hezekiah; then you must consider, that abuses may be reformed two ways: either by destroying the thing abused, as Hezekiah did the brazen serpent; or by taking away the abuse, the thing remaining, as in the planting of Christianity, when the temples of the heathen idols were changed into the churches of the living God³: and the example of Heze-

¹ *Calvinus* bonos nonnullos istâ mutatione usque adeò offensos ut etiam à cœnâ sibi abstinendum putarent, seriò monuit ne ob istud ἀδιόφορον litem moverent; sic obtinuit panis azymi usus. *Beza* in vitâ Calvinî, anno 1538.

² 2 Kings xviii. 4.

Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. 65.

³ *Greg.* prim. Epist. lib. x. Epist. 71.

kiah in using the one does not abridge the liberty of Christian princes in using the other. Witness the same Hezekiah, who though he took away the high places, and brake the images, and cut down the groves, and brake in pieces the brazen serpent; yet spared he the chapels which Solomon had built for Astoreth the idol of the Zidonians, and for Chemosh the idol of the Moabites ¹, and for Milcom the abomination of the children of Ammon. For it is evident, that those high places remained till the days of Josias ². Hezekiah destroyed the serpent, because he found it at that present adored, and doing much harm: he spared the other, because he found them standing only as forlorn things, at that present without any harm. Yet God gave him this testimony, that “he clave to the Lord, and departed not from him, but kept his commandments which the Lord had commanded Moses ³.” And as Hezekiah, in breaking down the serpent, did not prejudice his own liberty, of sparing the other: so his sparing the other did not restrain Josias from using his liberty in pulling them down. Indeed, wisdom requires, that a safe course be taken for prevention of evil, where danger appears; which our late queen of famous memory ^a most religiously performed, whose zeal in planting and establishing God’s true religion, and abolishing of superstition, was nothing inferior to the zeal of Hezekiah.—She found the fiery flames burning the bodies of the living, and the bones of the dead: she graciously quenched them.—She found the Scriptures locked from the people in a strange language: she unclasped the book, and gave it to her people to meditate thereupon day and night.—She found the candle of the gospel quite extinguished: she did light it again (as it were) at the beams of the sun.—She found the people worshipping of images, creeping to crosses, committing idolatry in every thicket, and under every green tree. Will you see her with Hezekiah, breaking in pieces the brazen serpent? then behold and look back to her royal injunctions ⁴, commanding to “take away, utterly extinct and destroy all shrines, covering of shrines, all tables, candlesticks, trindals, and rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry and superstitions, so that there remain no memory of the same in walls, glasses, windows,

¹ 1 Kings xi. 7.

² 2 Kings xxiii. 13.

³ 2 Kings xviii. 6.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 14.

⁴ The Queen’s Injunctions, 23.

or elsewhere within their churches," &c. And, again, "That no persons keep in their houses any abused images, tables, pictures, paintings, and other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry or superstition ¹."—Yea, she banished the cross so far as it was an idol, or in any danger of idolatry. For whereas the cross was either *permanent* or *transient*; the permanent, being solemnly adored in the Church of Rome, she altogether abolished, and the transient also for the most part. For whereas in common life the crossing of the forehead was superstitiously used, and the like were still to be feared, if it were permitted to popular practice; therefore that was discreetly removed. In the sacrament of the supper the use of crossing was of shorter continuance, and the Papists do use it rather like conjurors than Christians; and therefore there was no cause why there it should be continued. In baptism it was more ancient and more free from superstition and actual adoration; therefore Queen Elizabeth retained the cross in baptism ^a as her godly brother did before her, being desirous, so far as she might conveniently, to frame a conformity to those primitive times. What rust this ceremony had gathered, the wisdom of our Church has wiped away; for the cross is not appointed to be made by the lay people, but only by the minister; and by him in baptism only; and then not as a dark or dumb ceremony which might be mistaken, but with an express declaration of the meaning and signification thereof, to the end that the same might be freed from all superstitious construction. And to the intent that all superstition and idolatry might be rooted out of all men's hearts, and all future dangers thereof prevented, the ministers were ² enjoined to teach that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be asked "and looked for of God only, as the very Author and Giver of the same, and of none other." So the cross continued all the reign of Queen Elizabeth, as it does at this day, not blemished with the least spot or stain of superstition. Neither is it to be doubted but if time had discovered any such abuse, that religious prince would soon have reformed it. But these eight and forty years' experience may witness to the world, that there was no such danger as some did imagine. For the Almighty who loved us,

¹ Injunctions, 35.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. lxxv. See also below, §. 35.

² Injunctions, 2.

gave her an excellent spirit, and tempered her zeal with wise moderation. Those things which seemed most superfluous, she lopped away like riotous branches. In matters of greatest moment, she followed the example of God Himself in cleansing the leprosy¹. For first she had a princely care, rather to purge the house, than to pull it down; and if somewhat must be pulled down, yet rather a few stones, than the whole house. Yet where the leprosy was grown incurable, there was no remedy but that part must down, and be thrown into an unclean place without the city.—Hitherto of the example of Hezekias.

33. Moreover they pretend not *example* only, but the express *commandment* of Almighty God, and stand upon a place of Isaiah, which they urge against the surplice^a. “Ye shall pollute the covering of the images of silver, and the rich ornament of thine images of gold, and cast them away as a stained rag, and thou shalt say unto it, get thee hence².” In which place the prophet speaks against the coverings of idols; but what is this against the Church of England, which has long ago extirpated all such abominations? Neither is the surplice the covering of an idol, but the ancient ornament of the ministers of the Gospel. If it be said that it was used by idolaters, I answer, that in all likelihood all those surplices are consumed and worn away, and not now used in the Church of England: and those which be used, were not received as Popish by Queen Elizabeth, but in such sort as they were in use by authority of³ parliament, in the days of King Edward, and are now continued according to the practice of the primitive Church. Furthermore, those coverings in the prophet were rich and gorgeous with gold to make the idol more beautiful, and so were a snare to idolatry: whereas no such thing can be justified of our surplices. This point will be the clearer, if we consider a place in Deuteronomy, “The graven images of their gods shall you burn with fire, and covet not the silver nor gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee, lest thou be snared therewith, for it is an abomination⁴,” &c. In which place what is that which the prophet calls an abomination? Is the thing polluted, or is the very taking of such a thing abominable? Our accusers are of a contrary mind, for they grant that the gold of

¹ Levit. xiv.

^a Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. xxix.

² Isaiah xxx. 22. urged by the Adm. 2.

³ Act for Uniformity.

⁴ Deut. vii. 25.

the cope and the cloth of the surplice, may lawfully be taken for private purposes¹. Yet let them take heed lest they open a gap to sacrilegious proceedings. How much more warily affirms Augustine: that "either private uses in such things are forbidden, or lest any thing be so brought into the house that it be honoured²:" which interpretation, as Zanchius declares³, is agreeable to the text; for the prophet saying, "covet not the silver," &c. condemns that covetous humour wherewith some gape after the spoils of idolatry, only to enrich themselves. Again, in saying, "lest thou be snared," he renders a reason why we should not take them, lest the beauty of those golden monuments entangle us with the love of the idol. Wherefore such things must be *polluted*, that is, defaced and abhorred, so far till there remain no danger of being snared with idolatry; which caution observed they may be used as the creatures of God, for the "earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is⁴;" which is the reason of the Apostle St. Paul⁵ speaking of meat offered to idols. Wherein we must consider, that as in the Lord's offerings a portion belonged to the priest, so likewise in the offerings of heathen idols. Whereupon it came to pass, that at solemn times when there was abundance of sacrifices, the priests did send some of their portion to be sold in the shambles: and⁶ Beza shows learnedly out of the interpreter of Aristophanes, that those which returned from the sacrifices did use to carry a portion home with them; and out of Herodotus, that the Egyptians used to sell in the market the heads of sacrificed beasts. Now hereupon arose a question, whether a Christian might with a good conscience buy such meat in the shambles, and eat it; and again, if he were invited to a feast where such meats were, whether he might eat them? To the former St. Paul answers: "Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, eat, making no question for conscience' sake, for the earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is⁷." To the latter part he answers: "But if any of the unbelieving invite you, and you be willing to go, whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience' sake⁸." Whereby it is clear, that the idolatrous abuse of a thing, does not take away the lawful use of it; it may still be used, as it is the good creature of God.

¹ T. C. Vide Arch. *Whit.* p. 273.

² *Aug.* ep. 154. ad public.

³ *Zanchius* de Operibus Redemptionis, cap. 19. p. 647. ⁴ Psalm xxiv. 1.

⁵ 1 Cor. x. 26.

⁶ *Beza*, major. annotat. in 1 Cor. x.

⁷ 1 Cor. x. 25.

⁸ Ver. 27.

It will be replied, that things polluted may be used again for *civil* use¹, public or private, but not for *sacred*².—But how can this be? because wicked men have kneeled to their idols, may not I therefore pray kneeling to the living God? for kneeling, though it be a most seemly order, yet it is in itself indifferent. Or because such a fountain, or such a stream has been dedicated to an idol, may not I therefore baptize a child in the water proceeding from the same fountain or stream? for to take of this water or that water, is neither forbidden nor commanded, and therefore indifferent.—But to handle the point a little more distinctly; if things indifferent once polluted, in respect of all sacred use, become stained rags and abomination, then I would know whether this be for a time, or everlasting? if for a time only, for what time, and whether eight and forty years be not sufficient to wash it away? or if it be an everlasting stain, then I demand whether those particular things only, which were actually dedicated to idols, be so stained; or whether this stain shall everlastingly be imputed to *the whole kind*? To affirm the latter, were a hard and unadvised censure, and contrary to their own practice. For what though some bells have been rung to the sacrifice of idols, may no bell therefore be rung to the service of the living God? And shall not only the particular abused be counted abominable, but shall those innocent things which never were so abused, be eternally blemished? Undoubtedly this is but a fancy, which has no warrant from the words of Isaiah; for he speaks plainly of the coverings of idols, which without doubt were particularly abused to idolatry. But if the stain stick only to the particular thing actually polluted, then this argument cannot greatly be urged against the surplice; for not many of Queen Mary's surplices do now remain, and if they did, the matter were soon remedied, and time itself in short time would wear them away.—Neither can it be at all urged against the cross, in baptism; for a Popish priest makes one cross, and the minister of the Gospel makes another; here are divers individual actions, and consequently divers particular crosses; therefore in this case

¹ Surplices, copes, tippets, and caps may be applied to a good use, either common or private, as they will best serve. T. C. See Arch. *Whit.* p. 273.

² We think it an attire unfit for a minister, the surplice especially more than the other two, (the cap and the tippet,) because such hurtful ceremonies are so much more dangerous, as they do approach nearer the service and worship of God. T. C. Vide Arch. *Whit.* p. 256.

the pollution of the one, cannot spot and defile the other.—Yet what if that very particular polluted (the pollution being taken away) *may* be employed in the service of Almighty God? Did not ¹ Gideon sacrifice to the Lord the ox that was dedicated to Baal, and burn it with the wood that grew in the grove of Baal?

If it be replied, that he had a commandment: it is true, but profound ² Augustine thinks that this commandment extends to us also, and thereupon gathers this general doctrine, That things dedicated to idols, *may* be employed to the honour of the true God. And this seems to be the judgment of the Christian world. For when Christianity was first preached, the temples of idols in England, France, and so through the world, were turned into the Churches of the living God. Again, when Popery was banished, yet all ³ Popish Churches were not pulled down, but many remain, and some at Geneva, still employed for the service of Almighty God. And Calvin says⁴, that it may be done without scruple of conscience. Some ⁵ learned men, I grant, (beyond the seas) have thought otherwise; but they are confuted by Zanchius; and the ministers of England which seek reformation, I hope, are more considerate than to pull down Churches. — But concerning Churches, they return us this answer,—that they are profitable⁶; wherein they confess that even these particulars, which have been abused to idolatry, may be used in the service of God, so they be profitable. Therefore the question is come to this issue: whether the things questioned be profitable? Wherein who shall be the judge? Those that sit at the stern of the Church are persuaded that they are profitable⁷, from whose judgment if they will depart, it behoves them to bring more sound and demonstrative reasons, than hitherto they have produced.—But I will conclude this point with the consent of their own standard-bearer, who having in his first book called the surplice a mark and sacra-

¹ Judges vi. 25.

² Epist. 154.

³ Ubique locorum in omnibus ferè regnis et provinciis quæ evangelium amplexa sunt, templa ipsa in quibus idololatria admissa fuit tot annos retenta sunt, eversis tantùm altaribus. *Zanch. de Op. Redemp. lib. i. cap. 12.*

⁴ Exod. xxiii. 24.

⁵ Non desunt pii doctique viri qui sentiunt et scribunt omnino talia templa esse diruenda. *Zanch. ib.*

⁶ As for Churches, it has been answered that they have a profitable use, and therefore they are ill-compared with the surplice, which beside that it brings no profit, hurts also. T. C. Vide Arch. *Whit. p. 284.*

⁷ King James in ratification of the Can.

ment of Popish abomination, and having pronounced that it brings no profit, but hurt ; yet in his third book ^a, dares not hence con-

^a The duplicity and disingenuousness of the Puritans, and of the evil counsel of their foreign advisers of the reformed Churches, on this point, has been urged against them by Hooker with extraordinary effort, and with something of unwonted uneasiness and almost bitterness of spirit.

“As for those fore-rehearsed vehement allegations against it, shall we give them credit, when the very authors from whom they came confess they believe not their own sayings? For when once they began to perceive how many both of them in the two universities, and of others who abroad having ecclesiastical charge, do mightily favour their cause, and by all means set it forward, might, by persisting in the extremity of that opinion, hazard greatly their own estates, and so weaken that part which their places do now give them much opportunity to strengthen ; they asked counsel, as it seemeth, from some abroad, who wisely considered that the *body* is of far more worth than the *raiment*. Whereupon, for fear of dangerous inconveniences, it has been thought good to add, that sometimes authority *must* and *may* with good conscience be obeyed, even where commandment is not given upon good ground ; that the duty of preaching is one of the absolute commandments of God ; and therefore ought not to be forsaken for the bare inconvenience of a thing which in its own nature is *indifferent* ; that one of the foulest spots in the surplice is the offence which it gives in occasioning the weak to fall, and the wicked to be confirmed in their wickedness ; yet hereby, there is no *unlawfulness* proved, but only an *inconveniency*, that such things should be established ; howbeit no such inconveniency neither, *as may not be borne with* ; that when God does flatly command us to abstain from things in their own nature indifferent, if they offend our weak brethren, his meaning is not, we should obey his commandment herein, unless we may do it, and not leave *undone* that which the Lord has absolutely commanded. *Always provided*, that whosoever will enjoy the benefit of this dispensation, to wear a scandalous badge of idolatry rather than forsake his pastoral charge, do, as occasion serves, *teach nevertheless still the incommmodity of the thing itself* ; admonish the weak brethren that they be not, and pray unto God so to strengthen them that they may not be, offended thereat. So that whereas *before*, they which had authority to institute rites and ceremonies,” (see Art. XX. of the Church of England) “were denied to have power to institute *this*, it is *now* confessed, *that this* they may also *lawfully*, but not so *conveniently* appoint ; they did *well before*, and *as they ought*, who had it in utter detestation and hatred as a thing abominable ; they *now* do well, which think it may be both borne and used with a very good conscience ; *before*, he which, by wearing it, were sure to win thousands unto Christ, ought not to do it, if there were but one which might be offended ; now, though it be with the offence of thousands, yet it may be done, rather than *that* should be given over, whereby notwithstanding, we are not certain we shall gain one. The example of Hezekias and of Paul, the charge which was given to the Jews by Isaiah, the strict apostolical prohibition of things *indifferent*, whensoever they may be *scandalous*, were *before* so forcible laws against our ecclesiastical attire, as

clude any unlawfulness, but only inconveniency; and would not have any man forsake his pastoral charge in regard of a surplice.

neither Church nor commonwealth *could* possibly make void: which *now*, one of far less authority than either, has found *how* to frustrate, by *dispensing* with the breach of *inferior* commandments, to the end that the *greater* may be kept.

“ But it booteth them not thus to solder up a broken cause, whereof their *first and last* discourses will fall asunder, do what they can.—Let them ingenuously confess, that their invectives were too bitter, their arguments too weak, the matter not so dangerous as they did imagine. If those alleged testimonies of Scripture *did indeed concern the matter* to such effect as was pretended, that which they should infer were *unlawfulness*, because they were *cited as prohibitions* of that thing which indeed they concern. If they prove not our attire unlawful, because in truth they concern it not, it follows that they prove not *any thing* against it; and consequently not so much as *uncomeliness* or *inconveniency*. Unless, therefore, they be able thoroughly to resolve themselves, that there is no one sentence in all the Scriptures of God which does control the wearing of it in such manner, and to such purpose as the Church of England allows, unless they can fully rest and settle their minds in this most sound persuasion, that they are not to make themselves the only competent judges of decency in these cases, and to despise the solemn judgment of the whole Church, preferring before it their own conceit, grounded only upon uncertain suspicions and fears, whereof if there were at the *first* some probable cause when things were but raw and tender, yet *now* very tract of time has itself worn that also; unless, I say, thus resolved in mind they hold their pastoral charge with the comfort of a good conscience, no way grudging at that which they do, or doing that which they think themselves bound of duty to reprove; how should it possibly help or further them in their course, to *take such occasions*, as they say are requisite to be taken, and, in pensive manner, to tell their audience, ‘ Brethren, our hearts’ desire is, that we might enjoy the full liberty of the Gospel, as in other reformed Churches they do elsewhere, upon whom the heavy hand of authority has imposed no grievous burthen. But, such is the misery of these our days, that so great happiness *we* cannot look to attain unto. Were it so that the equity of the law of Moses could prevail; or the zeal of Hezekias be found in the hearts of those guides and governors under whom we live; or the voice of God’s own prophets be duly heard; or the examples of the prophets of Christ be followed; yea, or their *precepts* be answered with full and perfect obedience; these abominable rags, polluted garments, marks and sacraments of idolatry, which *power*, as you see, constrains us to wear, and *conscience* to abhor,—had, long ere this day, been moved both out of sight and out of memory. But, as now things stand, behold to what narrow straits we are driven; on the one side, we fear the *wraths* of our Saviour Christ, *Woe be to them by whom scandal and offence cometh*; on the other side, at the Apostle’s speech we cannot but quake and tremble, *If I preach* not the Gospel, woe be unto me. Being thus hardly beset, we see not any other remedy but to hazard your souls the *one way*, that we may the *other way*

—And thus much for clearing our ceremonies from imputation of Popery.

endeavour to save them. Touching the offence of *the weak*, therefore, we *must* adventure it; if they perish, they perish. Our pastoral charge is God's most *absolute commandment*. Rather than *that* shall be taken from us, we are resolved to take this filth, and put it on, although we judge it to be *so unfit and inconvenient*, that as oft as ever we *pray* or *preach* so arrayed before you, we do as much as in us lies to cast away *your* souls that are *weak-minded*, and to bring you unto endless perdition. But, we beseech you, brethren, have a care of *your own* safety; take heed to your steps, that ye be not taken in those snares which we lay before you. And our prayer in your behalf to Almighty God is, that the poison which we offer you, may never have the power to do you harm.'

"Advice and counsel is best sought for at their hands which either have *no part at all* in the cause whereof they instruct; *or else*, are so far engaged, that *themselves* are to bear the greatest adventure in the success of their own counsels. The one of which two considerations makes men the *less respective*; and the other, the *more circumspect*. Those good and learned men which gave the first direction to this course," (he alludes to Beza, and some other divines of the reformed Churches,) "had reason to wish that *their own* proceedings at *home* might be favoured *abroad* also; and that the good affection of such as inclined towards them might be kept alive. But, if themselves had gone under those sails which they require to be hoisted up; if they had been themselves to *execute their own theory* in this Church, I doubt not but easily they would have seen, being near at hand, that the way was not good which they took of advising them, *first* to wear the apparel, that *thereby* they might be free to continue their preaching: and *then* of requiring them *so* to preach as they might be sure they could not *continue*, *except* they imagine that laws which permit men *not to do* as they would, will endure them *to speak* as they list; even *against that* which *themselves* do by constraint of laws; they would easily have seen, that our people, being accustomed evermore to think that thing *evil* which is publicly under any pretence reprov'd, and the men themselves *worse*, which *reprove it and use it too*; it should be to little purpose for them to salve the wound, by making *protestations* in disgrace of their *own actions*, with plain acknowledgments that they are scandalous, or by using fair entreaty with the weak brethren; they would easily have seen how with us it cannot be endured to hear a man openly profess that he puts fire to his neighbour's house, but yet so hallows the same with prayer, *that he hopes it shall not burn*. It had been therefore, perhaps safer and better for *ours* to have observed St. Basil's advice both in this, and in all things of like nature, 'Let him which approves not his governors' ordinances either *plainly*, but *privately always*, show his dislike, if he have λόγον ισχυρόν, strong and invincible reason against them, according to the true will and meaning of Scripture; *or else* let him quietly with silence do what is enjoined.' Obedience with *professed unwillingness to obey, is not better than manifest disobedience.*" Book v. chap. 29. Compare above, vol. iii. p. 460. of this collection, the note on Wall.

34. Now, *Fourthly*, let us consider whether they be *Jewish*^a; wherein we affirm that the Church of England does approach no nearer to the Jews, than the law of God and the state of Christianity does permit.—For what is it that they control under the name of Jewish? Is it their meaning that we should use nothing in the Christian Church, which was used by the Jews? ¹ Esdras a Jew preached in a pulpit of wood; shall wooden pulpits therefore be unlawful? The Jews buried their dead “in linen clothes²,” shall this likewise be rejected as Jewish? But both these things our reprovers approve, by their own practice. Wherefore it is agreed that some things used by the Jews may be retained; and yet they are retained, not because they are Jewish, but because they are decent.—Beside these ceremonies of decency and order, the Jews had other, which by the ordinance of God were types of Christ³, and these, as we all confess, are solemnly abrogated⁴, and never to be resumed, as circumcision, sacrifices, and such like.—But can it be proved, that we use any such thing in the Church of England? Let it be granted that Levitical garments in regard of their mystical representation are abolished; yet how can it appear that any of our garments are Levitical? Suppose there be some resemblance in matter or form, what then? Is the Church of Christ bound so far to avoid all conformity with the Jews, that she may not at all resemble them in a matter of decency? Our musical harmony they would likewise abolish as Jewish, but they have not yet proved, that Church-music, vocal or instrumental^b, is *such* a Jewish ceremony as ought to be abrogated. The princely prophet David⁵ brought into the Church the melody of music, for the better praising and lauding of God. For the sweetness of harmonical sounds does insinuate itself into the soul of man, preparing the affections for the service of God, lifting up the heart towards heaven, delighting the mind, kindling devotion, and ravishing the spirit with celestial joy. If it be said, that some come to the Church rather to be delighted with music, than to be instructed with religion, what then? yet in that they come to the Church, I rejoice, yea and I will rejoice. So some come to the Church with purpose to entangle and catch the

^a On this topic, see *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 2.

¹ Neh. viii. 4.

² John xix. 40.

³ Coloss. ii. 17.

⁴ Heb ix.

^b On this topic, see *Hooker*, book v. chap. 38, 39.

⁵ 1 Chron. xxv. 1.

preacher, and yet it pleases God sometimes that they are caught themselves. As Pighius did read Calvin's Institutions, "of set purpose to confute them, yet it was God's will that thereby he should be reduced to the right way in the article of justification¹." And Father Latimer² can tell you, that some came to Church of purpose to take a nap, and yet he had rather that they should go a napping, than not go at all. Even so it may be, some come to the Church only to hear the melody; yet who can tell, but it may please the wisdom of that heavenly Teacher to find out a way, that hearing those things wherein their ears delight, they may also learn that whereby their souls may profit^a?—The form of our Church^b they brand likewise with Judaism, as being framed after the fashion of the Jewish temple; but the temple had rooms for sacrifices, to which there is no resemblance in our Churches: and for the rooms of receipt, they had *atrium Gentium*³, proper to the Gentiles, and *atrium Judæorum*, proper to the Jews. And again, for the Jews, they had one partition for men, and another for women: and again for men, they had a several for the people, a several for priests, and a several where the high-priest entered once a year. Peradventure they will say that our chancels are like the Jewish sanctuary; but if we respect the form, the sanctuary was square⁴; if the magnificence, it was overlaid with gold⁵; if the ornaments, there was the ark⁶ and the glorious cherubims; if the separation, it was divided from the holy by a vail⁷; if the situation, it was at the west end⁸ of the holy; if the adjuncts, it had cloisters, galleries⁹, and chambers adjoining; if the use, it was only for the high-priest¹⁰, whither he entered once a year, not without blood, which he offered for himself and the sins of the people: all which things are otherwise in our Churches.—Lastly, they compare our Churching of women^c to Jewish purifi-

¹ Seductus ex lectione instit. Joh. Cal. Ruardus Tapper explic. Tom. sec. art. 8. *Bellar.* de Justif. l. ii. cap. 1. in eandem sententiam sive potius errorem (cum Bu.) de causâ formali justific. incidit Alb. Pig. Cont. 2.

² Father *Lat.* p. 70. 1596.

^a See an admirable passage in *Sanderson's Twelfth Sermon ad Aulam*, § 25. given below at the close of this collection.

^b On this topic, see *Hooker*, book v. chap. 14.

³ *Adricom.* in Descrip. Urbis Hierosolymæ.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ver.* 19. 23.

⁸ See *Adric.*

⁹ 1 Kings vi. 10.

^c On this topic, see *Hooker*, book v. chap. 74.

⁴ 1 Kings vi. 20.

⁷ 2 Chron. iii. 14.

¹⁰ Heb. ix. 7.

cation¹, but most unjustly, for our women do not offer lambs, sparrows, and pigeons, which was Levitical, they only resemble them in matters moral. Their abstaining from public assemblies for a season, is not only for health, but a matter of modesty ; their giving thanks to God, when they come to the Church, is a Christian duty, neither do I see how this can be called a Jewish ceremony, unless to praise God be a Jewish ceremony.

35. *Fifthly*, it is objected that our ceremonies are *scandalous* ; let us therefore consider what a scandal is^a, and how many kinds of scandal.—The word σκάνδαλον coming from σκάζω, which signifies to halt, is properly that part of the trap whereto the bait is tied, which being overthrown, the beast pulls the trap upon his own head. Metaphorically it is taken for that which is an occasion to hurt or grieve another : it is often joined with πρόσκομμα a stumbling-block, and may be expounded by it. For whereas a Christian should go forward in the way of godliness, a scandal may be called a word or a deed, which is laid as a block in his way, whereby he may fall or stumble, or any way be hindered in his virtuous course.—Scandal is of two sorts, *given* or *taken* ; to give scandal, or to scandalize, is to do or say any thing which is apt to provoke unto sin, by grieving the godly, wounding the weak, rejoicing the wicked.—Some things do scandalize because they have a scandalizing *nature*, as all sin and wickedness.—Some things do scandalize *accidentally*, because they are scandalously *used* ; and so things indifferent may become scandalous. *First*, when they are devised for an evil purpose, as the Eunomian heretics² devised to pour water but once in baptism, and not thrice, to cross the doctrine of the Trinity : in which age if any should have left the custom of the Church, in applying it thrice, and have followed the Eunomians in doing it but once, he should have given a very scandalous example ; for he might have been probably thought to have favoured their heresy whose example he followed. *Secondly*, when things originally devised for good, are abused to evil ; as in Spain certain heretics abused the thrice applying of water in baptism, to signify three Gods, which gave an

¹ Admon. T. C. vide Arch. *Whit.* p. 534.

^a On this topic of scandal, see *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 12. Also *Sanderson's* Cases of Conscience, p. 75—81, and p. 176—86 ; also his Twelfth Sermon *ad Aulam*, § 34—42, given below, No. XIX. in this collection.

² *Sozomen.* lib. vi. Hist. Eccl. cap. 26.

occasion to Gregory¹, as also to the council of Toledo², to take order that in Spain it should be applied but once. *Thirdly*, a thing indifferent may become scandalous in regard of the circumstance of time, person, or place: as for example, if one in Spain after the constitution of Toledo should have applied water thrice; this (though done in simplicity) had been scandalous in regard of the time, because heretics did then use it to strengthen their heresy of three Gods. Moreover, although meats forbidden by the ceremonial law, after the death of Christ became indifferent; yet if a weak brother, not persuaded of the indifferency, should profess himself offended³, then thy eating in his presence should be scandalous in respect of the person. Again, though meat offered to idols might lawfully be eaten, yet to eat in the temple⁴ of the idol were evil in appearance, and scandalous in respect of the place, because it might seem to be done in honour of the idol, so it might grieve the godly, and be an occasion of falling to thy weak brother, and harden the idolaters in their impiety.—A scandal *taken* not *given*, is when that which is not scandalously done, is traduced as scandalous either by error or calumny. By error, as when the rest of the tribes⁵ were offended with the tribe of Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasses, for erecting an altar upon the borders of Jordan, which they supposed to be erected for sacrifice, but was indeed only a memorial that they had a part in the God of Israel; of which, when they were truly informed, they corrected their error, they rested satisfied, and all imagination of scandal was taken away. By calumny, a good thing may be blamed for scandalous, as when Christ Himself, to the disobedient, was made a stone to stumble at⁶, and a rock of offence.—Hitherto what scandal is, and of the kinds of scandal; now let us apply all this to the Church of England.

We are accused for retaining many scandalous ceremonies: but is the scandal given, or is it only taken? If we give any scandal, let it appear wherein and to whom.—And first, is there any ceremony in our Church which is of a scandalizing nature?—And to begin with the surplice, is it a thing in the whole nature simply unlawful? not so; for those which most spurn at it both in England⁷ and Geneva⁸, confess it to be a thing in the own nature

¹ Ep. l. i. c. 41.

³ Rom. xiv. 15.

⁵ Jos. xxii. 16.

⁷ T. C. l. iii. p. 262.

² Concil. 2. Tol. 4. c. 5.

⁴ 1 Cor. viii. 10.

⁶ 1 Pet. ii. 8.

⁸ Beza, Ep. 8.

indifferent^a: and that very man who called it “a mark and sacrament of abomination¹,” uses these very words, “The truth is, that I dare not be author to any to forsake his pastoral charge for the inconvenience thereof²;” and gives this reason, because preaching is the “absolute commandment of God, and therefore ought not to be laid aside for a simple inconvenience or uncomeliness of a thing which in the own nature is indifferent.” And of the same judgment is Beza³.

But of all other things the cross in baptism does most stick in men’s minds, let us therefore consider whether that be of a *scandalizing nature*. Now if the cross be simply unlawful, wherein consists this unlawfulness? Is the very making of a cross a thing so repugnant to godliness, that whosoever shall make it, though it be but with his finger, shall presently sin? but this to my knowledge no man objects; for they allow it in “banners and coins^a, and such civil respects⁴.” Is there any thing blameable in the thing signified?—but that without all controversy is a most religious duty. What is it then which is so offensive in the cross? They tell us plainly, that “though it be the word of God that we should not be ashamed of the cross of Christ, yet it is not the word of God that we should be put in remembrance and observation⁵” of it by two lines drawn across: and a little before, “this bringeth in a new word into the Church.” But I hope my brethren will consider that we use it not as a thing necessary, but only as a thing indifferent: and it has been declared that the Church may appoint things indifferent, which are not commanded in the word, and yet this is not to bring in a new word; or if it be, then all Christian Churches are bringers in of a new word. But they think that this is “to mingle the inventions of men with the sacraments of God⁶.” And why so? we teach that a child is perfectly baptized before he be crossed, and we confess that such as are baptized without crossing have the full perfection of bap-

¹ T. C. l. i. p. 75.

² T. C. l. iii. p. 262.

³ Respondeo minimè mihi videri deserendas Ecclesias propter vestes aut pileos, aut ejusmodi verè medium aut indifferens. *Beza*, Epist. 8.

^a “They pretend not to abide the cross because it is superstitious:—for my part I will believe them, when I see them throw their *money* out of their pockets,—and not till then.” *Selden’s Table Talk*, art. “Superstition.”

“If there be any superstition truly and properly so called, it is *their* observing the Sabbath after the Jewish manner.” *Ibid.* § 3.

⁴ Treatise of the Cross, fol. 3.

⁵ T. C. l. i. p. 171.

⁶ T. C. p. 16.

tism. And though we make a sign at the time of baptism, yet we do it not as a part of baptism. In the old law they named the child at circumcision¹, as we do at baptism. Was this to mingle the invention of man with the sacraments of God? The Church of Geneva² uses godfathers: shall this also be in the same condemnation?—But this crossing (they say) is superstitiously and wickedly to make a new sacrament. For answer whereunto³, may it please them to remember, that every significant sign is not a sacrament. For a sacrament properly is a “sign and a seal of the righteousness of faith⁴,” that is, of the righteousness of Christ imputed unto us, and apprehended by a true and a lively faith. And therefore a sacrament is not only a sign to signify, but also a seal of the living God, establishing our hearts in the covenant of grace. Whereby it is apparent that the cross is far different from a sacrament; for it is not a seal, but only a sign; not commanded of the Lord, but appointed by the Church; not as a confirmation of his covenant, but as a memorial of our duty. Wherefore it does not appear to be of a scandalizing nature, and therefore a wise and judicious man⁵ living in reformed Churches where the cross is not used, does call it plainly a thing indifferent.

Let us now consider whether it be scandalous in *respect of the use*. And first, dare any man affirm that it was devised to a scandalous end? That does not appear, but rather the contrary. For among the Jews to die upon “a tree⁶” was a cursed death, and among the Romans the death of the cross was full of reproach. Wherefore the Jews seeing the poor estate of Christ, and his shameful death, did think Him unworthy the title of their glorious Messias, and many of the Gentiles did scorn to believe in a crucified God. But the true Christians rejoiced “in the cross of Christ⁷,” that is, in Christ crucified, not only in Christ rising, ascending, and sitting in glory, but they rejoiced in his cross, that is, in his death and passion which He suffered upon the cross; for his humiliation is our exaltation, his death our life, his cross our crown, his reproach our glory. And whereas the heathen did reproach the children of God with it, the Christians

¹ Luke i. 59, 60.

² Cal. Ep. 302.

³ Adm. and T. C. Vide Arch. Whit. p. 617.

⁴ Rom. iv. 11.

⁵ Goul. Annot. in Cyp Ep. 56.

⁶ Deut. xxi. 23.

⁷ Gal. iii. 13.

set the sign of it in their foreheads, “to testify that they were not therefore ashamed of the same God ¹.” And this the great controul-er of our Church confesses to be done of a “good mind to keep amongst them an open profession of Christ crucified ²,” and so though he dislike the means, he commends the end.—Yet I confess though it were devised to a good end, it was afterwards abused and perverted to evil. For ceremonies depend upon the doctrine, especially of the free-grace of God and merits of Christ. So long as this doctrine is preserved pure, the ceremony is pure; when the doctrine declines, the ceremony is perverted; and therefore Goulartius affirms that “the old Christians did use the sign of the cross without superstition, because the doctrine of the merits of Christ preserved them from error, which afterward crept in ³.” When the doctrine was corrupted, no marvel if the ceremony were defiled, as it came to pass in Popery, where it was very scandalously abused. But if it were scandalous only in respect of the abuse, then the abuse being removed, the scandal itself is likewise removed.—Now can any man say, that it is abused in the Church of England?—For do we adore it with divine worship? All the world may know that we detest and abhor all such abomination.—Do we superstitiously ascribe any grace or virtue unto it? let our very enemies be our judges. And surely if the purity of doctrine preserve from superstition, then who can accuse the Church of England, wherein the doctrine of Christ is so purely taught as ever it was in any Church upon the face of the earth since the apostles’ time?—But peradventure they will say, that our Church does use it scandalously in respect of some circumstances of time, person, or place. Indeed we use it in the Church at the time of baptism, as our forefathers have done before us, which lived either in or near the apostolic age: but that we use it scandalously, we utterly deny. For who are they which are scandalized ⁴?

They answer ⁴, that the papists are some *weak* and some *obstinate*: *weak*, which have made some step to the gospel, and yet are not fully scoured from their former rust: and these (as is

¹ T. C. lib. i. p. 170.

² Ibidem.

³ Goul. Annot. in Cyp. l. ad Demer. cap. 19.

⁴ See Hooker, book iv. chap. 12.

⁴ In the unfolding of the Pope’s attire made by certain ministers of London, as also T. C. Vide Arch. Whit. p. 252.

imagined) think that the sacraments get reverence by the ceremonies, as namely by the cross and surplice: and that they want something they should have, where these are not used. In which error they are said to be strengthened by our using of them. And the stubborn and obstinate do hereby take occasion (as is supposed) to blaspheme the gospel, and to hope that the rest of their trumpery ^a shall likewise in time be received. And by this means they grow hardened and frozen in their dregs.—But if the Papists be *weak* ¹ and not wilful, there is great hope that as they have already made some step from Popish opinions by means of good instruction; so the silly imaginations may likewise by the like means in time be removed. For this does not enforce any abolishing of ceremonies, but it requires more diligence in instruction.—And for the *stubborn* Papists which stop their ears against all instruction, we need not regard them. When the Pharisees were displeased with the disciples of Christ for eating with unwashed hands, Christ rendered a sufficient reason in defence of their fact; but the Pharisees notwithstanding were offended; then Christ answered: “Let them alone, they be blind leaders of the blind, and if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch ².” This may be applied to our Papists, which being blind themselves, go about to corrupt others with their blind opinions. But we will let them alone, and return to our *weak brethren*: to whom Beza answers; that “it is a vain thing to pretend weakness in that kingdom where the gospel has been already so many years both preached and received, and confirmed by the blood of so many most excellent martyrs.”—But the godly are much grieved at our ceremonies:—surely it is great pity ^b that the godly

^a On this topic, see *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 9.

¹ *Beza*, Ep. viii.

² *Matt.* xv. 14.

^b “In the meanwhile, sorry we are, that any good and godly mind should be grieved with that which is done. But to remedy their grief, lieth not so much in us as in themselves. They do not wish to be made glad with the hurt of the Church: and to remove all out of the Church, whereat they show themselves to be sorrowful, would be, as we are persuaded, hurtful, if not pernicious thereunto. Till they be able to persuade the contrary, they must, and will, I doubt not, find out some other good mean to cheer up themselves. Amongst which means, the example of Geneva may serve for one. Have not they the old Popish custom of using godfathers and godmothers in baptism? the old Popish custom of administering the blessed sacraments of the holy eucharist with wafer-cakes? This thing, then, the godly *there* can digest. Wherefore should not the godly *here* learn to do the like, both in them and

should be grieved at that which is *lawful*. Our intent is not to grieve them, but rather that we may go with them hand in hand,

in the rest of the like nature? Some further mean peradventure it might be, to assuage their grief, if so be they did consider the revenge they take on them which have been, as they interpret it, the workers of their continuance in so great grief, so long: for if the maintenance of ceremonies be a corrosive to such as oppugn them, undoubtedly to such as maintain them it can be no great pleasure, when they behold how that which they reverence is oppugned. And therefore they that judge themselves martyrs when they are grieved, should think withal what *they* are whom they grieve. For we are still to put them in mind, that the cause does make no difference: for that it must be presumed as good at the least on *our* part as on theirs; till it be in the end decided *who* have stood for truth, and *who* for error: so that till then, *the most* effectual medicine, and withal *the most* sound, to ease their grief must *not* be (in our opinion) the taking away of those things whereat they are grieved, *but* the altering of that persuasion which they have concerning the same.—For this we therefore both pray and labour.” *Hooker*, book iv. chap. 10. Compare *Hooker's* preface, chap. vi. § 6, above, p. 416, and the note there.

Observations of a similar description, it is obvious, are equally applicable to the Romish separatist; and happy would it have been for our country if this kind of argument had been duly understood, and adequately and timely maintained and insisted upon.

“It is said,” (in the language of the very able and learned editors of the *Digest of Evidence*, on the state of Ireland,) “that the Roman Catholic gentry of Ireland are unacquainted with those doctrines of their Church, by which their allegiance, as subjects of a Protestant monarch, is rendered doubtful. This is the truth; but is it a creditable truth? A Roman Catholic promises, (as bishops of that Church have in their evidence stated,) that he will believe all that has been declared, delivered, and defined in canons and in general councils. The state excludes him from office,” (this was written in the year 1826,) “because among those tenets which he professes to believe, there are some which no subject of a Protestant monarch ought to maintain.—And what then becomes his duty? what would any unprejudiced mind think to be his duty in such a case? Evidently, to inquire into the justice of the charges urged against him: if they were just, to submit with patience to the judgment of the state, *unless he were determined to remove the grounds* on which it was formed: or, if the charge were false, to disprove it This is evidently the duty of a subject. And if any class of men, through obstinacy or fanaticism, are contented to remain in ignorance, and meet the charges urged against them,—charges resting on conclusive evidence, and enforced by paramount authority, with no other answer than the culprit's plea ‘Not guilty;’ and if while they bend in blind submission before their Church, they shall burn in virulent invective against the state, surely their intemperance is not to be considered as expressing the honest indignation of generous men, but rather as a proof that the charges urged against them are founded in truth. Demonstrating the predominance

and do our duty with all joy and comfort. At Geneva¹ some godly brethren were grieved at the wafer-cake, yet they did not therefore cancel the public constitutions of their Church, but Calvin did instruct the weak in the nature of things indifferent, and so they learned to comfort and content themselves. If they urge us with the saying of our Saviour; "Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, which believeth in me; it were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the sea²;" it may be answered that Christ speaks of such offenders as by their own default give offence unto others, and therefore Calvin upon this place does excellently define scandal (given) "*Si quis nostrâ culpâ vel impingit, vel abducitur à recto cursu, vel tardatur, eum dicimur offendere*³:" now if any be offended with our ceremonies, it is their own fault, and not to be imputed to the Church of England. Neither is a Church bound upon every pretended offence, presently to alter her public decrees; for that were nothing else but ridiculous levity. Indeed it is the duty of every Church carefully to provide that nothing be decreed which may minister just occasion of offence: and likewise to establish her ceremonies with such sufficient cautions and clearness of doctrine, as may prevent so far as is possible all sinister constructions and taking of offence; which points are already in ample manner performed by the Church of England.

But it will be replied⁴, that many things are lawful which are not expedient; meats offered to idols were lawful, yet evil to him that eats offensively. So our garments may be lawful, yet evil to him that wears them offensively. So the cross may be lawful, yet evil to them that use it offensively. And though the offence comes by the weakness of our brother, yet charity binds us to refrain from that which offends our brother. And they stand much upon Paul's protestation: that "he would eat no flesh so long as the world standeth, rather than he would offend his brother⁴." The answer whereunto may be this; that the case is

of a bad spirit, in which they will not discharge the duty of inquiry into the articles of belief which they have promised to receive, lest they should find that the conduct of the government was just, and that their Church was in error." Part. i. p. 473, 4.

¹ Beza, in vitâ Calvini.

² Matt. xviii. 6.

³ Matt. xviii.

^a Compare Hooker, book iv. cap. 12. See also Sanderson's Sermons 11, and 12, *ad Aulam*; the latter is given below, No. XX. in this collection.

⁴ 1 Cor. viii. 13.

unlike : for first those meats whereof St. Paul does speak, were matters of private action of common life : but we speak of the public ceremonies of our Church. Secondly, St. Paul was at his own choice, no law restraining his liberty ; but our ceremonies are commanded by lawful authority. Thirdly, St. Paul by forbearing flesh did prejudice none but himself ; but we in forbearing the ceremonies should prejudice the authority of the prince. Fourthly, St. Paul's practice did further, and not hinder the course of his ministry ; but as the case now stands, our refusal of ceremonies might be a means to silence ourselves, and to stop the course of our preaching, which is a duty so necessary, that it may not be omitted, no not for fear of a scandal. Fifthly, though the eating of those meats were offensive to some, yet the not eating we do not find to have been offensive to any : but in our ceremonies some are offended because they are used, and some are offended ^a because they are not used, and that more justly, because the not using of a thing so commanded is disobedience to the prince, and may prove a very scandalous and pernicious example. If they say, that charity binds me to respect the one ; I answer, that the same charity binds me to regard the other ; and duty binds me to honour and obey my prince. Wherefore in a mixed congregation what shall I do ? for both will be offended : the one if I use them, the other if I use them not. Surely in such a case I think it my part, after fervent prayer, diligent study, and Christian conference, to consult with mine own conscience ; and finding the thing commanded to be no way contrary to the word of God, I will hold it my duty to obey my prince^b. And as for those which shall be offended with my fact, I will in the spirit of meekness, both publicly and privately, render them a reason of my doing, instructing them from time to time^c in the doctrine of things indifferent, and the duty of a subject to his prince.—But if they will not be thus satisfied, if they refuse to hearken, and

^a “ Men have not only delivered forth these invectives against the whole state of our Church, and all the parts thereof ; but in the face of the world, against law, against authority, have taken upon them to alter all things, according to their own pleasure : which dealing, you may be sure, *cannot be without great offence of an infinite number* ; as the world evidently sees it has been.” Admonition to the People of England, by T. C. (Bishop Cooper), 1589, p. 120.

^b See this point stated with admirable perspicuity by Bishop Sanderson, in his fifth Sermon, *ad Populum*, § 30 ; given below, No. XIX. in this collection.

^c See note on Hooker's preface, chap. iii. § 10. p. 389—93. above.

still continue stiff in their own opinions, let them take heed lest the saying of Aquinas may be applied unto them: "concerning the scandal of little ones," (says he) "we must observe that for the avoiding thereof, a man is bound to defer the use of lawful things so long, till the scandal may be removed by a reason rendered: but if the reason being rendered, the scandal do still remain, now it seems not to proceed of ignorance or infirmity, but of malice: and so shall belong to the scandal of Pharisees¹."

36. Moreover some are so tender that they are offended not only at *things* formerly abused, but even at the *names*^a of vanished abuses. The months of the year were sometimes dedicated to heathen idols², this very month, wherein I speak, to Juno³; the days to the planets, this very day to the sun⁴. Our chronicles testify that Wednesday and Friday were so called of Woden and Frea, the idols of the Saxons⁵. All these names were imposed and abused to idolatry: but shall we therefore think that all which use these names speak scandalously by countenancing idolatry? It may be that some of our Churches called by the names of saints, had their names not only as memorials, but were also superstitiously dedicated to the honour of saints, and shall it therefore now be imagined that the very use of these names is a scandalous point? God forbid. The superstition and idolatry are worn away, the names remain only as civil names, and may be so used for distinction sake, as may be justified by Scripture. For the Prophet Daniel was called Belteshazzar⁶, according to the name of the God of Nabuchodonoser, yet the prophet, inspired by the Spirit of God, speaking of himself, calls himself Belteshazzar⁷. The city of Athens was so named of Pallas, and therein was a street called the Street of Mars⁸, both of which names proceeded from idolatry; yet who can accuse St. Luke of speaking scandalously in calling the city Athens, and the street the street of Mars? St. Paul sailed in a ship of Alexandria whose badge was Castor and Pollux⁹, which (as St. Chrysostom truly observes) were idols¹⁰. Yet St. Luke's pen did not write scandalously in

¹ *Aquin.* in Ep. ad Rom. c. 14. lect. 2.

^a On this topic see *Hooker*, book v. chap. 13. Also pref. chap. viii. above, p. 430, 1.

² *Isidor.* lib. v. cap. 33.

³ *Censor.* de Die Nat. c. 22.

⁴ *Isidor.* lib. v. cap. 30.

⁵ *Malmesb.* de Gestis Regum Angliæ, lib. 1.

⁶ Dan. iv. 5.

⁷ Dan. iv. 16.

⁸ Acts xxvii. 19.

⁹ Acts xxviii. 11.

¹⁰ *Chrysost.* in Act.

describing the ship by the names of Castor and Pollux. Neither was it a scandalous point in St. Paul to sail in the ship : for St. Luke used the name only historically as a civil name of distinction, and St. Paul knew that the earth is the Lord's and all that therein is. And therefore in the tempest he did not invoke Castor and Pollux, but the true God. Wherefore the names of times, places, and persons, scandalously imposed, may be used for distinction-sake without scandal. Many take offence at their brethren for using the names of Christmas, Candlemas, and the like ; as though it were a scandalous piece of Popery : but admit that these festivities had their names of the mass, though some learned men are of another opinion, yet suppose it were so ; those that are offended with this word Christmas, as favouring Popery, might be offended with Belteshazzar as favouring Paganism. But they will say, it renews the memory of the abominable mass ; be it so, and withal it may renew the memory of our delivery from the mass. So the names of the days of the week may put us in mind how this land was sometime drowned in Paganism : and the same may put us in mind how it has pleased God to deliver us from Paganism. Wherefore though men in such points may use their liberty, yet in such peremptory manner to condemn their brethren is against charity.—And thus much of scandal.

37. *Lastly*, they propose us a pattern of reformed churches ^a, which have rejected these ceremonies, as though it were our duty therein to follow them. The words of the Admonition are these : “is a reformation good for France? And can it be evil for England? Is discipline meet for Scotland, and is it unprofitable for this realm? Surely God has set these examples before your eyes, to encourage you,” &c. Concerning the reformed Churches, I beseech God to pour his blessings and Spirit upon them, and make them like the thousands of Manasseh, and the ten thousands of Ephraim. It is true, they have rejected some ceremonies which we retain ; the things were indifferent, and they have used their Christian liberty in refusing them : and we the like liberty in using them. But why should we be bound to their example? Indeed in the same nation, and under the same government, it is fit there should be an uniformity ;

^a On this topic, see *Hooker*, preface, chap. iv. § 6—8. above, p. 403—6. also book iv. chap. 13.

and therefore whereas the Jews in the provinces kept the feast of Purim upon the fourteenth day of the month Adar, and the Jews in Shushan upon the fifteenth; Mordecai¹, authorized by the king, reduced them to an uniformity by enjoining them both days. But diversity of rites^a in divers Churches independent does no harm, where there is an unity of faith: it only shows that the king's daughter, so that she be glorious within, may be clothed with garments of changeable colours.—Yet we cannot but marvel that men will urge us to conformity with foreign Churches to which we owe no subjection, and will not conform themselves to their own mother the Church of England, in whose bosom they live, and whereof they are members.—But to whom shall we conform ourselves, and whose pattern shall we follow? For the Reformed Churches differ one from another, as has been in part declared in their celebration of holidays. Peradventure they will say that we must follow the best. But how shall we know which are best, unless the reformed Churches would have a general meeting in a public council, and make us a final determination? and yet peradventure that would not be void of inconvenience; for that might be best for one, which is not best for another. If in this case we should be tied to follow the most ancient, then Geneva itself must be cast in another mould, which our reprovers will not allow to be of equal perfection. But whatsoever our reformers say, it is clear that they have always one eye fixed upon the face of Geneva: yet Geneva has some Popish orders (if you call all orders Popish which have been used in Popery) as well as we; as has been declared in their custom of godfathers and godmothers; and some Popish orders they keep, which are not imposed upon us in the Church of England, as the wafer-cake, which was more scandalously abused in Popery than any thing that we enjoin, yea than the cross itself. For the wafer-cake was not only made an idol, but such an idol as did abolish the very substance^b of the Lord's

¹ Esther ix. 21.

^a Compare Art. XXXIV. of the Church of England; also Book of Common Prayer, "Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished," &c.

^b "Transubstantiation . . . overthrows the nature of a sacrament, and has given occasion to many superstitions." Art. XXVIII. of the Church of England. "It overthrows the nature of a sacrament by confounding the outward and visible sign, with the inward and spiritual grace—the figure, with the thing figured. Transubstantiation makes the bread (the sign) to be also

Supper¹: but the cross, howsoever it was abused, yet it did not diminish the sacrament of baptism; but the substance remained wholly, even in the darkness of Popery.—Moreover, Calvin himself² does not require, that other Churches should follow their pattern, but professes that it is against equity³ that the Church of Geneva should prejudice others. And again, such a kind of forwardness, says he, is a most mischievous plague, when we would have the manner of one Church to prevail in place of an universal law⁴. In which point, singular is the wisdom and modesty of the Church of England; which, in treating of ceremonies, says, “In these our doings we condemn no other nations, nor prescribe any thing but to our own people only: for we think it convenient, that every country should use such ceremonies as they shall think best to the setting forth of God’s honour and glory⁵,” &c. And although Helvetian and French cities follow the fabric of Geneva, and should find it commodious, yet that will not prove that it is either necessary or convenient for the Church of England. For there is great difference between a popular state and an absolute kingdom: between small territories and ample dominions: between the school of Geneva and the renowned universities of Oxford and Cambridge. Neither is any man to be offended with the diversity of ceremonies in divers countries; for as Socrates⁶ declares, those ancient Churches which embraced the same religion had notwithstanding variety of ceremonies. And it is well said of Gregorie, “*In una fide nihil officit sanctæ Ecclesiæ consuetudo diversa.*” Moreover St. Augustine’s mother having used, when she was in Africa, to fast upon the Saturday⁷, and coming to Milan, where that was not observed, was doubtful what to do: whereupon her son Austin asked St. Ambrose, who answered: “When I am here at Milan, I do not fast upon the Saturday: and when I am at Rome I fast upon the Saturday: and unto what Church soever you shall come, keep the custom of it, if you be willing neither to take nor give scandal.” And St. Augustine advised Casulanus when there are divers customs in the

the body of Christ (the thing signified).” *Hey’s Lectures in Divinity*, iv. Art. 28. § 19.

¹ It shall suffice that the bread be such as is usually to be eaten at the table, &c. Book of Common Prayer.

² *Calv.* Ep. 118.

⁴ Treatise of Ceremonies.

⁶ *Greg.* Epist. lib. i. cap. 41.

³ *Calv.* in Arg. in Ep. ad Gall.

⁵ *Eccles. Hist.* lib. v. cap. 21.

⁷ *Aug.* Ep. 86. ad Casulan.

same country, to follow them to whom the regiment of the people is committed, and to conform himself to his own bishop ¹.—Wherefore it appears *first*, that divers countries professing the same religion, may have divers ceremonies. *Secondly*, that in Churches independent, one is not bound of necessity to follow another. *Thirdly*, that it is the duty of every private man to conform himself to the laudable customs of the Church wherein he lives.

Hitherto we have seen the archers shooting at the Church of England, but God is her buckler, and the Almighty is her protection. “So her bow abideth strong, and the hands of her arms are strengthened by the hands of the Almighty God of Jacob ².”—And thus far of the *confutation*.

38. And now, my dear brethren, let me *exhort* you in the name of the Lord Jesus, to perform all holy obedience to God and the prince. For what is it which withholds you from the cheerful discharge of so gracious a duty?—If the supposed blemishes of our Church be *inconveniences* only, how dare you disturb the peace of the Church for bare inconveniences? The communion bread of Geneva ³ seemed inconvenient to Calvin: yet he advised his friends not to make any tumult for a thing indifferent: and the same counsel which he gave to others, he followed himself. In another place, the bells at burial did seem inconvenient, yet Calvin wished them, “if it could not be obtained, that the prince would remit it, yet not to be clamorous or contentious for such a matter ⁴.” In another place, the holidays and ceremonies did seem inconvenient, and Calvin being asked, returned this answer, that “though a thing imposed should bring offence and draw matters of foul consequence after it, yet if in itself it be not repugnant to God’s word, it may be yielded unto, especially where the greater part prevails, in which case he that is only a member of that body can proceed no further ⁵.” In England that learned and blessed martyr Mr. Hooper ^a, being elected bishop in King

¹ Episcopo tuo in hac re noli resistere, et quod facit ipse sine ullo scrupulo vel disceptatione sectare. *Aug. ibid.*

² Gen. xlix.

³ *Beza*, in vitâ Calvin.

⁴ *Calv. Epist.*

⁵ *Calv. Ep.* 379. Malam caudam trahat, quia tamen per se verbo Dei non repugnat, concedi potest.

^a See *Fox*, in *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. ii. p. 437, and notes (p. 361. edit. 1839).

Edward's time, did vehemently deny the wearing of his episcopal ornaments¹, but Calvin² did counsel him not to stand so stiffly against the cap and the rochet. And Calvin, answering to certain questions of discipline³, professes that he mislikes the forwardness of those men which for light scruples depart from the public consent: and he protested to the English Church at Francfort⁴, that "in external rites he did show himself easy and flexible." Wherefore I wish that you, which in other things so magnify and admire the person of Calvin, would in this point follow the sound judgment, grave counsel, and tractable disposition of Calvin.—*But* if you suppose those things which are imposed upon you to be *impieties*: then you dissent from Mr. Calvin, who though he censured many things in our Church somewhat sharply⁵, yet he confessed that there was no manifest impiety, and therefore the supposed blemishes of our Church he accounted and termed tolerable. But if you esteem them intolerable; remember you are men, consider that you may be deceived, and therefore examine your grounds^a again and again without partiality, and carry this Christian mind, to forsake yourselves to follow the truth. If you be led by example, and pin your judgment upon other men's sleeves, you must be content to be told what an injury you do to the Church of England, in suffering the opinions of private men to over-balance with you the public determination of such a national Church. But if you will needs look upon examples, then behold the former examples of Calvin, and of that glorious martyr Mr. Hooper, who, though he did long withstand, yet was not so wedded to his own opinion, but that at last, after long conference, he reformed himself, and yielded to the public judgment of the Church of England.

32. If you rely upon reasons artificially deduced, are they probable or demonstrative? If probabilities only, what truth is there in the world so sound, but a carping wit may find some probabilities against it? The holy Scripture has been oppugned, though without all truth, yet with some probability. And reason itself

¹ Act. et Monument.

² *Calv. Epist.* 120. De pileo et veste lineâ maluissem (ut illa etiam non probem) non usque adeò ipsum pugnare, idque nuper suadebam.

³ *Calv. Ep.* 370.

⁴ *Calv. Ep.* 200.

⁵ *Ibidem.*

^a See *Hooker*, preface, chap. vi. § 5, and note above, p. 415, 16. in this volume.

can borrow a reason from nature, to reason against faith. But how shall the conscience of a subject be discharged in disobeying the commandment of his prince upon deceivable probabilities? Indeed, if you can produce any one necessary and demonstrative reason^a, to prove that the things imposed upon you are contrary to God's word, then it must needs be confessed that you are bound in conscience to refrain: for we must rather obey God than man. But what if you think a reason to be necessary when it is not? May not you be taken for such as have unnecessarily troubled the Church of God? Your reasons out of Scripture against our orders, when they come to the scanning, prove no such matters of necessity as you pretend; as for example, those places which you urge in such peremptory manner for the lay presbytery¹, wherein consists the life and soul of your desired discipline. And whosoever shall examine the quotations of your Admonitions to the parliament, shall find them in some part violations of God's holy word.—What is it to abuse the majesty of Scripture, if this be not?

40. But peradventure you will reply, that howsoever your arguments be *in themselves*, yet *to you they seem*^b invincibly to conclude our orders to be unlawful; according to the saying of St. Paul, “I know and am persuaded through the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself, but unto him that judgeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean².” In regard whereof, many of you pretend that the conformity required is against your conscience. But beware lest this conscience prove an erroneous conscience,—If you say that an erroneous conscience binds so far, that whatsoever is done against it is sin in the doer, and therefore though conformity in itself were lawful, yet because you judge it unlawful, in you it were sin: if this be your reply, then tell me, I pray you, whether the error of the conscience take away the sin of the soul in disobeying the lawful commandment of lawful authority? If it be clear that it do not, because transgression is transgression, and sin is sin, though an erroneous con-

^a See *Hooker*, preface, chap. vi. § 6, above, p. 416, 17. and *Sanderson's* fourth Sermon, *ad Clerum*, § 21, given below, No. XVI. in this collection.

¹ See *Perpetual Government* (*Bilson's*).

^b On this topic, see *Sanderson's* fourth Sermon, *ad Clerum*, § 23, 4, and 29, 30. given below, No. XVI.; also eleventh Sermon, *ad Aulam*, §§ 10. 30. and Bishop *Taylor's* Sermon at the opening of Parliament, 1661.

² *Rom.* xiv. 14.

science cry a thousand times to the contrary;—then see, I beseech you, into what perplexities^a you cast yourselves. If you should conform, you tell us that you should sin, because it is against your conscience; and if you do not conform, we must tell you that you sin, because it is unjustifiable disobedience. Thus if your conscience upon just trial shall prove erroneous, you are every way ensnared and entangled. But if you stand upon the clearing of your conscience, as though it were void of all error, then let it so appear by the holy Scripture, and let not such vehement affirmations be supported by such weak and feeble inducements. It behoves you which withstand the ceremonies established by the sacred authority of such a religious prince, and such a national Church, to stand upon such pregnant and infallible proofs, as may undoubtedly persuade the conscience that the things commanded are unlawful: or if you cannot, then, without all question, you are bound in conscience to reform your conscience, or at least to suspend your judgment.—But how shall this be done?—If heretofore you have fixed both eyes upon the one side, vouchsafe now to cast one eye upon the learning, wisdom, and gravity of the other. If heretofore you have greedily devoured the books of the one, vouchsafe now without prejudice to read and consider what is said by the other. If heretofore you have looked upon your own reasons through the vapour of affection, and therefore have conceived them to be greater and goodlier than in truth they were: dispel now all mists and clouds of partiality, and pray to God in humility, that his precious truth may shine unto you. If you do thus, then peradventure those reasons which heretofore seemed giants in your eyes, may prove like little dwarfs, and those which heretofore obtruded themselves to a mind sophisticate with partiality as demonstrations, may perhaps appear to a pure and single eye, nothing else but slender and silly collections. And for the better performance, let me intreat you to have always one eye fixed upon the nature of things indifferent, and the other upon the duty of a subject to his sovereign.

41. Some men will say that they could be content to yield, but only because they have so long withstood^b by preaching and

^a Compare *Hooker's* preface, chap. vi. § 6, above, p. 417. and the note there from Sanderson.

^b The declaration is very striking which Bancroft makes of his conviction respecting even Cartwright himself in this matter. "If Cartwright and his

practising the contrary. Those men in so saying, approve the orders of the Church of England for lawful, and condemn their own former and present resistance for unlawful; and therefore if they carry so tender a conscience as they pretend, why then do they not leave that disobedience which their conscience judges unlawful, and embrace that obedience which they know to be lawful? But they imagine that in so doing their credit should be blemished with a note of inconstancy. As though it were any credit to be constant in evil things, or any discredit to change for the better. Indeed a good name is a precious ointment, and a good report is much to be regarded: but if the question come between you and the prince, the Church, and the laws under which you live, I hope it is no disparagement for you, to bow, to bend, and to learn obedience. And I would wish that such men which set so high a price upon their own reputation, would propose unto themselves the example of St. Paul¹, who sought not his own profit, but the profit of many, that they might be saved. To seek the good of another is charity. To seek the glory of Christ is piety. To prefer our own credit before our obedience to the prince in a matter of this nature is pride and arrogancy. Behold the gracious humility of Job, “Lo, I will lay my hand upon my mouth, I have spoken once, yet will I answer no more;

adherents were to begin the course again that they have run, I am persuaded they would never tread so much as one step in it. But now they have engaged their credits, they must shift things off as well as they can.” Survey of pretended Holy Discipline, 1593, p. 65.

So in the Conference before King James, at Hampton Court, about fifteen months before this sermon was preached, we are told,

“No sooner was that motion ended, but down falls Mr. Knewstub,” (that is, on his knees before the king,) “and he requests the like favour of forbearance for some honest ministers in Suffolk, telling the king, ‘it would make much against their credits in the country, to be now forced to the surplice, and the cross in baptism.’ My Lord’s Grace” (Archb. Whitgift) “was answering him: ‘Nay,’ says his majesty, ‘let me alone with him. Sir,’ says the king, ‘you show yourself an uncharitable man. We have here taken pains, and in the end have concluded of an unity and uniformity; and you, forsooth, must prefer the credits of a few private men, before the general peace of the Church. This is just the Scottish argument. For when any thing was there concluded which disliked some humours, the only reason why they would not obey, was, it stood not with their credits to yield, having so long time been of the contrary opinion.—I will none of that,’ says the king.” Barlow’s Account of the Hampton Court Conference, p. 102. 4to.

¹ 1 Cor. x. 33.

yea twice, yet will I proceed no further¹." Of all the famous works of St. Austin^a not one of them has purchased him greater glory than his *Retractations*², wherein he diligently collects his former errors, and ingenuously reforms them. Yea, St. Austin having followed St. Cyprian in expounding a place of Scripture, and afterward finding a better exposition in Tyconius the Donatist, did forsake both Cyprian and himself, and thought it no discredit to revoke his former opinion. If you have the humility of St. Austin, you would rather seek Jesus Christ than your own credit. And such ingenuous dealing would be honourable in the eyes of true judgment. If St. Austin forsook his own errors to follow a truth discovered by a Donatist, how much more should you embrace the truth, being discovered unto you by the reverend Fathers of our Church?

42. Some perhaps will say, they could be content in respect of themselves, but they refrain in regard of the people^b. But who are they which have so mispersuaded the people? Have not sundry of you in open audience disgraced the government of our Church as Antichristian, and advanced your own desired discipline, as the ordinance of God? Have you not framed the conceits of the people to imagine that they verily behold and see the whole current of the Scripture running that way? Have not your invectives against the Church of England been as a burning fire in their bosom? Therefore it behoves you which heretofore have been ringleaders to disobedience, hereafter to show yourselves persuaders and patterns of obedience: and as heretofore been misled yourselves, you have misled others, so being resolved yourselves, it is your duty to resolve others. And our hope is, that those which are otherwise minded, the Lord will in time reveal it unto them. For the furtherance whereof I wish my brethren of the ministry would consider these inducements following.

43. *First*, the charge which Christ gave to Peter, "Peter, dost thou love me? feed my lambs³," &c. If the love of the Lord

¹ Job xxxix. 38.

^a Compare *Hooker*, preface, ix. § 2, p. 442. above.

² Aug. *Retrac.* lib. ii. cap. 18.

^b So Dr. John Burgess, as we saw, "resolved" not to "stumble" his people. On this topic see *Hooker's* preface, chap. iii. above, and the note thereon, p. 389.

³ John xxi. 15.

Jesus be in you, forsake not the lambs which He has bought with his precious blood. Will you leave a matter of substance, for a matter of ceremony? a matter of necessity for a matter of indifference? Alas! dearly beloved, there is a necessity laid upon us¹, and woe be to me if I preach not the Gospel. A grave and learned divine, and one that favoured your reformation, would sometimes demand, (as I have been informed by a minister of his acquaintance,) whether a gold ring were to be refused for a straw cleaving unto it? So his judgment was, that as the gold ring is rather better without the straw, so the Gospel were better without the ceremonies; yet he did not compare our ceremonies to venom or poison, which might make the gold ring to be refused, but only to a straw: so he thought them matters of some inconvenience, but not of any infectious or dangerous consequence.—If you, my brethren, will but observe this moderation, then I trust you will not forsake the preaching of the Gospel, which is a ring of gold; although there were cleaving unto it a ceremony, as it were, of straw.

44. *Secondly*, remember the commandment of God; “Let every soul be subject to the higher powers².” Behold the face of our gracious sovereign, and consider what a grief it must needs be unto him, to see those which are endued with learning and virtue, not to have learned the virtue of obedience. We all acknowledge him to be supreme governor over all persons and causes, ecclesiastical and temporal: is he governor of all persons, and shall he not govern you? Do you acknowledge him governor over all causes^a, and shall he not appoint you whether

¹ 1 Cor. ix. 16.

² Rom. xiii. 1.

^a The more proper expression is, “over *all persons in all causes*.”

“The truth is, Queen Elizabeth’s style was no other than King James’s is now, *mutatis mutandis*, ‘over all persons, in all causes,’ (not *and* all causes,) as well ecclesiastical as civil, in these her majesty’s realms and dominions, next under God, supreme governor.—Can your small understanding put no difference betwixt ‘over all,’ and ‘in all?’ betwixt persons, and causes? ‘Over all persons, in all causes,’ is one thing; ‘over all persons, *and* all causes,’ is far another thing. Over each, or over causes *without* persons, looketh *your way*. But causes *with* persons,—*over* the parties, *in* their proceedings, is no such exorbitance: no Scripture *express*, none *inferred* against it to any purpose.

“We do not profess, much less propose or propugn, that princes are heads or governors to any *such* intent, *as* to coin or set abroad new forms of faith; to determine what is *de fide*, what not: as *your* side belieth us, and beareth your proselytes in hand we do. We give no such authority to *any* human

your garments shall be black or white, round or square? Shall we teach the people obedience, and be ourselves examples of disobedience? I pray you be advised in your courses, and wisely weigh with yourselves that solemn oath which you have taken to the prince's supremacy when you received degrees academical, or holy orders ministerial, or any institution to spiritual promotion in the Church of England, and consider without partiality, whether these your proceedings be correspondent to your oath or no.

45. *Thirdly*, "regard your mother the Church of England" so wailing and wringing her hands to see such distraction in her own bowels, such glorious stars to lose their light, such links to be broken off from her golden chain. O what a rent, what a

power. They were of *you* that did it at Trent; that cast it upon your Lord God, the Pope. *He* was one of *you*, none of *our* side, Stephen Gardiner by name, who to flatter the prince in state, and keep himself in those hurrying times in his favour, openly avouched, as Cardinal Pool relates, *That the king might take away the cup from the laity: Potestas enim summa est penes regem*; "for the king has supremest power." Such aphorisms never came out of *our* mouths. We say, *princes have supreme power in earth under God*, over all persons, in all causes whatsoever, within their dominions; even in causes merely *ecclesiastical*; to compel them to do their duties by the civil sword: not over all causes, to do as they will; to command, or change belief or faith. Will it relish better with you in St. Augustine's words? 'Then this is our profession in his words, 'Kings serve God as kings, if in their own realms they command good things; not alone which concern the civil state of men; but which do also touch religion and piety.' (Contra Crescon. 3. 15.) Thus he, so we in our profession; over all persons in all causes: not in all causes alone, and singular—as you traduce us." *Montague's Answer* to the late Gagger of Protestants, 4to. 1624. p. 68—70. This is important, and it is correct. The distinction was well understood, and was intended, even at the commencement of our Reformation.

"After this, Dr. Martin demanded of him, who was supreme head of the Church of England? 'Marry,' quoth my lord of Canterbury, 'Christ is head of *this member*, as He is of the *whole body* of the universal Church.' 'Why,' quoth Dr. Martin, 'you made King Henry VIII. supreme head of the Church.' 'Yea,' said the archbishop, 'of *all the people* of England, as well *ecclesiastical*, as temporal.' 'And not of the Church,' said Martin? 'No,' said he, 'for Christ is only head of his Church, and of *the faith and religion* of the same. The king is head and governor of *his people*, which are the visible Church.' 'What,' quoth Martin, 'you never durst tell the king so.' 'Yes, that I durst,' quoth he, 'and did; and in the publication of his style, wherein he was named supreme head of the Church, there was never other thing meant.'" *Fox, Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iii. p. 559, 60. (iii. 235, edit. 1839.)

grievous rent is made in the unseamed coat of Jesus Christ ! You refuse the cross and surplice for *fear* of a scandal, but this renting of the Church is *indeed* a scandal, a most heavy and lamentable scandal. And this is told in “ Gath, and published in the streets of Askelon ¹,” it makes the daughters of the Philistines rejoice, and the daughters of the uncircumcised triumph. For the Papists sport themselves ^a and clap their hands, while the godly grieve and mourn in Sion. The Scripture, speaking of the debate between the servants of Abraham and Lot, does add, that the Canaanites and the Perizzites ² dwelt then in the land, to signify that though their contention in itself was evil, yet it was worse because the enemies of God which would rejoice at it were then in the land. So beloved, I say unto you, these contentions are evil in themselves, but the worse, because the Papist is now in the land. He delights himself, and through your strifes takes occasion to blaspheme our religion. He devises and plots to undermine both Church and commonwealth, while we are contending one with another.—And as you rejoice the Papists, so you encourage the Brownists ^b, who build their conclusions upon your premises, and put your speculations in practice. For have not your ringleaders proclaimed, that our government by bishops is Popish, our liturgy Popish, our ministering of baptism with the cross Popish, our kneeling at the communion Popish ; our garments for public administration Popish ; our holidays Popish ; and almost every thing Popish ? Wherefore the Brownists having learned that the Pope is Antichrist, and the present Church of Rome Babylon ; and hearing a voice from heaven crying, “ Go out of her, my people, that you be not partakers in her sins, and that ye taste not of her plagues ³ ;” have upon your former premises, gathered a practical conclusion, and made an actual separation and rent from the Church of England.—And surely, my brethren, as they had their original from your *positions*, so now they are strengthened by your *practices* : for they may well think that such learned and virtuous men, so famous and renowned preachers, knowing a “ Woe pronounced against them if they preach not the Gospel,” would never suffer themselves to be

¹ 2 Sam. i. 20.

^a See *George Cranmer's* Letter to Hooker. Works, vol. i. p. 110.

² Gen. xiii. 7.

^b *Cranmer's* Letter, in *Hooker's* Works, vol. i. p. 101, &c. Also, *Hooker's* preface, chap. viii. above, p. 420—4.

³ Rev. xviii. 4.

silenced for matters which they judged indifferent, and therefore they will take it as granted, that the things you stick at, are in your opinion simply unlawful.—Upon this dangerous position they will build another; for if the liturgy of the Church of England, as it is enjoined at this day to be performed, be such as a minister cannot execute his function with a good conscience: then they conclude, that neither may the people hear it with a good conscience, because their presence were an approbation of it. Thus the unquiet wit of man will still be working, even till it run itself upon the rock of his own destruction.—Wherefore, my dear brethren, I beseech you, as you tender the good of the Church, to lay aside all contentious humours. Let there not be found in you a spirit of contradiction and singularity; but follow those things which concern peace, and wherewith one may edify another. Let us consider one another to provoke one another to love and good works. Bend yourselves to settle the quiet of the Church, and keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace: which is rather to be expected at your hands, because the points in question are the public constitutions of the venerable convocation, which is the Church of England representative, in whose voice your own voice^a is included.—Some, peradventure, will reply, that if this reason be sound, then the reverend martyrs in Queen Mary's time should have subscribed to Popery, because it was then decreed by the convocation. But I answer, that there is not the like reason. For against their Popish conclusions^b, the blessed martyrs had evident and necessary demonstration of holy Scripture, to which all decrees of man must undoubtedly give place; but against the orders of our Church, no such demonstrations can be produced.—Again, the matters they stood upon were substantial points of religion, whereas our controversies are of a lower nature. And surely as probable inducements must yield to necessary, so amongst probable (of which sort are all reasons deduced from the authority of man) the private must give place to the public. Will you have the judgment of Mr. Calvin in this point also? Then attend and hear a notable place which was touched before^c, but deserves to be pondered again and again:

^a Compare *Hooker's* preface, chap. v. § 2. above, p. 407.

^b Compare *Ecclesiastical Biography*, vol. iii. 91—5, n. edit. 1839, on the grounds on which our Martyrs were content to suffer.

^c Above, p. 519.

his words are these : *Quamvis enim quod obtruditur, et scandalum afferat et malam caudam trahat : quia tamen per se Dei verbo non repugnat, concedi potest, maxime ubi major numerus pervincit, quando ei qui membrum est tantum illius corporis nulla ratio suppetit ulterius pergendi*¹. Let it therefore be imagined that our orders bring scandal, and draw after them a long and foul train of inconveniences ; yet seeing that in themselves considered, they are not repugnant to God's word, (for this still we must presume, till the contrary be proved,) and are agreed upon by the greater part, yea, by the sacred synod which is the Church of England representative, and that with the royal assent of our sovereign : surely in the judgment of Calvin they may be yielded unto, by such as are members of the same Church, neither in this case can they proceed any further.—Wherefore, my brethren, I cast myself down at your feet, and with tender tears beseech you even in the bowels of Christ Jesus, that you will seek peace and follow after it, and be not like to them of whom it is said, “The way of peace they have not known”².

46. *Fourthly*, look upon those reverend fathers and bishops of our Church, by whose hands and voices that blessing was poured upon you, which made you ministers of holy things. Have you not at your ordination made a promise, and at your institution taken a reverent oath of canonical obedience^a ? Wherefore let me exhort you which have taken this oath, and being admonished by your bishop, oppose yourselves, notwithstanding, against the laudable discipline of our Church, to enter into your own souls, and uprightly to consider whether, while you pretend conscience, you do not that which is uncomely for conscience ? And for our bishops, O what an anguish will it be to their souls, if those voices which ordained you be constrained to deprive you ? And what a comfort would it be both to them, and to all your brethren of the ministry, if we might join together against the common enemy, and be linked in everlasting chains of love one with another ?—And here, most reverend fathers, though in your wisdom you find it fit that authorized laws be put in execution, yet remember that the offenders are your own children in the Lord, and, by God's mercy, your assistants in dispensing the precious truth of Jesus Christ, and many of them very learned and laborious in the Church of God, adorned with manifold virtues and

¹ Epist. 379.

² Rom. iii. 17.

^a See above, p. 479.

graces of the Spirit ; and, therefore, let all your proceedings towards them be with a tender heart, and a tender hand. Consider the multitude of Papists, and the insulting of vain-glorious Jesuits : behold how sin and iniquity every where abound, and what need the Church has of their learned labours ; and therefore, in the name of God, try all means in fatherly manner to reduce them ; endeavour, according to your godly wisdom, to give them full satisfaction of their doubts, and to make the equity of the required subscription plain and manifest unto them, that their consciences being resolved they may proceed as before, in the work of the Lord,—for this will tend much to the glory of God, the good of the Church, your own comfort, and the saving of many thousand souls. This in all duty I have adventured to call to your remembrance, most reverend fathers, in behalf of my brethren ; wherein if I seem too bold, that love which caused me must excuse me.

47. *Finally*, beloved, call to mind the flock of Christ, that depends upon you. Their profiting in religion was the comfort of your hearts, your joy and your crown, the seal of your ministry ; they heard you as the angels of God, yea, as Jesus Christ, and could have been content to have plucked out their own eyes, and have given them to you : and, therefore, if there be any love, any bowels of compassion, forsake not the lambs of Jesus Christ, whereof the Holy Ghost has made you overseers. For let me tell you that your love to the flock ought rather like a golden chain to draw you, than the pleasing of any particular man to withdraw you : which I speak lest peradventure any of my brethren, having tasted the sweet liberality^a of the laity, should seek rather to fit their humours than to do their own duty.—And here I would exhort the common people to employ their wits rather about matters of faith and repentance, than to intermeddle with the rites of the Church : for the kingdom of God consists not in these external ceremonies, but in righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. They shall find more comfort in prayer^b to God, in the works of charity, and mortifying the deeds of the flesh, than in troubling themselves with such fruitless disputes. And yet in some the mind transported with zeal grows very violent, like a fire in their bones ; and, therefore,

^a *Hooker*, preface, chap. iii. § 12, 13. above, p. 393, 4.

^b Compare *Hooker*, preface, chap. ii. § 10. vi. § 5. above, p. 379, 80, and p. 415, 16.

having once this settled persuasion, that our rites are unlawful, they bend themselves with might and main against them, kindling and cherishing their own opinions in others; yea, they will not spare their purses, but encourage and inflame men with golden eloquence; a very potent kind of persuasion. But it is the shepherd's duty not to wander after the sheep, but to go before them like stars, instructing them in the right way; so their zeal, which now is misguided, shall be directed with knowledge, and both pastor and flock shall be precious in the eyes of the Lord.—To conclude, let us all proceed by one rule, that we may mind one thing: and the Lord of heaven bless this land, both prince and people! The Lord bless this Church, and the ministers thereof! O Lord, in Thy mercy make up the rents and breaches of Sion! O gracious Father, knit our hearts to Thee, and one to another, that we may love and fear Thy name, and keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace! Grant this, O God of all grace and peace, for Thy Son our blessed Saviour his sake, to whom with Thee and the Holy Ghost be rendered all praise, glory, and majesty in the Church, from generation to generation! Amen.

XIV.

THE TRUE MEANING AND IMPORT OF THE GRAND PROTESTANT
TENET, THE PERFECTION AND SUFFICIENCY OF THE HOLY
SCRIPTURES, AND THE ILL CONSEQUENCES FROM MISUNDER-
STANDING AND PERVERTING IT.

5. As for these sermons^a themselves, the matter therein contained, the manner of handling, &c., I must permit all to the reader's doom; who, if he be "*homo quadratus*," perfectly even, and unbiassed both in his judgment and affection, (that is to say, neither prepossessed with some false principle to forestall the one, nor carried aside with partiality for, or prejudice against any person or party to corrupt the other) will be the better able to discern, whether I have any where in these papers exceeded the bounds of truth and soberness, or laid myself open to the just imputation either of flattery or falsehood. There has been a generation of men (wise εἰς τὴν γενεὰν αὐτῶν¹, and for their own purposes, but malignants sure enough) that laboured very much (when time was) to possess the world with an opinion, that all court-chaplains were parasites, and their preaching little other than daubing. I hope these papers will appear so innocent in that behalf as to contribute somewhat towards the shame and confutation of that slander.

6. The greater fear is, that (as the times are) all men will not be well pleased with some passages herein, especially where I had occasion to speak something of our Church ceremonies, then

^a This extract is part of the preface (§ 5 to the end) prefixed to the second portion of Bishop Sanderson's Sermons, first published at the close of the year 1655.

¹ Luke xvi. 8.

under command, but since grown into disuse. But neither ought the displeasure of men, nor the change of times, to cast any prejudice upon the truth; which, in all variations and turnings of affairs, remains the same it was from the beginning, and has been accustomed^a, and therefore can think it no new thing, to find unkind entertainment abroad, especially from them whose interest it is to be (or at leastwise to seem to be) of a different persuasion. For, that the truth is rather on my side in this point than on theirs that dissent from me, there is, (besides other) this strong presumption onwards, that I continue of the same judgment I was of twenty, thirty, forty years ago, and profess so to do, with no great hopes of bettering my temporal condition by so professing: whereas hundreds of those who now decry the ceremonies (as they do also some other things of greater importance) as Popish and Antichristian, did (not many years since) both use them themselves, and, by their subscriptions, approve the enjoining of them, but having since, in compliance with the times, professed their dislike of them, their portion is visibly grown fatter thereby. If the face of affairs be not now the same it was when the sermons wherein this point is most insisted on were preached, what was then done is not, sure, in any justice now chargeable upon me as a crime; who never pretended to be a prophet, nor could then either foresee that the times would so soon have changed, or have believed that so many men would so soon have changed with the times¹.

7. Of the presumption aforesaid I have here made use; not that the business stands in need of such a reserve, for want of competent proof otherwise, which is the case wherein² the lawyers chiefly allow it: but to save the labour of doing that over again in the preface, which I conceive to be already done in the work itself: with what success I know not; that lies in the breast of the reader. But that I spake no otherwise than I thought, and what my intentions were therein,—that lies in my own breast, and cannot be known to the reader, who is therefore in charity bound to believe the best, where there appears no pregnant probability to the contrary. The discourses themselves,

^a See the beginning of *Casaubon's* Dedication, above, p. 36. of this volume, and the beginning of Bishop *Jewell's* Apology, No. XI. above, p. 276.

¹ Πάντες πλὴν ὁλίγων τοῦ χρόνου ἐγενήθησαν. *Naz.*

² Ubi deficit plena probatio, præsumptionibus agendum est.

for much of the matter, directly tend to the peace both of Church and state, by endeavouring to persuade to unity and obedience ; and for the manner of handling, have much in them of plainness, little (I think nothing at all) of bitterness, and so are of a temper fitter to instruct than to provoke : and these, I am sure, are no symptoms of very bad intentions. If there be no worse construction made of them than I meant, nor worse use, I trust they neither will deserve much blame, nor can do much hurt. Howsoever, having now adventured them abroad, though having little else to commend them but truth and perspicuity, two things which I have always had in my care (for whereto else serves that δύναμις ῥημνευτικὴ, wherewith God has endued man, but to speak reason, and to be understood?) if by the good blessing of Almighty God, whom I desire to serve in the spirit of my mind, they may become (in any little degree) instrumental to his glory, the edification of his Church, and the promoting of any one soul in faith and holiness towards the attainment of everlasting salvation ;—I shall have great cause of rejoicing in it, as a singular evidence of his undeserved mercy towards me, and an incomparably rich reward of so poor and unworthy labours. Yet dare I not promise to myself any great hopes that any thing that can be spoken in an argument of this nature, though with never so much strength of reason and evidence of truth, should work any kindly effect upon the men of this generation ^a, when the times are nothing favourable, and themselves altogether undisposed to receive it, no more than the choicest music can affect the ear that is stopped up ; or the most proper physic operate upon him that either cannot or will not take it. But as the sun, when it shines clearest in a bright day, if the beams thereof be intercepted by a beam too (but of another kind) lying upon the eye, is, to the party so blinded, as if the light were not at all, so I fear it is in this case ;—not through any incapacity in the organ so much, especially in the more learned part among them, as from the interposition of an unsound principle, which they have received with so much affection, that, for the great complacency they have in it, they are loath to have it removed. And as they of the Roman party having once thoroughly imbibed this grand principle, that the Catholic Church (and that must needs be it of Rome) is infallible, are thereby rendered incapable to receive

^a See the date (Dec. 31, 1655.) at the end of this Preface.

any impression from the most regular and concluding discourses that can be tendered to them, if they discern anything therein disagreeing from the dictates of Rome; and so are perpetually shut up into a necessity of erring^a, (if that Church can err,) unless they can be wrought off from the belief of that principle, which is not very easily to be done after they have once swallowed it and digested it, without the great mercy of God, and a huge measure of self-denial;—even so have these our anti-ceremonian brethren framed to themselves a false principle likewise, which holds them in error, and hardens them against all impressions or but offers of reason to the contrary.

8. All errors, sects, and heresies, as they are *mixed* with some inferior truths, to make them the more passable to others, so do they usually owe their *original* to some eminent truths, (either misunderstood or misapplied,) whereby they become the less discernible to their own teachers; whence it is that such teachers¹ both deceive and are deceived. To apply this, then, to the business in hand. There is a most sound and eminent truth, justly maintained in our own and other reformed Churches, concerning the perfection and sufficiency^b of the holy Scriptures; which is to be understood of the revelation of supernatural truths, and the substantials of God's worship, and the advancing of moral and civil duties to a more sublime and spiritual height, by directing

^a How the doctrine of infallibility, so long as it shall be retained, must render all sincere and solid reformation impossible to the Church of Rome, while it produces also besides a great deal of additional and attendant shame and evil, was in some measure opened to our view by passages above, at p. 183, 4. and p. 193—6. in the text and notes of the present volume. In the extracts now to be produced from Sanderson, as well as in what we had above from Hooker, (Preface, c. 8, &c.) and Mason, we see much of the baneful influence of the main grand tenet of the puritans; a principle which cannot be imbibed, without being followed by much that is incurably perverse and mischievous, both in the religion and the philosophy of those who hold it.—The third great class of adversaries of genuine Christianity, and of the Church of England, has ever been the enthusiasts, under various forms. And these, too, suffer from a cardinal and common principle of their own, in a way not very dissimilar from that of the two other classes. Of this principle and its effects we saw something above, in South's Sermon, the first article in this volume. See p. 23, &c. And thus it is that truth is ever avenged by their own hands, in the persons of those who reject her sway.

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 13.

^b See Art. VI. of the Church of England. Also *Hooker*, b. i. c. xiv. and xv. above, vol. i. p. 169—79.

them to a more noble end, and exacting performance of them in a holy manner ; but without any purpose thereby to exclude the belief of what is otherwise reasonable, or the practice of what is prudential. This orthodox truth has, by an unhappy misunderstanding, proved that great stone of offence^a, whereat all our late sectaries have stumbled. Upon this foundation (as they had laid it) began our anti-ceremonians first to raise their so often renewed models of reformation ; but they had first transformed it into quite another thing,—by them, perhaps, mistaken for the same, but really as distant from it as falsehood from truth ; to wit this, “that nothing might lawfully be done or used in the Churches of Christ, unless there were either command or example for it in the Scriptures.” Whence they inferred, that whatsoever had been otherwise done or used, was to be cast out as Popish, Antichristian, and superstitious^b. This is that unsound, corrupt principle whereof I spake ; that root of bitterness, whose stem in process of time has brought forth all these numerous branches of sects and heresies, wherewith this sinful nation is now so much pestered^c.

9. It is not my purpose, nor is this a place for it, to make any large discovery^d of the cause of the mistake ; the unsoundness of the tenet itself, and how pernicious it is in the consequents. Yet I cannot but humbly and earnestly entreat them, for the love of God, and the comfort of their own souls, as they tender the peace of the Church and the honour of our religion ; and in compassion to thousands of their Christian brethren, who are otherwise in great danger to be either misled or scandalized,—that they would think it possible for themselves to be mistaken in their principle, as well as others ; and possible, also, for these principles they rest upon to have some frailties and infirmities in them, though not hitherto by them adverted, because never suspected ;—that therefore they would not hasten to their conclusion, before they are

^a See *Hooker's* preface, c. vii. § 3. p. 418, above.

^b See *Mason's* Sermon, § 31—6, above, p. 492, &c.

^c See *Edwards's* *Gangræna* ; or a Discovery of many of the Errors, Heresies, Blasphemies, and pernicious Practices of the Sectaries of this time, vented and acted in England in these four last years. 1646. 4to.

^d Much that is very valuable, which bears upon this important subject, will be found in *Hooker*, b. i. c. xi—xv. above, vol. i. p. 153—79. Also in *Mason's* Sermon, § 29, above, p. 486—91 ; and see further, the whole b. ii. of the Ecclesiastical Polity.

well assured of the premises ; not so freely bestow the name of Popish and superstitious^a upon the opinions or actions of their brethren, as they have used to do, before they have first and thoroughly examined the solidity of their own grounds.—Finally, and in order thereunto, that they would not, therefore, despise the offer of these few things ensuing to their consideration, because tendered by one that stands better affected to their persons than opinions.

^a “The third occasion of controversies, I observe to be an extreme and unlimited detestation of some former heresy or corruption of the Church already acknowledged and convicted.” (Compare *South*, in this volume, p. 9, &c.) “This was the cause that produced the heresy of Arius, grounded especially upon detestation of Gentilism ; lest the Christians should seem, by the assertion of the equal divinity of our Saviour Christ, to approach unto the acknowledgment of more Gods than one. The detestation of the heresy of Arius produced that of Sabellius, who, holding for execrable the dissimilitude which Arius pretended in the Trinity, fled so far from him as he fell upon that *other* extremity, to deny the distinction of persons ; and to say, they were but only names of several offices and dispensations. Yea, most of the heresies and schisms of the Church have sprung up of this root, while men have made it as it were their scale, by which to measure the bounds of the most perfect religion ; taking it by the furthest distance from the error last condemned. These be ‘posthumi hæresium filii ;’ heresies that arise out of the ashes of other heresies that are extinct and amortised.

“This manner of apprehension does in some degree possess many in our times. They think it the true touchstone to try what is good and evil, by measuring what is more or less opposite to the institutions of the Church of Rome ; be it ceremony, be it policy, or government ; yea, be it other institutions of greater weight, *that* is ever most perfect which is removed most degrees from that Church ; and *that* is ever polluted and blemished which participates in any appearance with it. This is a subtile and dangerous conceit for men to entertain ; apt to delude themselves, more apt to delude the people, and most apt of all to calumniate their adversaries. This, surely, but that a notorious condemnation of that position was before our eyes,” (he means the miseries occasioned by the Anabaptists in Germany. See *Hooker’s* preface, chap. viii.) “had long since brought us to the re-baptization of children, baptized according to the pretended Catholic religion ; for, I see *that* which is a matter of much like reason, which is the re-ordaining of priests, is a matter already resolutely maintained. It is very meet that men beware how they be allured by this opinion ; and that they know that it is a consideration of much greater wisdom and sobriety to be well advised, whether, in the general demolition of the institutions of the Church of Rome, there were not, as men’s actions are imperfect, some good purged with the bad, rather than to purge the Church, as they pretend, every day anew ; which is the way to make a wound in the bowels, as is already begun.” Lord *Bacon*, On the Controversies in the Church of England. Works, vol. ii. p. 510, 11. 8vo. 1803.

10. And first I beseech them to consider, how unluckily they have at once both straitened too much, and yet too much widened, that which they would have to be the adequate rule of warrantable actions; by leaving out prudence, and taking in example^a. Nor does it sound well, that the *examples* of men, though never so godly, should as to the effect of warranting our actions, stand in so near equipage with the *commands* of God, as they are here placed jointly together without any character of difference so much as in degree. But the superadding of examples to commands in such manner as in this assertion is done, either signifies nothing, or overthrows all the rest: which is so evident, that I wonder how it could escape their own observation. For *that* example which is by them supposed sufficient for our warranty, was itself either warranted by some command or former example, or it was not. If it were, then the adding of it clearly signifies nothing: for then that warrant we have by it, proceeds not from it, but from that preceding command, or example, which warranted it. If it were not, then was it done merely upon the dictates of prudence and reason: and then if we be sufficiently warranted by that example (as is still by them supposed) to act after it, we are also sufficiently thereby warranted to act upon the mere dictates of prudence and reason, without the necessity of any other either command or former example for so doing. What is the proper use that ought to be made of examples, is touched upon a little in the eighth sermon, "*Ad Aulam*," towards the latter end; but is very needful to be better understood^b than it is, considering the ill use that has been made of Scripture examples, both in former, and (much more) in these our later times.

11. Secondly, I beseech them to consider (whereof also I have given some touch more than once in the ensuing sermons) what scandal is given, and what advantage to the Anabaptists, Familists, Quakers, and the whole crew of our modern sectaries, by what

^a "Whilst they seek express Scripture for every thing; and that they have in a manner deprived themselves and the Church of a special help and support, by embasing the authority of the Fathers,—they resort to naked *examples*, conceited inferences, and forced allusions, such as do mine into all certainty of religion." *Bacon on the Controversies in the Church. Works*, vol. ii. p. 521.

^b See, for this purpose, the third of this author's Prælections, "*De Obligatione Conscientiæ, in quâ ostenditur, non esse ad conscientiæ securitatem satis præsidii, in virorum, aut piorum exemplis, aut peritorum judicio.*"

other name or title soever they are called or distinguished. When this gap was once opened ["What command have you in Scripture, or what example for this or that?"] *Undè Eurisque Notusque*:—it was like the opening of Pandora's box, or the Trojan horse. As if all had been let loose; swarms of sectaries of all sorts broke in, and (as the frogs and locusts in Egypt) overspread the face of the land. Nor so only; but (as often it happens) these young striplings soon outstript their leaders, and that upon their own ground: leaving those many parasangs behind them, who had first showed them the way, and made entrance for them. For as those said to others; "What commands or example have you for kneeling at the communion? for wearing a surplice, &c.? for lord bishops? for a penned liturgy? for keeping holy-days? &c." and there stopped:—so these to them; "Where are your lay-presbyters, your classes, &c. to be found in Scripture? where your steeple-houses, your national Church? your tithes and mortuaries? your infant sprinklings? nay, where your metre-psalms? your two sacraments? your observing a weekly Sabbath?" (for so far I find they are gone, and how much farther, I know not, already: and how much farther they will hereafter^a, for "*erranti nullus terminus*," God only knows:) "show us," say they, "a command or example for them in Scripture."

Fugerunt trepidi vera et manifesta loquentem
Stoicidæ——¹

Thus do these pay them home in their own metal: and how the pay can be honestly refused, till they order their mintage better,

^a "And if men will set themselves only to find faults, it is impossible, in this state of things here below, that they should ever be pleased. And if they separate where they see any thing amiss, they must follow his example, who pursued this principle so far," (*Ball against Canne*, p. 13.) "till he withdrew from all society, lest he should communicate with them in their sin:—in which condition he continued till his children lay dead in the house, and he became utterly unable to help himself. And *because no human inventions* were to be allowed about the worship of God, he had cut out of his Bible the contents of the chapters and titles of the leaves, and so left the bare text.—This is the case the rigid and impracticable principles of some would bring our Churches to, by cutting off all rules of order and decency as encroachments on the institutions of Christ." *Stillington's* Mischief of Separation, p. 48. 1680.

¹ *Juven. Sat. 2.*

I yet understand not ^a. If any of them shall say, with him in the satirist,

——— hæc ego nunquam
Mandavi (dices olim) nec talia suasi ¹;

the reply is ready in the next verse there,

Mentis causa malæ tamen est, et origo, penes te.

I doubt not but many of those that made a stand sooner, are highly displeased with those that rush on headlong and adventured farther; yea, and it may be, declaim against them with some vehemency both in the pulpit and press. But truly no great reason, if they lent them their premises, to fall out with them about the conclusion. The master in the fable did not well to beat his maid for serving him with thin milk, when it was his own cow that gave it. For why should he that gives another scandal, be angry with him for taking it? or he that helps to set it on tumbling down the hill, blame the stone if it tumble on still ^b, “*ex virtute impressâ*,” and do not stop just where he would have it? So mischievous a thing is it, as Aristotle often observes, Τὸ μὴ καλῶς λαβεῖν τὰς πρώτας ἀρχάς ²: not to lay the foundation upon a firm bottom at the first. It had been best, if this had been looked to sooner, and from the beginning: but better than not at all, if it would be well considered yet,—and some remedy thought on to help it as much as may be, before it grow past all hope of recovery.

12. But thirdly, and above all, I beseech them to consider, whither that ἀμετρία τῆς ἀνθορκῆς ³, which many times mars a good business, has carried them; and how mightily (though unwittingly, and I verily believe most of them unwillingly) they promote the interest of Rome, whilst they do with very great violence (but not with equal prudence) oppose against it: so verifying that of the historian poet, spoken in another case,

———Omnia dat qui justa negat ⁴:

^a Compare *Hooker's* preface, c. viii. § 1. above, p. 420, &c. of this volume.

¹ *Juven.* Sat. 14.

^b “Alteration of religion is dangerous, because we know not where it will stay. It is like a mill-stone that lies upon the top of a pair of stairs; it is hard to remove it; but if once it be thrust off the first stair, it never stays till it comes to the bottom.” *Selden's Table Talk*, art. “Religion.” §. 6.

² *Arist.* 3 de Cælo 7. See also 1 de Cælo 5. de Incessu Animal. cap. 7. de Generat. Animal. cap. 7.

³ *Basil.*

⁴ *Lucan.*

I mean, in casting out not ceremonies only, but episcopacy also, and liturgy, and festivals out of the Church, as Popish and Antichristian.—“*Hoc Ithacus velit.*” If any of these things be otherwise guilty, and deserve such a relegation upon any other account (which yet is more than I know)—farewell they. But to be sent away packing barely upon this score, that they are Popish and Antichristian; this brings in such a plentiful harvest of proselytes to the Jesuit, that he does not now, as formerly, “*gaudere intus et in sinu*” (laugh in his sleeve, as we say) but *γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ*, openly and in the face of the sun triumph gloriously, and in every pamphlet proclaim his victories to the world. If you shall say, that the scandal is taken by them, not given by you: it is (to all but yourselves) as much as nothing: whilst the contrary is demonstrable, and that there is in these very pretensions, a proper (and as I may say a natural) tendency to produce such effects, as we see to have ensued thereupon.—The truth whereof will evidently appear by stating the case thus. A man otherwise rational and conscientious, but somewhat wavering in point of religion, yet desiring in sincerity of heart to be of the truer Church, if he knew which were it, has some temptations offered him by his education, friends, books, the confusions among us, or otherwise, to incline him towards the Church of Rome. Which temptations, being not able of himself to conquer, he repairs to a Presbyterian (suppose) or Independent: he acquaints him with his doubts, and desires satisfaction therein: tells him among other things, that he had a good opinion of the Church of England heretofore, whilst she had episcopal government, and a well-formed liturgy, and did observe Christian festivals, and some kind of outward decency in the worship of God, as all the Churches of Christ had and did in the purest and primitive times;—but now that all these things are laid aside, he must needs be of another mind, unless they can fully satisfy him concerning the premises. In this case I would fain know what possible satisfaction such a man could receive from either of these, holding to their principles. To tell him these things were Popish, and therefore to be cast out of the Church, were the next way to put him quite off: he would presently conclude (and it is impossible he should do otherwise, being already so prepared as in the case is supposed) that certainly then that which we call Popery is the old religion, which in the purest and primitive times was professed in all Christian Churches throughout the world. That only *σοφὸν φάρμακον*, which is

usually the last reserve in these disputes, "That the mystery of iniquity began to work betimes^a;" will seem (to him) but a ridiculous begging of the question; and he will tell them, that every sectary may say the same to them. Whereas the sober English Protestant is able by the grace of God, with much evidence of truth, and without forsaking his old principles, to justify the Church of England from all imputations of heresy or schism, and the religion thereof as it stood by law established from the like imputation of novelty; and to apply proper and pertinent answers to all the objections of those (whether Papists or others) that are contrary-minded, to the full satisfaction of all such, as have not, by some partial affection or other, rendered themselves incapable to receive them.

12. I confess I had no purpose (as may appear by the beginning of my preface) when I set pen to paper, to have said much, if any thing at all, of these matters: but I had so very much more to say for the pressing of each of these three considerations, and the business withal seemed to me of so much importance, that after I had once begun, I had much ado to repress myself from drawing this preface into a yet far greater length. But since I have thus adventured to unbowel myself, and to lay open the very inmost thoughts of my heart in this sad business before God and the world; I shall hope to find so much charity from all my Christian brethren, as to show me my error, if in anything I have now said I be mistaken, that I may retract it; and to pardon those excesses "*in modo loquendi*," if they can observe any such, which might possibly (whilst I was passionately intent upon the matter) unawares drop from my pen;—civilities which we mutually owe one to another,—"damus hanc veniam, petimusque vicissim." Considering how hard a thing it is, amidst so many passions and infirmities as our corrupt nature is subject to, to do or say all that is needful in a weighty business, and not in something or other to over-say, or over-do; yet this I can say in sincerity of my heart, and with comfort, that my desire was (the nature of the business considered) both to speak as plain, and to offend as little as might be. If I can approve my carriage herein to the judgment and consciences of sober and charitable men, it will be some rejoicing to me: but I am not hereby justified. I must finally stand or fall to my own Master, who is the only infallible Judge of all men's

^a See *Hooker's* preface, c. iv. § 2. and n. p. 397-9, above.

hearts and ways. Humbly I beseech Him to look well if there be any way of wickedness or hypocrisy in me ; timely to cover it himself, and discover it to me, that it may be by his grace repented of, and pardoned by his mercy ; by the same mercy and grace to guide my feet into the ways of peace and truth, and to lead me in the way everlasting.

December 31, 1655.

XV.

PURITAN PREJUDICES AND CENSURES AGAINST THE REGULAR EPISCOPAL CLERGY, CONSIDERED AND ANSWERED.

CONTENTS.

- I. Charged with attacking in their Sermons, &c. the godly brethren, regardless of their tenderness of conscience, which cannot submit to the ceremonies imposed in the Church of England.
 - II. With seldom animadverting upon the Papists.
 - III. That all their displeasure against the former is for mere ceremonies, and things indifferent.
 - IV. Which, meantime, the brethren regard as Popish, Antichristian, and superstitious.
 - V. Such proceedings prove the Episcopal Divines to be Popishly affected.
 - VI. Desirous of a perfect reconciliation between the two Churches.
 - VII. Further evinced, by so urgent enforcement of ceremonies, not even pretended to have the authority of any command or example in holy Scripture.
 - VIII. Which, therefore, is in effect a denial of the grand distinguishing tenet of Protestantism; the sufficiency of Scripture, as a perfect rule of faith and morals.
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How these Sermons ^a will be looked upon (if at all looked upon) by the men of the times, is no very hard matter to conjecture. I confess they are not *à-la-mode*, nor fitted to the palate of those men who are resolved, beforehand, (without tasting or trial,) to nauseate, as unsavoury and unwholesome, whatsoever shall be

^a This extract is the Preface prefixed by Bishop *Sanderson* to the first portion of his Sermons, and was first published, A.D. 1657.

tendered unto them from the hand of an episcopal divine. And therefore the republishing of them in this state of Church-affairs, now the things so much contended for in some of them, are worn out of date ^a, and thrown aside, will be deemed at least a very unseasonable undertaking: to as much purpose (perhaps it will be said) as if a man would this year reprint an almanack for the last. For the latter part of the objection;—at the peril be it of those, that had the hardiness to adventure upon a new edition. “*Mihistic nec seritur, nec metitur.*” All I had to do in the business was but the drudgery of reviewing the old copy, to correct the errata of the former impressions; and of looking over the sheets as they were wrought off from the press, and sent me down, to note the oversights escaped in the printing, and to make the index of the Scripture-quotations.—As to the other part of the crime, such as it is, to wit, the unseasonableness of this after-publication, there need not much be said. If the sermons, thought not unreasonable in some former times, be now become *ὡς ἐκτρώματα*, as things brought forth into the world again out of due time;—that cannot I help. They are the same they were, when they were first preached; and the same they were, when they were last printed: and so am I ¹. If either they or I, find worse entertainment now, than we did then; and any blame be due for that; let not us bear it, who are guiltless: but the times. For it is they are changed, not we. Howsoever, *εὐκαίρως, ἀκαίρως*, now they are abroad, they must take their lot, as it falls out. Which, be it better, be it worse, this yet we shall gain thereby; that if any shall charge these papers with unseasonableness (no very huge crime) he shall *ipso facto*, by that very act, and the verdict of his own conscience, fully discharge, and for ever acquit them of the guilt of time-serving; a crime, I trow, of a vaster magnitude, and wherewith discourses of this nature were wont to be so frequently, (that I say not, unjustly) aspersed, whilst the times looked more favourably upon them.

II. But of this enough. I expect to meet with far heavier censures than these, from the ungoverned spirits and tongues of the more zealous (that is to say, if rightly interpreted, the more clamorous and less knowing) among them. Who knows not, that as

^a This will easily be understood, if the reader adverts to the date of this preface, given at the end, viz. July 13, 1657.

¹ “Ὅπερ εἰμὶ, τοῦτο μένω, καὶ δυσφημούμενος, καὶ θαυμαζόμενος. Greg. Naz.

empty vessels give the loudest sound, and shallow brooks run with a fiercer current, and make a greater noise, than deeper rivers do ; so they that are the least able to judge, are ever the most forward to pass sentence ; and when they so do, the most rigid and peremptory therein ?—But the heaviest doom, I suppose, will proceed from those men, who being themselves of late years fallen out, grievously fallen out (for what cause I know not) with the ancient government, liturgy, and ceremonies of the Church, are angry with all those, that retain any good opinion of them ; whereunto yet themselves, when time was, seemed to be, and if they dissembled not (which we are unwilling to believe) were indeed, reasonably well affected. For they submitted to the government, used the liturgy, and observed the ceremonies appointed, according to law and order, and their own professed approbation of the same, as well by express words from their mouths, as by subscription under their hands, yet remaining upon record. What has wrought this change ^a in them (evidence of reason, or worldly interest,) and how far it has wrought upon them (in reality, or but in compliance ;) and in what order too, (by immediate assault upon their judgment, or by dealing under-hand first with the affections ;) themselves do, or should best know. It highly concerns them, even as much as the peace of their consciences is worth (and much more than so) to be well assured that their hearts are upright in this affair. And in order thereunto, not to content themselves with a slight and overly examination ; (there is more wickedness and deceitfulness in the hearts of all men, than most men are aware of :) but to make the most diligent, district, and impartial search possible, into the true causes and motives of this change. And (for so much as fears and hopes have been ever found the fittest and the readiest engines to work such feats ;) to enquire particularly, what influence or operation, either the fear of losing what they had, or the hope of getting more, might have in this work, towards the producing of such an effect. It will best become *others*, to judge as charitably, as they may ; but doubtless it would be safest for *them*, to be very jealous over themselves, lest so great a change could not have been wrought in so short a space without a strong infusion, either of the one, or the other, or both, into the medicine that wrought it. Especially, since the conjuncture of the time wherein this change happened, may very

^a See *Clarendon*, above, vol. iii. p. 416, and note.

probably raise some suspicion, that the fear of the sword might have, and the visible advantage some have found thereby since, as probably, that the hope of gain had, some co-operation at least, with whatsoever was the principal cause of this so sudden a metamorphosis. If nor so, nor so; but that they find themselves clearly convinced in their judgments of their former error, and that they are fully persuaded they are now in a better way than that wherein they formerly walked; it is happy for them, and I doubt not but they will find matter of rejoicing in it, if they be not mistaken (a thing not impossible) in the trial of their own hearts. Of the sincerity whereof, the likeliest way to give satisfaction to the world, and to add some strengthening withal to their own assurance, is, by showing compassion to those their brethren, that cannot yet tell how to recover themselves out of the snare of *the same common* error, from which *they* are so happily escaped. At leastwise so far, as not to despise them; nor to pass their censures upon them, with so much freedom and severity as some have done. If it be a fault, sure it is a very pardonable one, for a man in the change of times, to remain unchanged in his mind and opinion, and to hold to his former and (as he thinks) well-grounded principles: so long as he can neither apprehend any reason of sufficient strength to convince his understanding that he is in the wrong, or to manifest unto him the necessity of making such a change; nor is able with the best wit he has, to discern any thing so lovely in the effects and consequents of such change since it was made, as might win over his affections to any tolerable liking thereof upon the post-fact.

III. To return where I was going, and from whence I have not much digressed;—if any shall now ask me, what those heavy censures are which I said we should be like to meet withal, I confess I am not able to give him any certain account thereof; not knowing beforehand what reasons or expressions the spirits of particular men will suggest to their tongues or pens. Only by what has been usually said by one sort of men upon such like occasions heretofore (more sparingly and in the ear in former times, but of late more frequently, freely, and on the house-tops :) it may be probably guessed what kind of censures are to be expected from those of the same party now. Yet for that I am not conscious to myself to have said any thing in the papers now, or at any time heretofore (with my allowance) published, that may give just

offence to, or merit the hard censure of, any sober dispassionate man; and that, if yet I must fall under some mis-censures, it is not my case alone, but of many others also wrapped with me in the same common guilt; I shall therefore reduce my discourse herein "*ab hypothesisi ad thesin*;" and propose the objections, with my answers thereunto (though with some reflection upon myself in most of the particulars, yet) as laid against the generality of those men's sermons, writings, and other discourses, who (according to the new style of late years taken among us) go under the name of the prelatical party, or episcopal divines.

IV. The objections are,

1. That in their ordinary sermons they take any small occasion; but when they preach at the visitations, where most of the clergy of the vicinage are convened, set themselves purposely in their whole discourse to let fly at their godly brethren, who out of tenderness of conscience dare not submit to some things endeavoured to be imposed upon them by the prelates. The poor puritan is sure to be paid home; he must be brought under the lash, and exposed to contempt and scorn at every public meeting; the Papists, professed enemies of our Church and religion, escaping in the meanwhile scotfree, seldom or never meddled withal in any of their sermons.

2. Or if sometimes some little matter be done that way by some of them, it is so little, that it is to as little purpose;—rather for fashion's sake, *ad faciendum populum*, and to avoid suspicion, than for any ill will they bear them. Perhaps they give them a light touch by the way; a gentle rub as they pass along, that shall do them no harm; but their brethren that profess the same Protestant religion with them, they handle with a rougher hand. With elder guns and paper pellets they shoot at those; but against these, they play with cannon bullet.

3. And all this anger but for ceremonies; trifles even in their own esteem, who plead hardest for them.—If they be indeed such indifferent things, as they confess them to be, and would have the world believe they make no other account of them,—why do they dote on them so extremely themselves? Why do they press them upon others with so much importunity? Why do they quarrel with their brethren eternally about them?

4. The truth is, both we and they judge otherwise of them, than as indifferent things. They think them necessary, whatever

they pretend, or else they would not lay so much weight upon them: and we hold them Popish, Antichristian, and superstitious, or else we would not so stiffly refuse them.

5. It is not, therefore, without cause that we suspect the authors of such Sermons and Treatises, as have come abroad in the defence of such trash, to be Popishly affected; or at least to have been set on by some Popish bishops or chancellors, (though perhaps without any such intention in themselves,) on purpose to promote the Papal interest here, and to bring back the people of this nation by degrees, if not into the heart and within the walls of Babylon, yet at leastwise into the confines, and within the view of it.

6. Which, as it appears otherwise,—to wit by their great willingness to allow such qualifications to sundry *doctrines* taught in the Church of Rome, and such interpretations to sundry taught in our Church, as may bring them to the nearest agreement; and their great endeavours to find out such expedients, as might best bring on a perfect reconciliation between the two Churches.

7. So particularly in pressing with so much vehemency the observance of these Popish and superstitious *ceremonies*; for which we cannot find, nor do they offer to produce, any either command or example in holy Scripture, to warrant to our consciences the use thereof.

8. Which, what is it else in effect, than to deny the sufficiency of the Scripture to be a perfect rule of faith and manners?—which being one of the main bulwarks of the Protestant religion, as it is differenced from the Roman, is, by these men and by this means, undermined and betrayed.

V. This is the sum and substance of the usual censures and objections of our anti-ceremonian brethren, so far as I have observed from their own speeches and writings, which I have, therefore, set down as near, as in so few words I could, to their sense, and, for the most part, in their own expressions. Much of which having (as I conceive) received its answer beforehand in some passage or other of the ensuing Sermons, might supersede me the labour of adding any more now. Yet for so much as these answers lie dispersedly, and not in one view, I hold it convenient, as I have produced the objections all together, so to offer to the reader an answer to them all together, and that in the same order as I have given them in;—begging at his hands but this one (very reasonable) favour, that he would do both himself

and me so much right, as not to pass his censure too hastily and too severely upon any part of what is now presented to his view, (whether he like it or dislike it,) till he has had the patience to read over the whole, and allowed himself the freedom rightly, and without prejudice, to consider of it.

VI. That which is said in the first place of their godliness and tenderness of conscience, is not much to the purpose as to the main business. For *first*, besides that all parties pretend to godliness; Papists, Anabaptists, and who not?—(even the late sprung up generation of levellers, whose principles are so destructive of all that order and justice by which public societies are supported, do yet style themselves, as by a kind of peculiarity, “the godly.”) And that, *secondly*, it is the easiest thing in the world, and nothing more common, than for men to pretend conscience, when they are not minded to obey. I do not believe, *thirdly*, (though I am well persuaded of the godliness of many of them otherwise,) that the refusal of indifferent ceremonies enjoined by lawful authority, is any part of their godliness^a, or any good fruit, evidence, or sign thereof. But certain it is, *fourthly*, that the godliest men are men, and know but in part; and by the power of godliness in their hearts, are no more secured from the possibility of falling into error through ignorance, than from the possibility of falling into sin through infirmity. And as for tenderness of conscience, *fifthly*, a most gracious, blessed fruit of the Holy Spirit of God, where it is really, and not in pretence only, nor mistaken, (for sure it is no very tender conscience, though sometimes called so, that “straineth at a gnat^b, and swalloweth a camel,”) it is with it as with other tender things, very subject to receive harm, and soon put out of order. Through the cunning of Satan, it dangerously exposes men to temptations on the right hand; and, through its own aptitude to entertain and to cherish unnecessary

^a Compare *Hooker's* Preface, c. vi. § 3. p. 414, above. “For if God be not the author of confusion but of peace, then can He not be the author of our refusal, but of our contentment, to stand unto some definitive sentence.”

^b “But there are amongst us such tender stomachs that cannot endure milk, but can very well digest iron;—consciences so tender, that a ceremony is greatly offensive, but rebellion is not. A surplice drives them away, as a bird affrighted with a man of clouts; but their consciences can suffer them to despise government, and speak evil of dignities, and curse all that are not of their opinion; and disturb the peace of kingdoms, and commit sacrilege, and account schism the character of saints.” Bishop *Taylor's* Dedication to Sermon before the Parliament. Works, vol. vi. p. 335.

scruples, it strongly disposes them to listen thereunto so long, till at the last they are overcome thereof. Needful it is, therefore, that in the public teaching the errors should be sometimes refuted, and the temptations discovered: and this ever to be done seasonably, soberly, discreetly, and convincingly; and, when we are to deal with men whose consciences are (so far as we can discern) truly tender, with the spirit of meekness and compassion. For, tender things must be tenderly dealt withal, or they are lost. I know it is not always so done; nor can we expect it should. All preachers are neither so charitable, nor so prudent, nor so conscientious as they should be; and they that are such in a good measure, are men still; and may be¹ transported now and then through passion and infirmity, beyond the just bounds of moderation. But then the fault is not so much in the choice of the argument they treat of, as in the ill managing thereof; which ought not to cast any prejudice upon others, who deal in the same argument, but after another manner.

VII. But that which pinches most in this first particular (as I suppose) is this: that upon all public occasions^a, especially in visitation-sermons, they who agree with us in the substance of the same reformed religion, are for the most part the only mark shot at; whilst the common enemy, the Papist, has little or nothing said against him. For answer hereunto,—*first*, so far as concerns the Sermons here published, the objection is void; for therein the Papist has had his share as well as his fellows, so oft as the text gave occasion, or the file of my discourse led me thereunto:—as by the papers themselves (whereunto reference to be had) will evidently appear. *Secondly*, admitting all true that is alleged, either we are excusable in what they blame us for, or they that blame us inexcusable, who do the very same things. Do not they usually in their sermons fall bitterly upon the Papists and Arminians? but seldom meddle with the Socinians? scarce ever name the Turks? I have been often told of their declamations against the observing of Christmas^b, that great superstitious thing; but I remember not to have heard of much spoken against perjury and sacrilege, and some other sins, wherewith our times

¹ Παραττόμενοι ἤττον δύνανται φυλάττεσθαι πάντα. *Arist.* 1. Elench. 15.

^a Compare Lord Clarendon, above, vol. iii. 405-6.

^b See *Mason's* Sermon, § 29. and note, p. 488, above. See also *Hammond's* Tract 'concerning Superstition, Will-worship, and Christmas Festival.' 1655.

"In

abound. Nay, does not their zeal, even against Popery itself, (Popery, I mean, truly so called,) of late years, and since most of the pulpits are in their possession, seem to abate—at leastwise in comparison of the zeal they show against episcopacy, and against the liturgy, festivals, and ceremonies lately in use among us? These they cry down with all the noise they can, and with all the strength they have,—having first branded them with the name of Popery; and this must now pass for preaching against Popery. I demand, then, is there not the like reason of reprov-ing sins, and refuting errors? If so; are not perjury and sacrilege as great sins (at least) as keeping Christmas holiday? Howsoever, are not the errors of the Turks, that deny the whole structure of the Christian religion, (foundation and all,) far worse than the errors of the Papists, who, by their additional super-structures, have only altered the fabric, but keep the foundation still^a? And are not the errors of the Socinians, who deny the Trinity, God's omniscience, the eternity of the Son, the divinity of the Holy Ghost, original sin, the calling of ministers, far worse than those the Arminians are charged withal,—of free-will, universal redemption, falling from grace? &c. And are not the old rotten points of Popery (the Pope's œcumenical pastorship and infallibility, the Scripture's insufficiency, image worship, invocation of saints, transubstantiation, half-communion, &c.) errors of as great a magnitude as those other points of Popery, (lately and falsely dubbed such,) of episcopacy, liturgy, festivals and ceremonies? If they be, why do our brethren preach oftener, and inveigh more, against these later and lesser in comparison, than against those former and greater sins and errors? I doubt not but they have some reasons wherewith to satisfy themselves for their so doing, else they were much to blame. Be those reasons what they will; if they will serve to excuse them, they will serve as well to justify us.

8. It will be said perhaps; First, That the Turks have no communion with us: they are out of the Church; and our chiefest care should be for those within, leaving those without for God to judge. Or indeed, secondly, To what purpose would it be to

“In the year 1644, the two houses issued an ordinance commanding Christmas-day to be kept, in future, as a fast: and thus it came to be no longer observed publicly as a festival, throughout England, till the Restoration.”

^a See *Hooker's Discourse on Justification*, § 15, &c.

address our speeches to them some thousands of miles out of hearing? If our voices were as loud as Stentor's, or that of Mars in Homer, the sound would not reach them. Besides that, thirdly, There is little danger in our people of receiving hurt or infection from them; who have no such agents here to tamper with the people in that behalf, no such artifices and plausible pretensions whereby to work them over to their side, no such advantages as the agreement in some common principles might afford for bringing on the rest; as the Papists have. Who being within the pale of the visible Catholic Church, and living in the midst of us, have their instruments ready at hand in every corner, to gain proselytes for Rome; the specious pretences of antiquity, universality^a, consent of councils and Fathers, &c. wherewith to dazzle the eyes of weak and credulous persons; and some ground also to work upon, in the agreement that is between them and us in the principal articles of the Christian faith.

9. These reasons, I confess, are satisfactory as to the comparison between Turks and Papists; and may be applied to the other instance also in their proportion, so far as the application will hold truth: and all this is agreeable both to the apostle's discourse¹, and to the advices of prudent statistis, who forbear to advance against a potent enemy abroad, till they have composed smaller quarrels and mutinies at home; and to the example also of our blessed Saviour himself; who, although the errors of the Sadducees were in themselves, and, in respect of their matter, much worse than those of the Scribes and Pharisees; yet because the danger of seducing the people was greater from these than from those (the Pharisees, by reason of their outside holiness, being grown into better esteem with the people than the Sadducees were; and the generality of the people also by their

^a "Let not the canting discourse of the universality and extent of that Church, which has as little of truth as the rest, prevail over you. They who will imitate the *greatest* part of the world, must turn heathens; for it is generally believed, that above half the world is possessed by them; and that the Mahometans possess more than half the remainder. There is as little question that of the rest which is inhabited by Christians, one part of four is not of the communion of the Church of Rome; and, God knows, in that very communion there is as great discord in opinion, and in matters of as great moment, as is between other Christians." Lord *Clarendon's* Letter to his Daughter, the Duchess of York. *Clarendon Papers*, vol. iii. p. xxxix. Supplement.

¹ 1 Cor. v. 9—13.

education pretty well principled, and so fore-armed against those more gross and palpable errors of the Sadducees :) is observed therefore to have both more frequently and with greater sharpness reproved the Scribes and Pharisees for their false teaching, than he did the Sadducees; and to have given the people more caveats to beware of them and their leaven, than that of the Sadducees.

10. This is the most, I think, they have to say for themselves; and upon supposal that all the particulars in the aforementioned instances^a, were indeed such sins and errors, as they either take or mistake them for, it must be admitted a very reasonable and sufficient plea. Only we require (which is but equal) that they mete unto us back again with the same measure; and allow us the benefit of the same plea (*mutatis mutandis*) so far as our case is the same with theirs. Let them but this do, and the objection will vanish.—First, We nothing doubt but that the Papists (by being baptized into the faith of Christ) are in a far better condition otherwise; as we are sure they stand in a nearer relation to us thereby than Turks and Pagans do. Yet as to external communion in the public worship, by refusing to assemble with us (which is not our fault,) they are as very strangers to us as the very Turks are; and in that respect to be looked upon as οἱ ἔξω, “those that are without.” And therefore we deemed it more expedient, and a more brotherly act, to endeavour the reducing of our brethren that held communion with us to their just obedience, by discovering to their faces (being personally present) those their errors that obstructed it, than to beat the air to little purpose, in declaiming against those that did not hear us, and we were sure would little regard us.—For, secondly, were it not for the confirming of our Protestant hearers in their present belief of the truth, against such as will attempt to draw them from us; it would be a very impertinent thing to insist much upon the discovery of Popish errors in our Churches, whither they that should reap most benefit by such discovery never come. They live among us indeed, which the Turks do not: but since they come not where they may hear us, it is all one to us in respect of our sermons, as if they lived as far from us as the Turks do. But at such times as the clergy are met together, (which is chiefly done at the visitations,) when most of them who are most concerned,

^a Viz. episcopacy, the liturgy, festivals, &c. § 7.

both for their own sakes, and the people's that depend upon them, to have a right judgment concerning the nature and use of indifferent things, are present; it seems to be very proper, and (by the blessing of God) may conduce very much to the edification of his people in truth, peace, and godliness, that the just power of those that have authority in the Church for making ecclesiastical constitutions should be asserted, and the necessity of yielding obedience thereunto when they are made, by all under such authority, should be pressed.—This is the very truth of the whole business. And what is there in all this to deserve such outcries? What is there, if men would but soberly consider it, that is not every way agreeable to the dictates both of Christian prudence and charity?—Thirdly, (which is a very important consideration, and comes up to the full of the objection), we think it more needful, seasonable, and expedient, upon such opportunities, to clear these points in difference betwixt us and our brethren at home, than to handle any of the controversies in debate betwixt us and those of Rome: both because the people are in more danger of being misled by these, than of being seduced by Papists; and because the Papists make a great advantage (indeed the greatest, and in a manner the whole advantage they have against us) of these home-differences. For, although the emissaries of Rome have long used all the art and diligence possible, to advance the Roman interest among us; yet the people of England are so generally prepossessed^a with a detestation of that religion, (as the people of Spain, France, and Italy are of ours,) that were it not for the advantage they make of the excesses of some troublesome spirits among ourselves, they could not have expected to have reaped so plentiful a harvest here as of late years they have done^b. But our brethren, having by their much preaching and inveigh-

^a Compare *Hooker*, book iv. chap. iv. § 1.

^b The increase of Popery, after the overthrow of the Church of England by its adversaries, is thus acknowledged by Baxter: "What abundance have they lately won in England, notwithstanding they have wanted public liberty, and have only taken secret opportunities to seduce? Persons of the nobility, gentry, and of the clergy, as well as of the common people; and zealous professors of religion of late, as well as the profane, have been seduced by them. . . . Alas! what work would liberty for jesuits and friars make in our congregations in a few months' space! *I must confess this*, though *some will think it is our dishonour*. . . . It is easier to pull down than build: and to set a town on fire, than to re-edify one house: and to wound, than to heal." *Baxter's Holy Commonwealth*, signat. c. 3. 1659.

ing against the Papists, wrought our common people to such a prejudice against her doctrines, that many of them know no other rule whereby to judge of the soundness of men's religion, than by the greater or lesser distance it has from Popery; have thereby withal gained that high esteem of their soundness in religion above others in the hearts of many of our people, (led, as most are, by opinion more than true judgment;) that it is a very easy matter for them to draw multitudes after them into a dislike of any thing, wherein they shall think good to fasten the imputation of being Popish. For preventing whereof, we do our best endeavour upon all good occasions to undeceive them first, and by them the people; by letting them see (if they will but open their eyes) how unsound the principles are they go upon, and how unsafe the practices those principles lead unto;—who can justly blame us for so doing?

11. To the substance of the second objection (if I may with their leave and without their offence, pass by that quaint minute piece of wit, of paper-pellets and cannon-bullets,) I shall need make no further answer, than what has already been given to the first. Only I shall, *ex abundanti*, add two things; the one, concerning myself: the other, to the objectors.—For myself, if I be not much mistaken, I have been so far from offending in the kind objected, that I may seem rather to have offended too much on the other hand. The substance of the matter both against Papists and others, is, I hope, all along justifiable. And then, if some sharper expressions both against them and others have here and there slipped from my tongue or pen, (such as heat and indignation in our greener years are apt to suggest,) they that are ingenuous, considering how long it is since those sermons were preached, may be pleased to pardon it, upon the old plea, *Dandum aliquid ætati*.—As for them; that they preach against Popery, I not at all mislike; only I could wish that these two cautions were better observed, than (as far as I can make conjecture of the rest, by the proportion of what has come to my knowledge) I fear they usually are, by the more zealous of that party, viz. 1. That they do not through ignorance, prejudice, or precipitancy, call that Popery which is not; and then under that name and notion preach against it. 2. That they would do it with the less noise and more weight. It is not a business merely of the lungs, but requireth sinews too. Or (to use their own metaphor) let them not think that casting of squibs will do the

deed, or charging with powder alone; that will give a crack indeed, and raise a smoke; but unless they have bullet as well as powder, it will do little execution.

12. To the third objection—I say, first, That we have indeed no higher or other esteem of ceremonies, than as of indifferent things; yet do we not count them trifles, otherwise than as in comparison with necessary duties. But let ceremonies (secondly) be as very trifles, as any man can imagine them to be; yet obedience sure is no trifle^a. They mis-state the question, when they talk of pressing ceremonies: it is obedience (formally) that is required; ceremonies not otherwise pressed, than as the matter wherein that obedience is to be exercised. If a master appoint his servant to do some small matter that he thinks fit to have done, though in itself of no great moment, yet he will expect to be obeyed; and it is great reason he should. If in such case the servant should refuse to do the thing appointed, because he has no mind thereunto, and should receive a check or correction for such refusal: could he either sufficiently excuse his own fault, or reasonably complain of his master for dealing hardly with him, by saying, The thing was but a trifle? Is it not evident, that the thing which made the master angry, and the servant an offender in that case, was not (precisely and formally) the leaving of the thing undone, (which had it not been commanded, might have been left undone without any fault or blame at all,) but the refusing to do it, when he that had a right to his service commanded him? Wherefore, thirdly, that which is said of some men's doting so extremely on ceremonies, might have been well enough spared. I know no true son of the Church of England that dotes upon any ceremony, whatsoever opinion he may have of the decency or expediency of some of them. If any do, let him answer for himself. Among wise men he will hardly pass for a wise man that dotes upon any. Nor will he, I doubt, prove

^a “And although the keeping or omitting of a ceremony, in itself considered, is but a small thing; yet the wilful and contemptuous transgression and breaking of a common order and discipline is no small offence before God. ‘Let all things be done among you,’ says St. Paul, ‘in a seemly and due order:’ the appointment of the which order pertains not to private men; therefore no man ought to take in hand, nor presume to appoint or alter, any public or common order in Christ’s Church, except he be lawfully called and authorized thereunto.” *Book of Common Prayer*, “of Ceremonies, why some be abolished,” &c. Compare also above, p. 463. *Mason’s Sermon*. §. 9. and note.

a much wiser man, that runs into the contrary extreme, and abhors all. It is true, fourthly, that there have been long and unkind quarrels about these things? More is the pity! but where is the fault? To whom is the beginning, and to whom the continuance of a quarrel rather imputable? To him that demands his right, or to him that withholds it from him? For this is the plain case in short:—The bishops (under the king) require obedience to the laws ecclesiastical; these men refuse to give it. So began the quarrel at first; and upon the same terms it continued. If the obedience challenged were indeed due to those laws, then did our brethren both begin the quarrel, and hold it on; if it were not, then must the whole blame lie upon those that claimed it unjustly, and not upon them. So that upon winding up of the business, the whole controversy will devolve upon this point; whether to the laws ecclesiastical obedience is due or not? For the right determining whereof, (forsomuch as it is confessed on all hands, that obedience is due to lawful authority commanding lawful things,) two other points are to be resolved:—the one, concerning the authority by which the constitutions were made; the other, concerning the lawfulness of the things therein required. The Presbyterians of the Kirk flatly and directly deny both^a: ours, less forward to declare their opinion in the former point, have chosen rather to stand upon the latter only. And so the point in issue is briefly this: Whether the things commanded (and particularly the ceremonies) be lawful, yea, or no. Which brings us to the consideration of,

13. The fourth objection. Wherein (besides some ill-language, which I love not to stir into,) they declare, first, what they conceive to be our opinion; and next, what is indeed their own concerning the ceremonies, &c. in question.—In the former, we desire that candour which in all reason and charity they ought to afford us; that they would fix nothing upon us as our opinion, which ourselves (who should best know what our opinion is,) protest against, as not our opinion. They have been told a thousand times over, in the sermons and writings of private men, which is

^a That is, they deny the authority of the civil government in things sacred, (in general) and the king's supremacy (in particular); by which the constitutions, &c. of the Church of England were enacted or ratified; and, secondly, they deny the lawfulness of many of those particular constitutions, as the *impairity of ministers*, a *pre-composed Liturgy*, &c.

also attested and affirmed by the public declaration^a of our Church (the most authentic assurance a question of this nature is capable of,) that we place no necessity at all in these things, but hold them to be merely indifferent. That, when for decency, order, or uniformity's sake, any constitutions are made concerning them, there is the same necessity of obeying such constitutions, as there is of obeying other laws made for the good of the commonwealth concerning any other indifferent things; that such necessity, either in the one or the other, arises not properly from the authority of the immediate lawgiver, but from the ordinance of God, who has commanded us to obey the ordinances of men for his sake; that, such necessity of obedience notwithstanding, the things remain in the same indifferency as before. Every way in respect of their nature, and *quoad rem*, (it being not in the power of accidental relations to change the natures of things;) and even in respect of their use, and *quoad nos*, thus far, that there is a liberty left for men, upon extraordinary and other just occasions^b sometimes to do otherwise than the constitution requires, *extra casum scandali et contemptus*; a liberty, which we dare not either take ourselves, or allow to others, in things properly and absolutely necessary. [Upon which very account, (I mean the consideration of the indifferency of the things in themselves,) and upon which account alone it is, that many of the episcopal (that is to say, the true English Protestant) divines, who sadly resent the voting down of the liturgy, festivals, and ceremonies of the Church, by so many former laws established, heartily desired heretofore the continuance, and as heartily still wish the restitution, and are (by God's help) ready with their tongues, pens, and sufferings, to maintain and justify the lawful use of the same; do yet so far yield^c to the sway of

^a See Art. XXXIV. of the Church of England; and Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, entitled, "Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained;" also the Preface attributed to Bishop Sanderson, beginning, "It has been the wisdom," &c.

^b Compare Sanderson's seventh Sermon, *ad Populum*, § 47.

^c Compare Sanderson's seventh Sermon, *ad Populum*, § 47. given below, No. XXI. in this Collection. Also a full statement of his judgment on this case, and of his own practice, may be found in his Nine Cases of Conscience, p. 157—92. 1678. under the title, The Case of the Use of the Liturgy, in the late times (dated Nov. 2. 1652.); and the same tract is subjoined to the first edition of *Walton's Life of the Bishop*, (8vo. 1678.) and there described

the times, and are persuaded they may with a good conscience so do, as to forbear the use thereof in the public worship ; till it shall seem good to those that are in place of authority either to restore them to their former state, (as it is well hoped, when they shall have duly considered the evil consequence of that vote^a, they will ;) or at leastwise, and in the mean time, to leave them arbitrary for men, according to their several different judgments, to use or not to use ; which seems but reasonable, the like favour and liberty in other kinds having been long allowed to almost all other sorts of men, though of never so distant persuasions one from another.] Lastly, That all laws made concerning ceremonies or other indifferent things, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are mutable^b ; and as they were at first made by human authority, so may they from time to time be by human authority abrogated and repealed. And then and thenceforth they lose their obligation ; whereby the necessity of yielding obedience thereunto wholly ceases and determines ; and the things thereby commanded or prohibited, return to their primitive and natural indifferency, even in their use also, and in respect of us.—This is clearly our opinion ; and men may easily so understand us, if they will.

14. But their opinion is, that the things enjoined are Popish^c and superstitious ; and consequently unlawful to be used : and this they render as the reason of their non-conformity. And the reason were certainly good, if the opinion were true.—For the Popishness first ; unless we should sue out a writ *de finibus regendis*¹, it will be hard to find out a way how to bring this controversy to an issue, much less to an end ; the term has been so strangely extended, and the limits thereof (if yet it have any) so uncertain. If they would be entreated to set bounds to what they mean by Popish and Fopery, by giving us a certain definition of it, we should the sooner either come to some agreement, or at least understand ourselves and one another the better,

as Bishop Sanderson's Judgment concerning Submission to Usurpers. See also Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. p. 496, and note 6. (iv. 432-3. edit. 1839.)

^a See Ordinance of Parliament for abolishing the Book of Common Prayer, and establishing the Directory, Jan. 4, 1644, 5. *Rushworth*, vol. v. 735-6. *Parl. Hist.* vol. iii. p. 322.

^b See *Hooker*, book i. chap. xv. above, vol. i. p. 173—9.

^c See *Mason's* Sermon. § 31—3. above, p. 492.

¹ Omnia periclitabuntur aliter accipi quàm sunt, si aliter quàm sunt cognominantur. *Tert. de Carn. Christi*, cap. 13.

wherein and how far we disagreed. In the mean time, it is to me a wonder, that if reason would not heretofore, yet the sad experience of the ill consequents, so visible of late time, should not have taught them all this while to consider, what infinite advantage they give to the Romish party^a to work upon weak and wavering souls; by damning so many things under the name of Popery, which may to their understandings be sufficiently evidenced; some, to have been used by the ancient Christians long before Popery was hatched, or but in the egg; and all to have nothing of superstition or Popery in them, unless every thing that is used in the Church of Rome become thereby Popish and superstitious. Nor what great advantage they give to our newer sectaries^b, to extend the name yet further. Who by the help of their new lights can discern Popery, not only in the ceremonies formerly under debate, but even in the Churches and pulpits wherein they used to preach against Popery, and the bells wherewith they used to call the people together to hear them. These are by some of them cried down as Popish, with other things very many, which their Presbyterian brethren do yet both allow, and practise; though how long they will so do, is uncertain, if they go on with the work of reformation they have begun, with as quick dispatch, and at the rate they have done these last two seven years. The having of godfathers at baptism, churching of women, prayers at the burial of the dead, children asking their parents' blessing^c, &c. which whilome were held innocent; are

^a See the former Preface, § 12. p. 557. above.

^b See the former Preface, § 11. p. 556. above.

^c See Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. p. 165, note 2. (iv. 180-1, edit. 1839.)

“He would have his proselytes believe, that Protestants never bless any thing, or man whomsoever. And yet they do their children every morning and evening: and yet they do their meats every meal: and in many other actions nothing so frequent as this.” *Montague's Answer to the Gagger of Protestants*, p. 320, 4to. 1624.

“In gratitude to his tutor, (who saved him from drowning in the Cam,) he ever afterwards called him father, giving him the reverence due to one, and daily on his knees asking his blessing.” *Memoirs of Life and Death of the Lord-Deputy Wandesford*, vol. ii. p. 15. Again, p. 32. “Mrs. Wandesford followed the example of her husband's excellent mother, calling her children together every morning before they breakfasted, and making them read or repeat by memory psalms and chapters, and then blest them on their knees.”

Several other venerable and pious usages of our forefathers received a severe shock in these times, under the same pretences of Popery and super-

now by very many thrown aside, as rags of Popery. Nay, are not some gone so far already, as to cast into the same heap, not only the ancient hymn *Gloria Patri* (for the repeating whereof alone some have been deprived of all their livelihoods) and the Apostles' Creed; but even the use of the Lord's Prayer itself^a

stition. An instance or two may here be mentioned. "There is a custom of uncovering the head at the coming-in of light; if this be done with thankfulness of soul for the light of the Gospel, and desire of enjoying the light of heaven, what harm? Is it not lawful, yea Christian-like, to glorify God on all occasions?—for the coming-in of the light is but an occasional remembrance." *Ferne's Case between the Church of England and Rome*, p. 130, 12mo. 1655. "Another old custom there is of saying when light is brought in, 'God send us the light of heaven!' And the parson likes this very well; neither is he afraid of praising or praying to God at all times, but is rather glad of catching opportunities to do them. Light is a great blessing, and as great as food, for which we give thanks: and those that think this *superstitious*, neither know superstition, nor themselves." *Herbert's Country Parson*, chap. 35.

"The Country Parson wonders that *blessing the people* is in so little use with his brethren; whereas he thinks it not only a grave and reverend thing, but a beneficial also. . . . In the time of *Popery*, the priest's *Benedicite* and his holy water were over-highly valued; and now we are fallen to the clean *contrary*; even from *superstition* to coldness and atheism. But the Parson first values the gift in himself, and then teaches his parish to value it. . . . The same is to be observed in writing *Letters* also." *Country Parson*, chap. 36.

^a See *Meric Casaubon's Vindication of the Lord's Prayer*, 1656, 12mo.; as follows:

"But why so many things formerly practised and observed in the Church of England, as for example, *public catechising*, so necessary to uphold Christianity among men, though not so pleasing to itching ears as ordinary preaching is; *the use of the sacraments*, which in divers parishes were formerly duly administered, are now scarce known or named; *the observation of some principal holidays*, as the anniversary commemoration of the birth of Christ, of his resurrection, &c. by which, though abused by profane men, as all things may be, the faith of most was much confirmed; honour and homage in the most solemn manner done unto Christ; not to mention some more private things, as *children's daily asking their parents' blessing upon their knees*, (a custom, though not elsewhere observed that I know of, yet much commended by many strangers that have seen the practice of it in England, as I can witness), and the like: and, among the rest, *the reverent use of this holy prayer*:—why these, I say, and the like, should be so neglected, discountenanced, and, in some places at least, in a manner abrogated, having oftentimes thought of it with grief, I can give myself no reason more satisfactory to my wonderings, than that it is done in opposition to the former clergy, because by them religiously observed." p. 55, 7. To what an extent, in time and degree, these ill effects prevailed in Dissenting congregations, we may form some notion from a letter written by a neighbouring Dissenting

—And what will ye do in the end thereof^a? And what would you have us do in the meantime, when you call hard upon us to leave our Popery, and yet would never do us the favour to let us know what it is?—It were good therefore, both for your own sakes, that you may not rove *in infinitum*; and in compassion to us, that you would give us a perfect boundary of what is Popery now; with some prognostication or ephemerides annexed, (if you please) whereby to calculate what will be Popery seven years hence.

XV. But to be serious, and not to indulge myself too much merriment in so sad a business; I believe all those men will be found much mistaken, who either measure the Protestant religion by an opposition to Popery; or account all Popery that is taught or practised in the Church of Rome. Our godly forefathers, to whom (under God) we owe the purity of our religion, and some of which laid down their lives for the defence of the same, were sure of another mind; if we may, from what they *did*, judge what they *thought*. They had no purpose (nor had they any warrant) to set up a new religion^b, but to reform the old; by purging it

minister to his friend, Dr. *Philip Doddridge*: viz. “I thought it necessary to send you this without delay by the post, to complain of your keeping in your place of worship such stumbling-blocks and superstitious customs, as are very offensive to your Christian brethren. It is no wonder you are thought a *legal* preacher, when you have the Ten Commandments painted upon the walls of your chapel: besides, you have a clerk, it seems, so impertinent as to say ‘Amen,’ with an audible voice. *O tempora! O mores!* that such a rag of Popery should ever be tolerated in a congregation of Protestant Dissenters! And, to complete all, you, the minister, conclude your prayers with a form called the Lord’s Prayer.—Do you not know what mischief you have done? what a blot you have brought upon yourself by such offensive practices?” Letters to and from the Rev. *Philip Doddridge*, D.D. Shrewsbury. 1790. p. 14.

^a Into what an abyss of confusion and disappointment the recent specious pretensions and promises of reformation had now degenerated, we may form some notion from the circumstance mentioned by Durell, “that the administration of the eucharist had been altogether neglected for many years in most parishes of the three kingdoms, and in both universities; that of Oxford having had no communion for above twelve years.” View of the Government, &c. of the Reformed Churches, 1662, p. 44.

^b See the admirable passage in *Hooker*, book iii. chap. 1, as follows:—

“In St. Paul’s time the integrity of Rome was famous; Corinth many ways reprov’d; they of Galatia much more out of square. In St. John’s time, Ephesus and Smyrna in far better state than Thyatira and Pergamus were. We hope, therefore, that to reform ourselves, if at any time we have done amiss,

from those innovations, which in tract of time (some sooner, some later) had mingled with it, and corrupted it, both in the doctrine

is not to sever ourselves from the Church we were of before. In the Church we were, and we are so still. Other difference between our estate before and now we know none, but only such as we see in Judah; which having sometime been idolatrous, became afterwards more soundly religious by renouncing idolatry and superstition. If Ephraim *be joined to idols*, the counsel of the prophet is, (Hos. xiv. 15, 17.) *Let him alone. If Israel play the harlot, let not Judah sin. If it seem evil unto you*, says Joshua, (xxiv. 15.) *to serve the Lord, choose you this day whom you will serve; whether the gods whom your fathers served beyond the flood; or the gods of the Amorites in whose land ye dwell: but I and my house will serve the Lord.* The indisposition therefore of the Church of Rome to reform herself, must be no stay unto us from performing our duty unto God: even as desire of retaining conformity with them could be no excuse, if we did not perform that duty. Notwithstanding, so far as lawfully we may, we have held and do hold fellowship with them. For even as the apostle does say of Israel (Rom. xi. 28.), that are in one respect *enemies*, and in another, *beloved of God*; in like sort, with Rome we dare not communicate concerning sundry her gross and grievous abominations; yet touching those main points of Christian truth, wherein they constantly still persist, we gladly acknowledge them to be of the family of Jesus Christ; and our hearty prayer unto God Almighty is, that being conjoined so far forth with them, they may at the length (if it be his will) so yield to frame and reform themselves, that no distraction remain in any thing, but that *we all may with one heart and one mouth glorify the Father of our Lord and Saviour*, whose Church we are."

These points are put extremely well by Sir Thomas Browne also:

"It is an unjust scandal of our adversaries, and a gross error in ourselves, to compute the nativity of our religion from Henry the Eighth:—

"For myself,—I am of that reformed new cast of religion, wherein I dislike nothing but the name:" (he means the name *Protestant*) "of the same belief our Saviour taught, the apostles disseminated, the Fathers authorized, and the martyrs confirmed: but by the sinister ends of princes, the ambition and avarice of prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hand of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity.—Now the accidental occasion whereupon; the slender means whereby; the low and abject condition of the person by whom so good works were set on foot, which in our adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fill me with wonder; and is the very same objection the insolent Pagans first cast at Christ and his disciples."

In the next section he thus goes on very beautifully:

"Yet I have not so shaken hands with those desperate resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new trimmed in the dock; who had rather promiscuously retain all, than abridge any; and obstinately be what they *are* than what they *have been*,—as to stand in diameter and sword's point with them. We have reformed

and worship. According to this purpose they produced, without constraint or precipitancy, freely and advisedly, as in peaceable times, and brought their intentions to a happy end: as by the result thereof, contained in the articles and liturgy of our Church, and the prefaces thereunto, does fully appear. From hence chiefly, as I conceive, we are to take our best scantling whereby to judge what is, and what is not, to be esteemed Popery. All those doctrines then, held by the modern Church of Rome, which are either contrary to the written word of God, or but superadded thereunto, as necessary points of faith^a to be of all Christians believed under pain of damnation; and all those superstitions used in the worship of God, which either are unlawful, as being contrary to the word; or being not contrary and therefore arbitrary and indifferent, are made essentials and imposed as necessary parts of worship: these are, as I take it, the things whereunto the name of Popery does properly and peculiarly belong. But

from them, not against them. For omitting those impropriations and terms of scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our *affections*, and not our *cause*, there is between us one common name and appellation; one faith and necessary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them; to enter their churches, in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them. I could never perceive any rational consequence from those many texts, which prohibit the children of Israel to pollute themselves with the temples of the heathen; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might profane our prayers or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in places devoted to his service; where, if their devotions offend Him, mine may please Him; if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it. . . . At my devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible motions which may express or promote my invisible devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a church, nor willingly deface the name of saint or martyr. At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat; but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour. I cannot laugh at, but I rather pity the fruitless journeys of pilgrims, or condemn the miserable condition of friars: for, though misplaced in circumstances, there is something in it of devotion. I could never hear the *Ave-Mary* bell without an elevation; or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all; that is in silence, and dumb contempt. Whilst therefore they directed their devotions to her, I offered mine to God; and rectified the errors of their prayers by rightly ordering mine own." *Religio Medici*, § 2, 3.

^a As in the Creed of the Council of Trent. See above, *Barrow*, p. 245—8, and notes there.

as for the ceremonies used in the Church of Rome, which the Church of England at the Reformation thought fit to retain; not as essential or necessary parts of God's service, but only as accidental and mutable circumstances attending the same for order, comeliness, and edification's sake; how these should deserve the name of Popish I so little understand, that I profess I do not yet see any reason why, if the Church had then thought fit to have retained some other of those which were then laid aside, she might not have lawfully so done^a; or why the things so retained should have been accounted Popish. The plain truth is this, the Church of England meant to make use of her liberty^b, and the lawful power she had (as all Churches of Christ have, or ought to have) of ordering ecclesiastical affairs here; yet to do it with so much prudence and moderation, that the world might see, by what was laid aside, that she acknowledged no subjection to the See of Rome; and by what was retained, that she did not recede from the Church of Rome out of any spirit of contradiction, but as necessitated thereunto for the maintenance of her just liberty. The number of ceremonies was also then very great, and they thereby burdensome; and so the number thought fit to be lessened. But for the choice, which should be kept, and which not; that was wholly in her power, and at her discretion. Whereof, though she were not bound so to do, yet has she given a clear and satisfactory account, in one of the prefaces^c usually prefixed before the Book of Common Prayer.

XVI. Besides this of Popish, they have bestowed also upon the ceremonies the epithet of superstitious. Which is a word likewise (as the former) of late very much extended; and stands in need of a boundary too and a definition as well as it. But howsoever they do with the words, I must needs set bounds to my

^a "It is very meet that men beware how they be abused by this opinion; and that they know, that it is a consideration of much greater wisdom and sobriety, to be well advised, whether in the general demolition of the institutions of the Church of Rome there were not, as men's actions are imperfect, some good purged away with the bad;—rather than to purge the Church, as they pretend, every day anew; which is the way to make a wound in the bowels;—as is already begun." *Bacon, Of Church Controversies, Works, vol. ii. p. 511.*

^b See Art. XXXIV. of the Church of England: also *Mason's Sermon, § 9, above, p. 464—5, and notes.*

^c Namely, that entitled, "Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained."

discourse, lest I weary the reader.—The point of superstition I have had occasion to touch upon, (more than once, as I remember) in some of these sermons; and proved that the superstition lies indeed at their door, not ours^a. They forbid the things commanded by the Church, under the obligation of sin; and that obligation arising not from their forbidding them, but from the things themselves, which they judge to be unlawful, they thence impose upon all men a necessity of not using them;—which is superstition. Whereas the Church requires obedience indeed to her commands, and that also under the obligation of sin; but that obligation arising not at all from the nature of the things themselves (always held and declared indifferent;) but immediately from the authority of the superior commanding the thing, and originally from the ordinance of God commanding obedience to superiors, as already has been said:—and this is not superstition.—For further satisfaction therefore in this matter, referring the reader to the sermons themselves, I shall only by way of addition represent to the objectors St. Paul's demeanour at Athens. Where, finding the city full of idols, or wholly given to idolatry¹ he does not yet fall foul upon them, nor exclaim against them in any reproachful manner, no nor so much as call them idolaters; though they were such, and that in a very high degree; but tempering his speeches with all lenity and condescension, he tells them only of their superstition; and that in the calmest manner too, *Δεισιδαιμονεστέρους*², (the comparative degree in such kind of speaking being usually taken for a diminuent term). How distant are they from his example, with whom every thing they mislike is presently an idol^b! Christmas-day an idol, the surplice an idol, the cross after baptism a great idol, the Common Prayer-Book an abominable idol! When yet if the worst that can be said against them were granted, the most it could amount to, is but superstition; and till that be granted, which

^a See *Sanderson's* fifth Sermon, *ad Clerum*, §§ 17 and 20, given below, No. XVIII., in this collection, and the notes there.

¹ *Κατείδωλον τὴν πόλιν*. Acts xvii. 16.

² Ver. 22.

^b Their unreasonableness here is well exemplified in a short remark by *Selden*: “Idolatry is in a man's own thought, not in the opinion of another.—Put case, I bow to the altar; why am I guilty of idolatry, because a stander-by thinks so?—I am sure I do not believe the altar to be God;—and the God I worship may be bowed to in all places, and at all times.” *Table Talk*, Art. “Idolatry.”

must not be till it be well proved, it is more childish than manly, to cry out superstition, superstition !

XVII. Their next is, a suspicion, (rather than objection) and that upon no very good ground. But charity is not easily suspicious ; nor without cause. Wherein I have somewhat to say, in behalf of myself and other my brethren ; and somewhat, by way of return to them.—For myself, I had a desire, I may truly say almost from my very childhood, to understand, (as much as was possible for me,) the bottom of our religion ; and particularly as it stood in relation both to the Papists, and (as they were then styled) Puritans ; to inform myself rightly, wherein consisted the true differences between them and the Church of England, together with the grounds of those differences. For I could even then observe (which was no hard matter to do) that the most of mankind took up their religion upon trust (as custom or education¹ had framed them) rather than choice. It pleased God in his goodness to afford me some opportunities suitable to that my desire ; by means whereof, and by his good blessing, I attained to understand so much of the Romish religion, as not only to dislike it, but to be able to give some rational account why I so do. And I doubt not but these very Sermons, were there nothing else to do it, will sufficiently free me from the least suspicion of driving on any design for Rome.—As for those other regular sons^a of the Church of England that have appeared in this controversy on her behalf ; how improbable, and so far forth uncharitable, the suspicion is, that they should be any way instrumental towards the promoting of the Papal interest, may appear (amongst other) by these few considerations following :

1. That those very persons, who were under God the instruments of freeing us from the Roman yoke, by casting Popery out of the Church, and sundry of them martyred in the cause ; those very persons I say, were great favourers of these (now accounted Popish) ceremonies, and the chief authors or procurers of the constitutions made in that behalf.—*Hæ manus Trojam erigent ?*

¹ Οὐ μικρὸν διαφέρει, τό οὕτως ἢ οὕτως ἐκ νέων ἐθίζεσθαι μᾶλλον δὲ τὸ πᾶν. *Arist.* 2. *Ethic.* i.

^a “ We charge the prelatial clergy with Popery to make them odious, though we know they are guilty of no such thing. Just as heretofore they called images Mammets, and the adoration of images Mammetry ; that is, Mahomet and Mahometry, odious names ; when all the world knows the Turks are forbidden images by their religion.” *Selden's Table Talk*, Art. “ Popery.” § 2.

2. That in all former times since the beginning of the Reformation, our archbishops and bishops with their chaplains and others of the prelatical party, (many of them such as have written also in defence of the Church against the Puritans) were the principal (I had almost said the only) champions to maintain the cause of religion against the Papists.

3. That even in these times of so great distraction, and consequently thereunto, of so great advantage to the factors for Rome; none have stepped into the gap more readily, nor appeared in the face of the enemy more openly, nor maintained the fight with more stoutness and gallantry, than the episcopal divines have done¹, as their late learned writings testify. Yea, and some of them such, (as beside their other sufferings) have lain as deep under the suspicion of being Popishly-affected, as any other of their brethren whosoever.

4. That by the endeavours of these episcopal divines some that were bred Papists have been gained to our Church, others that began to waver confirmed and settled in their old religion, and some that were fallen from us recovered and reduced, notwithstanding all the disadvantages of these confused times; and of each of these I am able to produce some instances. But I profess sincerely, as in the presence of God, and before the world, that I have not known (at least, I cannot call to remembrance) so much as one single example of any of this done by any of our anti-ceremonian brethren, whether Presbyterian or Independent.

XVIII. But I have somewhat to return upon these our brethren, who thus causelessly suspect us. Possibly it will not please them; (*φορτικὸν τὸ ἀληθές.*) But I must speak it out, both for the truth's sake, and theirs. To wit, that themselves are in truth, though not purposely and intentionally, (whereof in my own thought I freely acquit them,) yet really and eventually, the great promoters of the Roman interest^a among us; and that more ways than one. These three among the rest are evident.

¹ Bishop *Bramhall*, Dr. *Cosins*, &c.

^a "On Tuesday, Dec. 28, 1643, one Mr. Wells came to me, and, in a boisterous manner, wanted to know whether I had repented or not. . . . In conclusion he told me I went about to bring Popery into the kingdom, and he hoped I should have my reward for it. When I saw him at this height I told him, he and his fellows, what by their ignorance, and what by their railing and other boisterous carriage, would soon *actually* make more Papists

First, by putting to their helping hand to the pulling down of episcopacy. It is very well known to many, what rejoicing that vote brought to the Romish party¹. How, even in Rome itself, they sang their Io-pæans upon the tidings thereof, and said triumphantly, "Now the day is ours; now is the fatal blow given to the Protestant religion in England." They who, by conversing much with that nation, were well acquainted with the fiery, turbulent spirits of the Scottish Presbyterians, knew as well how to make their advantage thereof; and handled the matter with so much cunning, by fomenting their discontents underhand, till they had framed them, and by their means some of the same party here, to become the fittest instruments for the carrying on of their great design. And this I verily believe was the very master-piece of the whole plot. They could not but foresee (as the event has also proved), that if the old government, a main pillar in the building, were once dissolved, the whole fabric would be sore shaken, if not presently shattered in pieces and ruined; things would presently run into confusion; distractions and divisions would certainly follow; and when the waters should be sufficiently troubled and muddled, then would be their opportunity to cast in their nets for a draught. Some² who have undertaken to discover to the world the great plot the Papists had of late years for the introducing of Popery in the several parts of it, might have done well to have taken some little notice of this also, (I wonder how they could look beside it) being so visible; and indeed the fundamental part of the plot. Without which, neither could the sparks of errors and heresies have been blown to that height, nor that libertinism (and some other things therewith mentioned) have so soon overspread the whole face of the land, as now we find they have done³.

Secondly, They promote the interest of Rome by opposing it with more violence than reason; which ought not to seem any strange thing to us, since we see by daily experience the like to happen in other matters also. Many a man, when he thought most to make it sure, has quite marred a good business by over-

than ever I intended; and that I was a better Protestant than he or any of his followers: so I left him in his heat." Troubles and Trial of *Archbishop Laud*, p. 214.

¹ Κωμῳδία τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἢ ἐμῇ τραγῳδίᾳ. Naz. Orat. 14.

² Baxter, Arg. p. 46.

³ See the former Preface, § 8, and note, above, p. 553.

doing it. The most prudent, just, and (in all likelihood) effectual way to win upon an adversary is, by yielding him as much as with safety of truth can be yielded, who, if he shall find himself contradicted in that which he is sure is true, as well as in that which is indeed false, will (by a kind of antiperistasis) be hardened into more obstinacy than before to defend all (true and false) with equal fierceness. It has been observed by some (and I know no reason to question the truth of the observation) that in those counties (Lancashire for one) where there are the most and the most rigid Presbyterians, there are also the most and the most zealous Roman Catholics.

Thirdly, They promote the interest of Rome, and betray the Protestant cause; partly by mistaking the question (a very common fault among them,) but especially through the necessity of some false principle or other, which having once imbibed, they think themselves bound to maintain. Some of them, especially such as betook themselves to preaching betimes, and had not the leisure and opportunity to look much into controversies, understand very little (as it is impossible they should much) of the true state of the question in many controverted points; and yet to show their zeal against Popery¹ are forward enough to be meddling therewithal in the Pulpit; but with so much weakness and impertinency not seldom that they leave the question worse than they found it: and the hearer, if he brought any doubts with him, to go from sermon more dissatisfied than he came. The rest of them (that have better knowledge) are yet so bound up by some false principle or other they have received, that they cannot, without deserting the same (and that they must not do whatsoever betides them), treat to the satisfaction of a rational and ingenuous adversary. Among those false principles it shall suffice for the present to have named but this one, "That the Church of Rome is no true Church²." The disadvantages of

¹ Ἡ προθυμία τῶν πλειστῶν οὐκ ἀγεννής, ἡ δὲ παράταξις ἀσθενής. Naz. (Edit. Paris.) p. 338.

² See Ecclesiastical Biography, vol. v. p. 305, n. (iv. 287, edit. 1839.) Compare Hooker, book iii. chap. 1. Again, "As for that which was said in the beginning of this charge, *that Rome is a true Church*, I ever did, and ever must grant it; that such it is *veritate entis*, in the truth of its entity and being; for as I have said against Fisher (§ xx. p. 128), *ens et verum*, *being* and *true*, are convertible one with another. And every thing that has a being is truly that being which it is in truth of substance; but a *right* or an *orthodox* Church

which assertion to our cause in the dispute about the visibility of the Church (besides the falseness and uncharitableness of it) their zeal, or prejudice rather, will not suffer them to consider. With what outcries was Bishop Hall (good man, who little dreamed of any peace with Rome) pursued by Burton, and other Hotspurs, for yielding it a Church; who had made the same concession over and over again before he was bishop (as Junius, Reynolds, and our best controversy writers generally do), and no notice taken, no noise made of it. You may perceive by this one instance where the shoe wrings.

XIX. In their next, that they may not appear so uncharitable as to suspect their brethren without cause, they tell us upon what grounds they do so; viz. these two: the endeavours of reconciliation in the sixth, and the pressing of ceremonies in the seventh objection. As to the former: First, all endeavours of peace^a

I never said it was, either in doctrine or manners. As a thief is a true man in verity of his essence, that is, he is a creature endued with reason; but it does not therefore follow that he is a true man, *veritate moris*, in his life and conversation. . . I had almost forgot that Mr. Nicolas here pressed the authority of the Homilies upon me again, where it is said that the Bishop of Rome and their adherents are not the true Church, (Hom. Part ii. p. 213.) But the answer is easy, for I say as the Homily does, and as it means too in that place; namely, that the Church of Rome is not *the* true, that is, not the Catholic Church, nor the head thereof. But there is a great deal of difference between *the* Church and *a* Church. The one is the general; the other a particular. *The* Church it cannot be; *a* Church it is, and a true one too, in the sense before specified." *Laud's Troubles and Trial*, p. 392, 3. See also *Montagu's Appello Cæsarem*, p. 113.

^a On this delicate subject see *Laud's* noble vindication of himself. *Troubles and Trial*, p. 158—63.

"Surely, I may not deny it. I have ever wished, and heartily prayed, for the unity of the whole Church of Christ, and the peace and reconciliation of torn and divided Christendom. But I did never desire a reconciliation but such as might stand with truth, and preserve all the foundations of religion entire; for I have learned from a prime school-man of their own (Thom. 1, 2. q. 36, art. 3. ad quint.) that every union does not perfect the true reason or definition of that which is good, but that only upon which depends *esse perfectum rei*, the perfect essence of that thing; so that in this particular, if the substance of Christian religion be not perfected by any union, that union itself cannot have in it *rationem boni*, the true being and nature of good; and therefore I did never desire that England and Rome should meet together, but with forsaking of error and superstition; especially such as grate upon and fret the foundations of religion. But were this done, God forbid but I should labour for a reconciliation; if some tenets of the Roman party

(without loss of truth) are certainly commendable in the undertakers, prove the event as it will. Εἰ δυνατόν, τὸ ἐξ ὑμῶν¹, is every man's warrant for that. If any particular private man have made overtures of peace in this kind upon other terms than he ought, let him answer it as he can : what is that to us ? Admit, secondly, (which, I fear, is too true) that there is little hope, scarce a possibility, of reconciliation, if we will preserve, as we are in conscience bound, the truth and purity of our religion ; yet ought not that fear to hinder any man, fitted with abilities and opportunities for it, from such endeavours, whereof whatsoever the success be otherwise, these two good effects will follow : —it will be some comfort to him within his own bosom, that he has done what was his duty to do to his utmost power ; and it will appear to the world where the business stuck, and through whose default most the endeavour proved fruitless. Thirdly, though there be little hope (and since the Trent Council less than before) of bringing things to a perfect agreement ; yet methinks it should be thought worth the while (*“ Est quadam prodeire tenus, si non datur ultra² ”*) to bring both sides to as near an agreement, and reduce the differences to as small a number, and as narrow a point, as may be ; —that, if we cannot grow to be of the same belief in every thing, we might at least be brought to show more charity either to other, than to damn one another for every difference ; and more ingenuity than to seek to render the one the other more odious to the world than we ought, by representing each other's opinions worse than they are.

XX. The seventh objection contains the other ground of their said former suspicion ; to wit, the vehement pressing of the ceremonies : wherein, first, they do not well in calling them Popish and superstitious ; but that having already fully cleared, I shall not now insist upon : secondly, by requiring to have some com-

on the one side, and some deep and embittered disaffections on the other have not made it impossible ; as I much doubt they have. But that I should practise with Rome, as it now stands, and to the end should confederate with priests and Jesuits, or hold secret intelligence with the Pope, or treat with him, or any instruments authorized by him, or by any agents, is utterly untrue, as I hope may fully appear by that which follows,” &c. &c. p. 159.

Again : “ If Christian peace and truth might meet and unite together, all Christendom over, were that a sin too ? Were I able to plot and effect *such* a reconciliation I would think myself most happy, whatever I suffered for it.” *Ibid.* p. 381.

¹ Rom. xii.

² Horat. i. ep. 1.

mand or example of Scripture produced to warrant to their consciences the use of the ceremonies, they offer occasion to consider of that point, wherein the very mystery of Puritanism ^a consists ; viz., that no man may, with a safe conscience, do any thing for which there may not be produced either command or example from the Scripture : which erroneous principle, being the main foundation upon which so many false conclusions are built, and the fountain from which so many acts of sinful disobedience issue, would well deserve a full and thorough examination ^b. But this preface being already swollen far beyond the proportion I first intended, and for that I have heretofore, both in one of the sermons ¹ and elsewhere ² discovered in part the unsoundness thereof, I am the willing, both for mine own ease and the reader's, to refer him over thither, and to spare mine own farther labour here. Considering, thirdly, that in the present case we need not flinch, for fear of any harm that principle could do us, should it be admitted as sound as they would have it ; for we have both commands and examples in the Scriptures to warrant both the prescribing and the using of the ceremonies :—though not as specified in their particulars ; yet as either comprehended in the general, or inferred by way of proportion. Which kind of warranty from Scripture, themselves are by force of argument driven to allow as sufficient ; or else they would be at a loss for a hundred things by them daily done, upon no better or other warrant than that.—For commands then, we have besides that grand canon ^c, “ Let all things be done decently, and according to order ³,” all those texts, that either contain the right and liberty we have to all the creatures of God to use them for our service without scruple, “ All things are lawful : Nothing unclean of itself. To the pure all things are pure,” &c. or require subjection and obedience to superiors ; “ Let every soul be subject to the higher powers. Submit

^a See the former Preface, § 8, and notes there.

^b This has been done most effectually by Hooker in the second book of his Ecclesiastical Polity, to which, therefore, the reader is referred. But Sanderson's own observations in this and the following section, and those others of which he here speaks, are likewise very valuable, and will be found in this collection ; the latter, above, § x. of the former preface, p. 554—5, and the former below, No. XVI., in the fourth sermon, *ad Clerum*, §§ 5—17. See also his *De Obligatione Conscientiæ*, Prælect. vi. § 26, &c.

¹ Sermon. iv. *ad Clerum*.

² Præf. 10. 20. Sermon.

^c See *Mason's* Sermon, above, No. XIII. in this volume.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

to every ordinance of man," &c. And as for examples; I think I could readily produce a full score, and not bate an ace, of some ceremonies and circumstantial actions, ordered, used, or done by holy men even in the Old Testament, (who yet were more strictly tied to prescript forms than Christians are under the Gospel,) for the doing whereof it does not appear, that they either had any command from God, or were guided by any former precedents, or expected any other warrant, than the use of their reason and of prudential discourse.—What warrant else had David for his purpose of building a temple to God; which Nathan¹ the prophet of God approved, yea which God² Himself approved of? Or what Solomon for keeping "a feast of seven days³" for the dedication of the altar? Or what Hezekiah for continuing the feast of unleavened bread seven days longer than the time appointed by law⁴? Or what, Mordecai and Esther for making an ordinance for the yearly observation of the feast of Purim⁵? Or what, lastly, Judas and the Maccabees for ordaining the feast of the dedication of the altar⁶ to be kept from year to year at a set season for eight days together; which solemnity continued even in the days of Christ, and seems to have been by Him approved^a in the Gospel⁷? The building of synagogues in their towns, the wearing of sack-cloth and ashes in token of humiliation, the four fasts mentioned⁸, whereof one only was commanded, with sundry other, I omit for brevity sake;—instances enough, and pregnant enough, to manifest how very much our brethren deceive themselves, by resting upon so unsound a principle; and that upon a mere mistake; as will appear presently by

XXI. Their eighth and last objection. Wherein they seem to lay an imputation upon all those that stand for the ceremonies, as if they consequently denied the sufficiency of the Scriptures. For answer hereunto; First, it is freely confessed, that the acknowledging of the Holy Scriptures to be a perfect rule of faith and manners, is the main article of the Protestant religion, as opposed to the Romish. But that all that stand for the ceremonies should

¹ 2 Sam. vii. 2, 3.² 1 Kings viii. 8.³ 2 Chron. vii. 8, 9.⁴ 2 Chron. xxx. 23.⁵ Esther ix. 20, &c.⁶ 1 Mac. iv. 9.

^a "Christ Himself was a great observer of the civil power, and did many things only justifiable because the state required it; which were things merely temporary for the time that state stood." *Selden's Table Talk*, art. "Power."
§ 5.

⁷ John x. 22.⁸ Zach. viii. 19.

deny the same, is so manifestly untrue, or indeed that some of the Church of England should deny that, which is so clearly contained in the articles of the Church whereunto he has subscribed, so improbable, that it might well pass for a perfect calumny, were not the original occasion of their mistake herein so apparent, if but even from the manner of their discourse in the present business. The true state whereof, secondly, is this. The things wherein the power of Christianity consists, are of two sorts, *credenda* and *agenda*, which we usually express by faith and manners. And the Scriptures we acknowledge to be a perfect rule of both; yet not as excluding the use of reason^a, but supposing it. When God gave us the light of his holy word, He left us, as He found us, reasonable creatures still: without any purpose, by the gift of that greater and sublimer light, to put out the light He had formerly given us (that of reason) or to render it useless and unserviceable. Of which light the proper use, and that which God intended it for, when He gave it us, is, that by the help thereof we might be the better enabled to discern truth from falsehood, that we might embrace the one, and reject the other; and good from evil, that we might do the one, and shun the other. Our reason therefore is doubtless a good rule both for things to be believed, and for things to be done, so far as it reaches; but no perfect rule at all, rather a very imperfect one; because it reaches not home. To supply the defects whereof (dim as it is even in natural and moral things, but dark as darkness itself in things supernatural and divine) it was, that it pleased the wisdom and goodness of our God to afford us another light (viz. that of supernatural revelation in his holy word) without which we could never, by the light of reason alone, have found out the right way that leads to eternal happiness^b. So that God having first made us reasonable creatures, and then vouchsafed us his holy word to instruct us what we are to believe and to do, either as men or as Christians; we are now furnished with as perfect, absolute, and sufficient a rule both of faith and manners, as our condition in this life is capable of. And it is our duty accordingly, to resign ourselves wholly to be guided by that word (yet making use of our

^a See *Hooker*, book i. chap. 12—14. above, vol. 1. p. 164, &c. and book ii. chap. 7, 8.

^b See the noble argument in the eleventh chapter of the first book of *Hooker*, above, vol. i. p. 153, &c.: with which compare his Sermon "On the Nature of Pride."

reason withal, in subordination and with submission thereunto) as a perfect rule both of faith and life. This being clearly so, and the Scripture by consent of both parties acknowledged to be the perfect rule of what we are to believe, as well as of what we are to do; I earnestly desire our brethren to consider, what should hinder a Christian man from doing any thing, that by the mere use of his reason alone, he may rightly judge to be *lawful* and *expedient*, though it be not commanded or exemplified in the Scriptures, so as it be not contrary thereunto; more than from believing any thing, that by the like use of his reason alone he may rightly judge to be *true* or *credible*, though the same be not revealed or contained in the Scripture, nor is contrary thereunto. I do without scruple believe a mathematical or philosophical truth, or a probable historical relation, when I read it or hear 'it; and I believe an honest man upon his word in what he affirms or promises; though none of all these things be contained in the Scripture: and thus to believe, was never yet by any man (that I know of) thought derogatory to the sufficiency of Scripture, as it is a perfect rule of faith. Why I may not in like manner wear such or such a garment, use such or such a gesture, or do any other indifferent thing (not forbidden in Scripture) as occasions shall require without scruple; or why thus to do, should be thought derogatory to the sufficiency of Scripture, as it is a perfect rule of manners; I confess I have not the wit to understand. Since there seems to be the like reason of both, let them either condemn both, or acquit both; or else inform us better, by showing us a clear and satisfactory reason of difference between the one and the other. Ἰδοὺ Ῥόδος, ἰδοὺ πύρην. This is the main hinge, upon which the whole dispute turns, and whereunto all other differences are but appendages. The true belief, and right understanding of this great article concerning the Scripture's sufficiency, being (to my apprehension) the most proper characteristical note of the right English Protestant, as he stands in the middle between, and distinguished from, the Papist on the one hand, and the (sometimes styled) Puritan on the other. I know not how he can be a Papist, that truly believes it: or he a Puritan, that rightly understands it.

XXII. Having thus answered the several objections aforesaid, wherewith it may be some, that stand freer from prejudice than their fellows, will be satisfied; if any shall yet ask me, why I plead still so hard for ceremonies, now they are laid down, and so no use either of them, or of any discourse concerning them; I

have this to say. First, I saw myself somewhat concerned to prevent (if I could) the mis-censuring of these sermons; in sundry of which the questions that concern ceremonies are either purposely handled, or occasionally touched upon: which could not be done without vindicating the ceremonies themselves, as the subject matter thereof. Secondly, hereby they that were active in throwing them down, may be brought to take a little more into their consideration, than possibly they have yet done, upon *what* grounds they were thereunto moved, and *how sound* those grounds were: that, if it shall appear they were then in an error (and they consider withal, what disorder, confusion, and libertinism has ensued upon that change) they may be sensible of it, and amend. But, thirdly, whatsoever become of the ceremonies, which are mutable things; the two doctrines insisted on concerning them, (the one, touching the power that governors have to enjoin them; the other touching the duty that lies upon inferiors to observe them when they are enjoined;) being truths, are therefore always the same, and change not. It is no absurdity, even at mid-winter, when there is never a flower upon the bough, to say yet "*Rosa est flos.*" Lastly, a time may come ^a, when either the same ceremonies

^a The strong persuasions on the minds of many of the suffering clergy and others, in these days of tribulation, of the probability of a restoration of the Church of England, are very remarkable. See Bishop *Taylor's* "Preface on Liturgy," § 3.

Laud, in his nervous and confident language, thus expresses himself. "As for the reformation of religion in His Majesty's dominions, which (they say) *was panting, and had given up the ghost, if God had not in a wonderful way of mercy prevented them*; First, this is, under favour, most untrue, and a base and most undeserved scandal put upon His Majesty's government. Secondly, *I shall take leave to prophesy*, that unless after all this tumbling the people can be content, that all stand, for matters of religion, both doctrine and discipline, and that, rather with addition to the Church's power, than detracting from it,) as they *then* did, *when* these men say *the reformation was panting, and giving up the ghost*; I much doubt, that neither they, nor their children's children after, shall see such happy days again for all things, as these were which they so unthankfully to God, and their king, murmured against, and as these here still snarl at. And for the Spirit, which *prevented* them in this action, in such a *wonderful way of mercy*, if ever they awake out of this lethargy, (for better it is not,) they will then see *whence* he is, and *whither* he tends." Troubles and Trial, p. 134.

"But, your lordship, (says *Durell* in the dedication to Lord Clarendon, of his 'Government and Public Worship of God in the Reformed Churches,' 1662,) "did not only, *non desperare*, not despair, but always *bene sperare*, hope well, nay never so much as doubted of the good fortune of England,

may be restored, or other substituted in their rooms: and then there may be use again of such reasons and answers, as have been pleaded in their defence. For I doubt not, but those that shall from time to time have the power to order ecclesiastical affairs, if disorders or inconveniences shall continue to grow, after the rate and proportion they have done for some years past, will see a necessity of reducing things into some better degree of decency and uniformity, than now they are: which it is not imaginable^a how it should be done, without some constitutions to be made concerning indifferent things to be used in the public worship; and some care had withal to see the constitutions obeyed. Otherwise the greatest part of the nation will be exposed to very great danger (without the extraordinary mercy of God preventing) of quite losing their religion^b. Look but upon many of our gentry, what they are already grown to from what they were, within the compass of a few years; and then, *ex pede Herculem*,

that is, of the king's restoration, of which your lordship ever spoke as of a thing infallible in the worst of times, and when it seemed scarce possible to any man. And it was ever your lordship's judgment that time having made known the usurpers, and brought the nation to a right understanding of themselves, all things would come about to that blessed pass we see them now."—So accordingly, we have it in Clarendon's own words in his private letters, repeatedly; for instance, to Secretary Nicholas, "I'll lay them a wager, as ill as the world goes, I'll have my estate, when they are without theirs: and as much more, that they will not then be as well contented, as I am now." (Nov. 4, 1651. *Clarendon Papers*, vol. iii. p. 35.) Again, p. 39, "The men, I tell you, will come to confusion." Again, two years after, to the same friend: "Why may not you and I live to be present at the same solemnities at the Guild-Hall, and Merchant Tailors' Hall? Trust me, if the fault be not in ourselves, we shall see that blessed day." *Ibid.* p. 175. And to another friend, Sir Richard Browne, Aug. 1656, after two more years of expectation, he expresses a confident hope, that they shall still live "to eat cherries again at Deptford." *Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. v. p. 342. 8vo. edit.

^a Compare *Sanderson*, No. XVII. below, § 20.

^b John Howe, in a private letter to Baxter, written within two years of the time of this Preface, thus expresses himself: "The design you writ me of some time since, to introduce infidelity and Popery, they have opportunity enough to effect. I know, some leading men are not Christians. *Religion is lost out of England*, further than as it may creep into corners." *Rogers's Life of Howe*, 1836. 8vo.

"God preserve England," says Sir *Edward Hyde*, writing to his friend Secretary Nicholas, June 1, 1646, "from being invaded by the Turk! for, in my conscience, in this conjuncture, it is prepared, for quietness sake, to take any religion. I hope you that are left at Oxford, are of one mind." *Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii. 237.

by that guess what a few more years may do. Do we not see some, and those not a few, that have strong natural parts, but little sense of religion, turned (little better than professed) Atheists? And othersome, nor those a few, that have good affections, but weak and unsettled judgments, or (which is still but the same weakness) an overweening opinion of their own understandings, either quite turned, or upon the point of turning Papists? These be sad things, God knows ^a, and we all know:

^a "Sad indeed," when the condition into which large masses of society had been reduced before the Restoration, required to be described as it has been by Lord Clarendon and others.

"The woeful vice of drinking, from the uneasiness of their fortune, or the necessity of frequent meetings together, for which taverns were the most secure places, had spread itself very far in the class of men," (the king's friends,) "as well as upon other parts of the nation in all counties; and had exceedingly weakened the parts, and broken the understandings of many, who had formerly competent judgments, and had been in all respects fit for any trust; and had prevented the growth of parts in many young men, who had good affections, but had been from their entering into the world so corrupted with that excess, and other licence of the time, that they only made much noise, and by their extravagant and scandalous debauches brought many calumnies and disestimation upon that cause which they pretended to advance. . . .

"The time itself, and the young people thereof of either sex had been educated in all the liberty of vice, without reprehension or restraint. All relations were confounded by the several sects in religion, which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect, as reliques and marks of superstition. Children asked not blessing of their parents; nor did these concern themselves in the education of their children; but were well content that they should take any course to maintain themselves, that they might be free from that expense. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and eating-houses; and they who were stricter, and more severe in their comportment, became the wives of the seditious preachers, or of officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon the divines of the time, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but 'every one did that which was good in their own eyes' This unnatural antipathy had its first rise from the beginning of the rebellion, when fathers and sons engaged themselves in the contrary parties, the one choosing to serve the king, and the other the parliament; which division and contradiction of affections was afterwards improved to mutual animosities and direct malice, by the help of the preachers and the several factions in religion, or by the absence of all religion: so that there were never such examples of impiety between such relations in any age of the world, Christian or heathen, as in that wicked time, from the beginning of the rebellion to the king's return;

not visibly imputable to any thing so much as to those distractions, confusions, and uncertainties¹ that in point of religion have

of which the families of Hotham and Vane are sufficient instances; though other more illustrious houses may be named, where the same accursed fruit was too plentifully gathered, and too notorious to the world. The relation between masters and servants had been long since dissolved by the parliament, that their army might be increased by the apprentices, against their masters' consent; and that they might have intelligence of the secret meetings and transactions in those houses and families which were not devoted to them; from whence issued the foulest treacheries and perfidiousness that were ever practised; and the blood of the master was frequently the price of the servant's villany. . . .

“In a word, the nation was corrupted from that integrity, good nature, and generosity, that had been *peculiar* to it, and for which it had been signal and celebrated throughout the world; in the room whereof, the vilest craft and dissembling had succeeded. The tenderness of the bowels, which is the quintessence of justice and compassion, the very mention of good nature, was laughed at, and looked upon as the mark and character of a fool; and a roughness of manners, a hard-heartedness and cruelty was affected. In the place of generosity, a vile and sordid love of money was entertained as the truest wisdom, and any thing lawful that would contribute towards being rich. There was a total decay, or rather, a final expiration of all friendship: and to dissuade a man from any thing he affected, or to reprove him for any thing he had done amiss, or to advise him to do any thing he had no mind to do, was thought an impertinence unworthy a wise man, and received with reproach and contempt.” *Clarendon's Life*, Continuation, A.D. 1660, vol. i. p. 353, &c. edit. 1827.

The features again are very similar, as sketched by the bold and somewhat coarse pencil of Dr. South.

“Wise and thinking men observe with sorrow that the change is so very great and bad, that there is no relation in society or common life but has suffered and been the worse for it. For look into families, and you will find parents complaining that their children pay them not that duty and reverence, which they have heard and read that children used to show their parents heretofore. Masters also complain that servants are neither so obedient, nor so trusty as in former times. And, lastly, for the conjugal relation, (a thing of the greatest and most direct influence upon the weal or woe of societies of any other thing in the world besides,) it is but too frequent a complaint, that neither men are so good husbands, nor women so good wives, as they were before that accursed rebellion had made that fatal leading breach in the conjugal tie between the best of kings and the happiest of people. But now, how comes all this to pass? Why, from the exorbitant licence of men's education. They were bred in lawless, ungoverned times, and in conventicle, fanatical academies, in defiance of the universities, and when all things were turned topsy-turvy, and the bonds of government quite loosed or broken asunder.

¹ *Semperne Gotis discordia nostra Proderit?* *Claudian*. II. in Ruffin.

broken in upon us, since the late changes that have happened among us in Church affairs. What it will grow to in the end, God only knows, I can but guess.

asunder. So that as soon as they were able to observe any thing, the first thing which they actually did observe, were inferiors trampling upon their superiors; servants called, by vote of parliament, out of their masters' service to fight against their prince, and so to complete one rebellion with another; and women running in whole shoals to conventicles, to seek Christ forsooth, but to find somebody else. By which liberties, having once leaped over the severity and strictness of former customs, they found it an easy matter, with debauched morals, and deflowered consciences, to launch into much greater. . . . And thus I have, in some measure, shown you the true grievance which this poor and distracted kingdom groans under. A *grievance* (without the help of a vote) properly so called. A grievance springing from a boundless, immense, and absurd liberty. For though the zealous outcry and republican cant still used to join those two tinkling words *liberty* and *property* together, (in a very different sense from what belonged to them,) to make a rattle for the people; yet I am sure the intolerable excess of liberty has been the chief thing which has so much contributed to the curtailings of their properties; the true, if not only cause, which of late years has made such numbers so troublesome to the government as they have been." *South*, vol. iii. 381—3. edit. 1823.

Again, *George Lawson*, no favourer of the high prelatical party, in the preface to his *Politica Sacra et Civiles*, published shortly before the Restoration, says, "After so many fearful judgments executed upon us, and severe admonitions given us from heaven—pride, covetousness, injustice, oppression, malice, cruelty, and abominable hypocrisy continue; and *nothing is reformed*."

The injurious effects produced on family worship and Church communion are forcibly described by Abp. *Tillotson* in his *Sermons on Family Religion*. *Sermons*, &c. vol. i. 487. edit. 1752. fol.

A single example more may be given from a Puritan divine, *Jeremiah Whitaker*, writing to *Oliver Cromwell*, soon after his elevation to the protectorate:

"Religion is not only weakened by divisions, but almost wasted by the daily growing of alterations. The reins of government a long time have been let loose, and are now lost in the *Church* totally;—in *families* extremely, so that masters know not how to order their servants, nor parents their children. All grow willing to command; but unwilling to be commanded. Sabbaths are generally profaned; ordinances despised; the youth playing, whilst the minister is preaching; the consciences of many growing wanton, abusing liberty to all licentiousness. And there are none left in place, to put offenders to shame for any of these abominations. The good Lord persuade your heart to appoint such justices, whose principles and practice lead them to restrain vice; who do account the Sabbath their delight, that the inferior officers may be by them encouraged." *Sloane MSS.* No. 4159. *Brook's Lives of the Puritans*, vol. iii. p. 195.

23. The reverend Archbishop Whitgift, and the learned Hooker^a, men of great judgment, and famous in their times, did long since foresee, and accordingly declared their fear, that if ever Puritanism should prevail among us, it would soon draw in Anabaptism after it. At this Cartwright and other the advocates for the disciplinarian interest in those days, seemed to take great offence: as if those fears were rather pretended to derive an odium upon them, than that there was otherwise any just cause for the same; protesting ever their utter dislike of Anabaptism, and how free they were from the least thought of introducing it. But this was only their own mistake: or rather jealousy. For those godly men were neither so unadvised, nor so uncharitable, as to become judges of other men's thoughts or intentions, beyond what their actions spoke them. They only considered, as prudent men, that Anabaptism had its rise from the same principles^b the Puritans held, and its growth from the same courses they took; together with the natural tendency of those principles and practices thitherward; especially of that one principle, as it was by them misunderstood, that the Scripture was *adæquata agendorum regula*, so as nothing might be lawfully done without express warrant either from some command or example therein contained: the clue whereof, if followed on as far as it would lead, would certainly in time carry them as far as the Anabaptists were then gone. But, that it was no vain fear, the unhappy event has proved, and justified them; since what they feared is now come to pass, and that in a very high degree. Yet did not they see the thread drawn out to that length, as we have seen it; (the name of Quakers, Seekers, &c. not then heard of in the world;) but how much farther it will reach, none can say; for no man yet ever saw the bottom of the clue. Only I may not dissemble, what my own fears have long been, and yet are: that if things shall still go on, according as they have begun, and hitherto proceeded; the application that some have made of that passage, *Venient Romani, et capient gentem nostram*¹, will prove but too true a prophecy: and Popery will overrun all at the last.—Whether there be just cause so to fear or no, I leave it to wiser men to judge; when (together with what has been

^a See *Whitgift's* Defence of his Answer, 31—56. fol. 1574. Also *Hooker's* Preface, chap. viii. § 6, p. 429, above, in this volume.

^b See *Hooker's* Preface, chap. viii. p. 420, &c. above, "From your breasts it is," &c.

¹ John xi. 48.

already said¹ concerning the great scandals and advantages given to the Papists by our confusions,) they shall have duly considered the probability of what I shall now farther say.—It is a wonder to see, in how short a time our anti-ceremonian brethren are strangely both multiplied and divided; multiplied in their number but divided by their opinion, and subdivided into so many several tribes and families, that their power is nothing so much increased by that multiplication, as it is weakened by these divisions. Inasmuch as many of those sects into which they have spread and diffused themselves, are not more opposite to the truth, (the only property wherein they all agree,) than they are one to another; in so far that the establishment of any one cannot be, but by the destruction of all or most of the rest. This experience gives us to see, how impossible a thing it is, they should long hold together in one entire body for their own preservation. But whilst they are still crumbling into fractions and factions, biting and ready to devour one another; a vigilant adversary, that is intent upon all advantages and opportunities, may, when he spies his time, overmaster them with much ease, and little resistance. Whereas the Papists on the other side^a, are by the very nature (as I may say) of their religion, and the fundamental principle thereof, (viz. to believe as the Church believes,) tied together in a fast unity amongst themselves against all opposers of their Church, or of any point of faith defined by the Church. So that these holding all together as an embodied army, and those dispersed abroad in scattered troops and many small parties; who is like to become master of the field, is no hard matter to judge. Neither will the supposed (and I fear, truly supposed) greater number of Atheists, than either Papists or sectaries, be any hindrance to the Papists for finally prevailing. Because it is not for the interest of the Atheist and his religion, (pardon the boldness of the catachresis,) to engage either for or against any side farther than a jeer; but to let them fight it out, keep himself quiet till they have done, and then clap in with him that gets the day². He that is of no religion, can make a shift to be of any, rather than suffer. And the Atheist, though he be in truth and in heart neither Protestant nor Papist, nor any thing else; yet can he be in face and outward comportment either Pro-

¹ Sect. 18, *supra*.

^a Compare *Sandys's Europæ Speculum*, given above, No. III. p. 73, &c.

² Ad rerum inomenta cliens, sese daturus Victori. *Claud. de Bel. Gild.*

testant or Papist, or any thing else (Jew or Turk if need be,) as will best serve his present turn.—That this is their mind, some of them in a bravery have given us to understand plainly enough, and in print ¹.

24. And is it not high time then, trow we, to look about us? *Hannibal ad portas*. When the danger is so great, and so near withal, even at the door, shall we be so recklessly wilful, as neither to open our eyes to see it ourselves, nor endure with patience, that any body else should tell us of it? Μάντι κακῶν—What I have now said, how it will be taken I know not; prophets are seldom welcome, that prophesy unwelcome things. But truly at the sad apprehension of the dangerous condition we now stand in, and in zeal for the safety and honour of my dear mother the Church of England, which has nourished me up to become a Christian and a Protestant (that is to say, a pure pute Christian, without any other addition or epithet:) my heart waxed hot within me, and the fire so kindled, that (μηκέτι στέγων) I could not forbear but upon the first opportunity offered, once more to give vent thereunto, by laying open the second time ^a my inmost thoughts to the view of the world. Which I have done with the greatest plainness and freedom, that (avoiding bitterness) was possible for me to do. I was willing to sharpen my style, I confess, that it might enter: as it was but needful, where the skin was callous. But with the only intention, (as the great Searcher of all hearts knows,) by putting the patient to a little smart at the first piercing of the sore, to give future ease to the part affected; and not at all by angering the sore, to make it worse. With which protestation I hope the more sober among them will rest satisfied: I mean the moderate Presbyterian especially. Of which sort I know many, whom I verily believe to be godly and conscientious men, (though in error,) and whom I therefore love and honour. These are the only adversaries in this controversy, whose spirits are in a disposition and capacity to be wrought upon in a rational way. As for the rest, (I mean the rigid, Scotised, thorough-paced Presbyterian on the one side, and the giddy enthusiast on the other,) such is their either obstinacy or madness, that it is vain to think of doing any good upon them

¹ Præf. to Hobbes of election.

^a The first time was in the Preface, dated December 31, 1655, a part of which we gave above, in the preceding article.

by argument ; till it shall please God to make them of more humble and teachable spirits.—I entreat the reader, if he shall meet with any thing herein written, that has any bitterness in it, or but sharpness more than one that would deal plainly cannot avoid ; that he would take it as meant against these last only, and not at all against those of the former rank, whom I never meant to exasperate.—Hear the conclusion of the whole matter ; read without gall or prejudice. Let not truth fare the worse for the plainness. Catch not at syllables and phrases. Study and seek the Church's peace. Judge not another's servant, who must stand or fall to his own master. Keep faith and a good conscience. Bear one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

Consider what has been said, and pray to the Lord to give us all a right understanding in all things. Amen, Amen.

Placere singulis volam ; sed ut prosim :
Nec displicere metuum ; dummodo prosim.

Scazon.

Botheby Paynell,
July 13, 1657.

XVI.

WHATSOEVER IS NOT OF FAITH, IS SIN^a.

For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.—Rom. xiv. 23.

ONE remarkable difference, among many other, between good and evil, is this; that there must be a concurrence of all requisite conditions to make a thing good; whereas to make a thing evil, a single defect in any one condition alone will suffice. *Bonum ex causâ^b integrâ, malum ex partiali.* If we propose not to ourselves a right *end*, or if we pitch not upon proper and convenient *means* for the attaining of that end, or if we pursue not these means in a due *manner*, or if we observe not exactly every material *circumstance* in the whole pursuit; if we fail but in any one point, the action, though it should be in every other respect such as it ought to be, by that one defect becomes wholly sinful. Nay more, not only a true and real, but even a supposed and imaginary defect, the bare opinion of unlawfulness, is able to vitiate the most justifiable act, and to turn it into sin: “I know there is nothing unclean of itself: but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, to him it is unclean,” at the 14th verse of this chapter. Nay yet more, not only a settled opinion that the thing we do is unlawful, but the very suspension of our judgment, and the doubtfulness of our minds, whether we may lawfully do it or no, makes it sometimes unlawful to be done of us, and, if we do it, sinful. “He that but doubteth, is damned, if he eat; because he eateth not of faith;” in the former part of this verse. The ground

^a From Bishop *Sanderſon's* Sermons; being the fourth Sermon *ad Clerum*; preached at a metropolitan visitation at Grantham, Aug. 22 1634.

^b Compare *Sanderſon*, De Obligatione Conscientiæ Prælect. vi. § 25. and Prælect. ii. § 9.

whereof the Apostle delivers in a short and full aphorism, and concludes the whole chapter with it in the words of the text, “for whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.”

2. Many excellent instructions there are scattered throughout the whole chapter, most of them concerning the right use of that liberty we have unto things of indifferent nature, well worthy our Christian consideration, if we had time and leisure for them. But this last rule alone will find us work enough; and therefore omitting the rest, we will (by God’s assistance with your patience) presently fall in hand with this, and intend it wholly;—in the *explication* first, and then in the *application* of it. For by how much it is of more profitable and universal use for the regulating of the common offices of life, by so much is the mischief greater if it be, and accordingly our care ought to be so much the greater that it be not, either misunderstood or misapplied. *Quod non ex fide, peccatum*; that is the rule. “Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.”—In the explication of which words there would be little difficulty, had not the ambiguity of the word faith occasioned difference of interpretations, and so left a way open to some misapprehensions. Faith is *verbum πολύσημον*, as most other words are. There be that have reckoned ¹ up more than twenty several significations of it in the Scriptures. But I find *three* especially looked at by those who either purposely or occasionally have had to do with *this* text; each of which we shall examine in their order.

3. *First* and most usually, especially in the apostolical writings, the word *faith* is used to signify that theological virtue, or gracious habit, whereby we embrace with our minds and affections the Lord Jesus Christ, as the only begotten Son of God, and alone Saviour of the world; casting ourselves wholly upon the mercy of God through his merits, for remission and everlasting salvation. It is that which is commonly called a “lively or justifying faith;” whereunto are ascribed in Holy Writ, those many gracious effects of “purifying the heart ²,” “adoption ³,” “justification ⁴,” “life ⁵,” “joy ⁶,” “peace ⁷,” “salvation ⁸,” &c. Not as to their proper and primary cause, but as to the instrument whereby

¹ *Marlorat*, in *Enchirid.*

² John i. 12 Gal. iv. 26.

³ Hab. ii. 4. Gal. ii. 20.

⁷ Rom. v. 1.

² Acts xv. 9.

⁴ Rom. iii. 28. v. 1.

⁶ Rom. xv. 13. 1 Pet. i. 8.

⁸ Acts xvi. 34. Ephes. i. 8.

we apprehend and apply Christ, whose merits and Spirit are the true causes of all those blessed effects. And in this notion many of our later divines seem to understand it in our present text; whilst they allege it for the confirmation of this position, that all the works (even the best works) of unbelievers are sins.

4. A position condemned indeed by the Trent council¹, and that under a curse; taking it (as I suppose) in a wrong construction, but not worthy of so heavy a censure, if it be rightly understood, according to the doctrine of our Church in the thirteenth Article of her confession; and according to the tenor of those Scriptures whereon that doctrine is grounded².—Howbeit, I take it (with subjection of judgment) that that conclusion, what truth soever it may have in itself, has yet no direct foundation in this text. The verb πιστεύω, to believe, and the noun πίστις, faith or belief, are both of them found sundry times in this chapter; yet seem not to signify in any place thereof, either the verb, the act—or the noun, the habit, of this saving or justifying faith, of which we now speak. But being opposed every where, and namely in this last verse, unto doubtfulness of judgment concerning the lawfulness of some indifferent things, must, therefore, needs be understood of such a persuasion of judgment, concerning such lawfulness as is opposite to such doubting. Which kind of faith may be found in a mere heathen man, who never having heard the least syllable of the mystery of salvation by Christ, may yet be assured, out of clear evidence of reason, that many of the things he does are such as he may and ought to do. And as it may be found in a mere heathen man, so it may be wanting in a true believer, who stedfastly resting upon the blood of Christ for his eternal redemption, may yet, through the strength of temptation, sway of passion, or other distemper or subreption incident to human frailty, do some particular act or acts, of the lawfulness whereof he is not sufficiently persuaded. The Apostle then here speaking of such a faith as may be both found in an unbeliever, and also wanting in a true believer, it appears that by faith he means not that justifying faith which makes a true believer to differ from an unbeliever, but the word must be understood in some other notion.

¹ Si quis dixerit, opera omnia quæ ante justificationem fiunt, verè esse peccata, anathema sit. Con. Trident. Sess. 6. can. 7.

² Matt. xii. 33. Rom. viii. 8. Tit. i. 15. Heb. xi. 6, &c.

5. Yet thus much I add withal, in the behalf of those worthy men that have alleged this Scripture for the purpose aforesaid, to excuse them from the imputation of having, at least wilfully, handled the Word of God deceitfully. *First*, that the thing itself being true, and the words also sounding so much that way, might easily induce them to conceive *that* to be the very meaning.—And common equity will not that men should be presently condemned, if they shall sometimes confirm a point from a place of Scripture not altogether pertinent, if yet they think it to be so ; especially so long as the substance of what they write is according to the analogy of faith and godliness. *Secondly*, that albeit these words in their most proper and immediate sense will not necessarily enforce that conclusion, yet it may seem deducible therefrom, with the help of some topical arguments, and by more remote inferences, as some learned men have endeavoured to show, not altogether improbably. And *thirdly*, that they who interpret this text as aforesaid, are neither singular nor novel therein ; but walk in the same path which some of the ancient Fathers have trod before them. The Rhemists¹ themselves confess it of St. Augustine ; to whom they might have added also St. Prosper², and (whose authority alone is enough to stop their mouths for ever) Leo³, bishop of Rome, who have all cited these words for the selfsame purpose.

But we are content, for the reasons already shown, to let it pass as a collection impertinent ; and that I suppose is the worst that can be made of it.

6. There is a second acception of the word *faith* ; put either for the whole system of that truth which God has been pleased to reveal to his Church in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, or some part thereof ; or else (*μετουνυμικῶς*) for the assent of the mind thereunto. In which signification some conceiving the words of this text to be meant, do hence infer a false and dangerous conclusion ; which yet they would obtrude upon the Christian Church as an undoubted principle of truth : that “ men

¹ Though St. Augustine sometimes applies it also to prove that all the actions of infidels (meaning, &c.) be sin. Rhem. annot. in loc.

² Et omne quod non est ex fide peccatum est : ut sc. intelligat justitiam infidelium non esse justitiam : quia sordet natura sine gratiâ. *Prosper*. in Epist. ad Rufin. Vid. etiam eundem contra Collat.

³ Extra Ecclesiam Catholicam nihil est integrum, nihil castum dicente Apostolo, omne quod non, etc. *Leo*, Serm. ii. de Jejun. Pentec.

are bound for every particular action they do, to have direction and warrant from the written Word of God¹,” or else they sin in the doing of it. “For,” say they, “faith must be grounded upon the Word of God² ;” “faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God³.” Where there is no Word, then, there can be no faith⁴ ; and then, by the Apostle’s doctrine, that which is done without the Word to warrant it, must needs be sin ; for, “whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.”—This is their opinion, and thus they would infer it.

7. I know not any piece of counterfeit doctrine that has passed so currently in the world, with so little suspicion of falsehood, and so little open contradiction, as this has done. One chief cause whereof I conjecture to be—for that it seems to make very much for the honour and perfection of God’s sacred law ; the fulness and sufficiency whereof, none in the Christian Church but Papists or Atheists will deny. In which respect, the very questioning of it now will perhaps seem a strange novelty to many, and occasion their miscensures. But as God Himself, so the holy Word of God is so full of all requisite perfection, that it needs not to beg honour from an untruth. “Will you speak wickedly for God ? or talk deceitfully for him⁵ ?” I hold it very needful, therefore, both for the vindicating of my text from a common abuse, and for the arming of all my brethren, as well of the clergy as laity, against a common and plausible error, that neither *they* teach it, nor *these* receive it ; briefly and clearly to show that the aforesaid opinion, in such sort as some have proposed it, and many have understood it, (for it is capable of a good interpretation, wherein it may be allowed,) first, is utterly devoid of truth ; and, secondly, draws after it many dangerous consequents and evil effects ; and, thirdly, has no good warrant from my present text.

8. The opinion is, that to do anything at all without direction from the Scripture, is unlawful and sinful.—Which, if they would understand only of the substantials^a of God’s worship, and of the exercises of spiritual and supernatural graces, the assertion were true and sound ; but as they extend it to all the actions of common

¹ T. C. l. i. p. 59, &c. apud Hooker, lib. ii.

² Rom. x. 17.

³ Rom. x.

⁴ T. C. l. i. p. 27. apud Hooker, lib. ii. § 1.

⁵ Job xiii. 7.

^a Compare the Preface of A.D. 1655. § 8, above, p. 535-6.

life whatsoever¹, whether natural or civil, even so far as to the taking up of a straw; *so it* is altogether false and indefensible. I marvel what warrant they that so teach have from the Scripture for that very doctrine; or where they are commanded so to believe or teach. One of their chiefest refuges is the text we now have in hand; but I shall anon drive them from this shelter. The other places usually alleged speak only, either of divine and supernatural truths to be believed, or else of works of grace or worship to be performed, as of necessity unto salvation,—which is not to the point in issue. For it is freely confessed, that in things of such nature the holy Scripture is, and so we are to account it, a most absolute and sufficient direction. Upon which ground we heartily reject all human traditions, devised and intended as supplements to the doctrine of faith contained in the Bible, and annexed as codicils to the holy testament of Christ, to supply the defects thereof. The question is wholly about things in their nature indifferent; such as are the use of our food, raiment, and the like, about which the common actions of life are chiefly conversant;—whether in the choice and use of such things we may not be sometimes sufficiently guided by the light of reason, and the common rules of discretion; but that we must be able, (and are so bound to do, or else we sin,) for every thing we do in such matters, to deduce our warrant from some place or other of Scripture?

9. Before the Scriptures were written it pleased God, by visions, and dreams, and other like revelations, immediately to make known his good pleasure to the Patriarchs and Prophets, and by them unto the people; which kind of revelations served them to all the same intents and purposes, whereto the sacred Scriptures now do us, *viz.* to instruct them what they should believe and do for his better service, and the furtherance of their own salvation. Now as it were unreasonable for any man to think that they either had or did expect an immediate revelation from God every time they ate, or drank, or bought, or sold, or did any other of the common actions of life, for the warranting of each of those particular actions to their consciences; no less unreasonable it is to think that we should now expect the like warrant from the Scriptures for the doing of the like actions. Without all doubt

¹ I say, that the Word of God contains whatsoever things can fall into any part of man's life. T. C. lib. i. p. 20. apud *Hooker*, lib. ii. § 1.

the law of nature, and the light of reason, was the rule whereby they were guided for the most part in such matters ; which the wisdom of God would never have left in them or us, as a principal relic of his decayed image in us, if He had not meant that we should make use of it for the direction of our lives and actions thereby. Certainly, God never infused any power into any creature whereof He intended not some use ; else what shall we say of the Indians, and other barbarous nations, to whom God never vouchsafed the lively oracles of his written word ? Must we think that they were left a lawless people, without any rule at all whereby to order their actions ? How, then, come they to be guilty of transgression ? for where there is no law ¹ there can be no transgression. Or how comes it about that their consciences should at any time or in any case either accuse them ², or excuse them, if they had no guide nor rule to walk by ? But if we must grant they had a rule (and there is no way, you see, but grant it we must), then we must also of necessity grant that there is some other rule for human actions besides the written word ; for *that* we presupposed these nations to have wanted : which rule, what other could it be than the law of nature and of right reason imprinted in their hearts ³ ? which is as truly the law ^a and word of God as is that which is printed in our Bibles. So long as our actions are warranted either by the one or the other we cannot be said to want the warrant of God's word : “ *Nec differt, Scripturá an ratione consistat* ⁴, ” says Tertullian ; it matters not much from whether of both we have our direction, so long as we have it from either.

10. You see, then, those men are in a great error who make the Holy Scriptures the sole rule of all human actions whatsoever ; for the maintenance whereof there was never yet produced any piece of an argument, either from reason, or from authority of holy Writ, or from the testimony either of the ancient Fathers or of other classical divines of later times, which may not be clearly and abundantly answered to the satisfaction of any rational man not extremely fore-possessed with prejudice. They who think to salve the matter by this mitigation, that “ at leastwise our actions

¹ Rom. iv. 15.

² Rom. ii. 15.

³ Rom. ii. 15.

^a Compare Hooker, Preface, chap. iii. § 10, above, p. 388, 9. Also, book i. chap. viii. § 3, above, vol. i. p. 117—9. Also, Baxter's Catechism, chap. v. quest. 5, above, vol. i. p. 231, and note.

⁴ Tertul. de Coron. Milit. cap. 4.

ought to be framed according to those general rules of the law of nature^a which are here and there in the Scriptures dispersedly contained : (as viz., That we should do as we would be done to ; That all things be done decently, and orderly, and unto edification ; That nothing be done against conscience, and the like ;) speak somewhat indeed to the truth, but little to the purpose ; for they consider not, first, that these general rules are but occasionally and incidentally mentioned in Scripture ; rather to manifest unto us a former, than to lay upon us a new obligation. Secondly, that those rules had been of force for the ordering of men's actions, though the Scripture had never expressed them, and were of such force before those Scriptures were written wherein they are now expressed : for they bind not originally, *qua scripta*, but *qua justa*, because they are righteous, not because they are written : thirdly, that an action conformable to these general rules might not be condemned as sinful, although the doer thereof should look at those rules merely as they are the dictates of the law of nature, and should not be able to vouch his warrant for it from any place of Scripture, neither should have at the time of the doing thereof any present thought or consideration of any such place. The contrary whereunto I permit to any man's reasonable judgment, if it be not desperately rash and uncharitable to affirm : lastly, that if men's actions done agreeably to those rules are said to be of faith, precisely for this reason, because those rules are contained in *the word* : then it will follow that before those particular Scriptures were written, wherein any of those rules are first delivered, every action done according to those rules had been done without faith (there being as yet no Scripture for it), and consequently had been a sin. So that by this doctrine it had been a sin (before the writing of St. Matthew's gospel¹) for any man to have done to others as he would they should do to him ; and it had been a sin (before the writing of the former epistle to the Corinthians²) for any man to have done any thing decently and orderly, supposing these two rules to be in those two places first mentioned, because (this supposed) there could then have been no warrant brought from the Scriptures for so doing.

II. Well, then, we see the former opinion will by no means hold, neither in the rigour of it, nor yet in the mitigation. We

^a Compare *Hooker*, book iii. chap. 7. and 8.

¹ Matt. vii. 12.

² 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

are therefore to beware of it : and that so much the more heedfully, because of the evil consequences and effects that issue from it : to wit, a world of superstitions, uncharitable censures, bitter contentions, contempt of superiors, perplexities of conscience^a.—First, it fills men's heads with many superstitious conceits, making them to cast impurity upon sundry things, which yet are lawful to as many as use them lawfully ; for the taking away of the indifferency of any thing that is indifferent is in truth superstition ; whether ever of the two ways it be done, either by requiring it as necessary, or by forbidding it as unlawful. He that condemns a thing as utterly unlawful, which yet indeed is indifferent, and so lawful, is guilty of superstition, as well as he that enjoins a thing as absolutely necessary which yet indeed is but indifferent, and so arbitrary. They of the Church of Rome, and some in our Church, as they go upon quite contrary grounds, yet both false^b, so they run into quite contrary errors, and both superstitions : *they* decline too much on the left hand, denying to the Holy Scripture that perfection which of right it ought to have,—of containing all things appertaining to that supernatural doctrine of faith and holiness which God has revealed to his Church for the attainment of everlasting salvation ; whereupon they would impose upon Christian people, and that with an opinion of necessity, many things which the Scriptures require not ; and that is a superstition : *these* wry too much on the right hand, ascribing to the Holy Scripture such a kind of perfection as it cannot have ; of being the sole director of all human actions whatsoever : whereupon they forbid unto Christian people, and that under the name of sin, sundry things which the Holy Scripture condemns not ;—and that is a superstition too.

12. From which superstition proceeds, in the second place, uncharitable censuring ; as evermore they that are the most superstitious are the most supercilious. No such severe censurers of our blessed Saviour's person and actions as the superstitious Scribes and Pharisees were. In this chapter the special fault which the apostle blames in the weak ones (who were somewhat superstitiously affected), was their rash and uncharitable judging¹ of their brethren. And common and daily experience among ourselves shows how freely some men spend their censures upon

^a Compare *Hooker*, book ii. chap. viii. § 6.

^b Compare *Hooker*, book ii. chap. viii. § 7.

¹ Ver. 3, 4. 10. 13.

so many of their brethren, as without scruple do any of those things which they, upon false grounds, have superstitiously condemned as utterly unlawful.

13. And then, thirdly, as unjust censurers are commonly entertained with scorn and contumely, they that so liberally condemn their brethren of profaneness are by them again as freely flouted for their preciseness; and so, while both parties please themselves in their own ways, they cease not mutually to provoke and scandalize and exasperate the one the other, pursuing their private spleens so far till they break out into open contentions and oppositions.—Thus it stood in the Roman Church when this epistle was written. They judged ¹ one another, and despised one another, to the great disturbance of the Church's peace; which gave occasion to our apostle's whole discourse in this chapter. And how far the like censurings and despisings have embittered the spirits, and whetted both the tongues and pens of learned men one against another in our own Church, the stirs that have been long since raised, and are still upheld by the factious opposers against our ecclesiastical constitutions, government, and ceremonies, will not suffer us to be ignorant; most of which stirs, I verily persuade myself, had been long ere this either wholly buried in silence, or at leastwise pretty well quieted, if the weakness and danger of the error whereof we now speak had been more timely discovered, and more fully and frequently² made known to the world than it has been.

14. Fourthly, let that doctrine be once admitted, and all human authority will soon be despised. The commands of parents, masters, and princes, which many times require both secrecy and expedition, shall be taken into slow deliberation, and the equity of them sifted by those that are bound to obey, though they know no cause why, so long as they know no cause to the contrary. "*Delicata est obedientia, quæ transit in causæ genus deliberativum*."³ It is a nice obedience, in St. Bernard's ⁴ judgment, yea, rather

¹ Ver. 3.

² It is indeed fully handled by Mr. Hooker in his second book of Ecclesiastical Polity; but few men of that party will read his works, though written with singular learning, wisdom, godliness, and moderation.—Compare Hooker, Preface, chap. iii. § 14; "they close up their ears," &c.

³ *Pet. Blesenf.* Epist. 131.

⁴ *Delicata satis imò nimis molesta est ista obedientia, &c. Bern. de Præcept. et Dispens.*

troublesome and odious, that is over curious in discussing¹ the commands of superiors, boggling at every thing that is enjoined, requiring a why for every wherefore, and unwilling to stir until the lawfulness and expediency of the thing commanded shall be demonstrated by some manifest reason or undoubted authority from the Scriptures.

15. Lastly, the admitting of this doctrine would cast such a snare upon men of weak judgments, but tender consciences, as they should never be able to unwind themselves thereout again. Men's daily occasions for themselves or friends, and the necessities of common life, require the doing of a thousand things within the compass of a few days, for which it would puzzle the best textman that lives readily to bethink himself of a sentence in the Bible clear enough to satisfy a scrupulous conscience of the lawfulness and expediency of what he is about to do ; for which, by hearkening to the rules of reason and discretion, he might receive easy and speedy resolution. In which cases if he should be bound to suspend his resolution, and delay to do that which his own reason would tell him were presently needful to be done, until he could haply call to mind some precept or example of Scripture for his warrant, what stops would it make in the course of his whole life ! what languishings in the duties of his calling ! how would it fill him with doubts and irresolutions, lead him into a maze of uncertainties, entangle him in a world of woful perplexities, and (without the great mercy of God and better instruction) plunge him irrecoverably into the gulf of despair ! Since the chief end of the publication of the gospel is to comfort² the hearts, and to revive and refresh the spirits of God's people with the glad tidings of "liberty"³ from the spirit of "bondage"⁴ and "fear"⁵, and of gracious acceptance with their God ; to anoint them with "the oil of gladness"⁶ giving them beauty for ashes, and instead of "sackcloth girding them with joy"⁷ ; we may well suspect that doctrine not to be evangelical which thus sets the consciences of men upon the rack, tortures them with continual fears and perplexities, and prepares them thereby unto hellish despair.

¹ *Infirmæ prorsus voluntatis indicium est, statuta seniorum studiosius discutere ; hæreere ad singula quæ injunguntur : exigere de quibusque rationem, et malè suspicari de omni præcepto cujus causa latuerit ; nec unquam libenter ordiri, nisi, &c. Bern. ibid.*

² Isaiah xl. 1, 2.

³ Isaiah lxi. 1—3.

⁴ Rom. viii. 15.

⁵ 2 Tim. i. 7.

⁶ Psalm xlv. 7.

⁷ Psalm xxx. 11.

16. These are the grievous effects and pernicious consequents that will follow upon their opinion, who hold, that we must have warrant from the Scripture for every thing whatsoever we do; not only in spiritual things, (wherein alone it is absolutely true,) nor yet only in other matters of weight, though they be not spiritual, (for which perhaps there might be some colour,) but also in the common affairs of life, even in the most slight and trivial things.—Yet for that the patrons of this opinion build themselves as much upon the authority of this present text, as upon any other passage of Scripture whatsoever, which is the reason why we have stood thus long upon the examination of it;) we are therefore, in the next place, to clear the text from that their mis-interpretation.—The force of their collection stands thus, (as you heard already,) that faith is ever grounded upon the word of God; and that therefore, whatsoever action is not grounded upon the word, being it is not of faith, by the Apostle's rule here, must needs be a sin. Which collection could not be denied, if the word *faith* were here taken in that sense which they imagine, and wherein it is very usually taken in the Scriptures: viz. for the doctrine of supernatural and divine revelation, or for the belief thereof; which doctrine we ¹ willingly acknowledge to be completely contained in the Holy Scriptures alone, and therefore dare not admit into our belief, as a branch of divine supernatural truth, any thing not therein contained.

But there is a third signification of the word *faith*, nothing so frequently found in the Scriptures as the two former; which yet appears both by the course of this whole chapter, and by the consent of the best and most approved interpreters as well ancient as modern, to have been properly intended by our Apostle in this place; namely, that wherein it is put for a certain persuasion of mind, that what we do may lawfully be done. So that whatsoever action is done by us, with reasonable assurance and persuasion of the lawfulness thereof in our own consciences, is in our Apostle's purpose so far forth an action of faith; without any inquiring into the means whereby that persuasion was wrought in us; whether it were the light of our own reason, or the authority of some credible person, or the declaration of God's revealed will in his written word. And on the other side, whatsoever action is done, either directly contrary to the judgment and verdict of

¹ See Articles of the Church of England, Article VI.

our own consciences, or at leastwise doubtingly and before we are in some competent measure assured that we may lawfully do it; *that* is it which St. Paul here denies to be of faith, and of which he pronounces so peremptorily that it is (and that *eo nomine*) a sin.

17. About which use and signification of the word *faith* we need not to trouble ourselves to fetch it from a trope, either of a ¹ Metonymy or ² Synecdoche, as some do. For though (as I say) it does not so often occur in Scripture, yet it is indeed the primary and native signification of the word *πίστις*, faith, derived from the root *πείθω*, to persuade; because all kinds of faith whatsoever, consist in a kind of persuasion. You shall therefore find the words, *πιστεύειν*, which signifies properly to believe, and *ἀπειθεῖν*, which signifies properly not to be persuaded, to be opposed as contrary either to other in John iii. 36. and Acts xiv. 1, 2. and other places. To omit the frequent use of the words *πίστις* and *fides*, in Greek and Latin authors in this signification, observe but the passages of this very chapter, and you will be satisfied in it. At the second verse, *πιστεύει φαγεῖν*, “one believeth that he may eat all things³ ;” that is, he is verily persuaded in his conscience that he may as lawfully eat flesh as herbs, any one kind of meat as any other,—he makes no doubt of it. Again, at the fourteenth verse, *πέπεισμαι*, “I know and am persuaded that there is nothing unclean of itself⁴ ;” that is, I steadfastly believe it as a most certain and undoubted truth. Again, at the two and twentieth verse, *σὺ πίστιν ἔχεις*; “Hast thou faith? have it to thyself before God⁵ ;” that is, Art thou in thy conscience persuaded that thou mayest lawfully partake any of the good creatures of God? Let that persuasion suffice thee for the approving of thine own heart in the sight of God; but trouble not the Church nor offend the weaker brother, by a needless and unseasonable ostentation of that thy knowledge. Lastly, in this three and twentieth verse, *ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως*, “He that doubteth is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith⁶ :” that is, he that is not yet fully persuaded in his own mind, that it is lawful for him to eat some kinds of meats, (as namely swine’s-flesh, or bloodings,) and yet is drawn against his own judgment to eat thereof because he sees others so to do, or because he would be

¹ *Heming.* in Rom. xiv. 1.

⁴ Ver. 14.

² *Piscat.* *ibid.*

⁵ Ver. 22.

³ *Hic* ver. 2.

⁶ Ver. 23.

loth to undergo the taunts and jeers of scorners, or out of any other poor respect; such a man is cast and condemned by the judgment of his own heart as a transgressor, because he adventures to do that which he does not believe to be lawful. And then the Apostle proceeding *ab hypothesi ad thesin*, immediately reduces that particular case into a general rule in these words, "For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin." By the process of which his discourse, it may appear that by faith no other thing is here meant, than such a persuasion of the mind and conscience as we have now declared, and that the true purport and intent^a of these words is but thus much in effect; "Whosoever shall enterprise the doing of any thing, which he verily believeth to be unlawful, or at leastwise is not reasonably well persuaded of the lawfulness of it: let the thing be otherwise, and in itself what it can be, lawful or unlawful, indifferent or necessary, convenient or inconvenient, it matters not: to him it is a sin howsoever."

18. Which being the plain, evident, and undeniable purpose of these words, I shall not need to spend any more breath either in the farther refutation of such conclusions as are mis-inferred hence, which fall of themselves; or in the farther explication of the meaning of the text, which already appears:—but address myself rather to the application of it. Wherein, because upon this great principle may depend the resolution of very many cases of conscience, which may trouble us in our Christian and holy walking; it will not be unprofitable to proceed by resolving some of the most material doubts and questions, among those which have occurred unto my thoughts by occasion of this text in my meditations thereon.

19. First, it may be demanded, "What power the conscience has to make a thing otherwise good and lawful, to become unlawful and sinful? and whence it has that power?"—I answer, First, that it is not in the power of any man's judgment or conscience to alter the natural condition of any thing whatsoever, either in respect of quality or degree; but that still every thing that was good remains good, and every thing that was evil remains evil; and that in the very same degree of good or evil as it was before, neither better nor worse, any man's particular judgment or opinion thereof notwithstanding. For the differences between good and evil, and the several degrees of both, spring

^a Compare *Hooker*, book ii. chap. iv.

from such conditions as are intrinsical to the things themselves ; which no ¹ outward respects, (and much less then men's opinions) can vary. He that esteems any creature unclean, may defile himself, but he cannot bring impurity upon that creature, by such his estimation. Secondly, that ² men's judgments may make that which is good in its own nature, (the natural goodness still remaining) become evil to them in the *use* : essentially good, and *quoad rem* ; but *quoad hominem*, and accidentally, evil. It is our Apostle's own distinction in the fourteenth verse of this chapter ; " Nothing unclean of itself : but to him that esteemeth any thing to be unclean, unclean to him."—But then we must know withal, that it holds not the other way. Men's judgments or opinions, although they may make that which is good in itself, to become evil to them ; yet they cannot make that which is evil in itself, to become good either in itself, or to them. If a man were verily persuaded, that it were evil to ask his father's blessing, that mis-persuasion would make it become evil to him : but if the same man should be as verily persuaded that it were good to curse his father, or to deny him relief being an unbeliever ; that mis-persuasion could not make either of them become good to him. Some that persecuted the Apostles were persuaded they ³ did God good service in it. It was St. Paul's case before his conversion, who " verily thought in himself, that he ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus ⁴." But those their persuasions would not serve to justify those their actions. St. Paul confesses himself to have been " a persecutor, and blasphemer, and injurious ⁵" for so doing, although he followed the guidance of his own conscience therein ; and to have stood in need of mercy for the remission of those wicked acts, though he did them ignorantly, and ⁶ out of zeal to the law. The reason of which difference is, that which I touched in the beginning, even because any one defect is enough to render an action evil ; and consequently a defect in the agent may do it, though the substance of the action remain still (as it was) good : but all conditions must concur to make an action good ; and consequently, a right intention in the agent will not suffice thereunto, so long as the substance of the action remains still (as it was) evil. Thirdly,

¹ Respectus non mutant naturam.

² Opinio nostra nobis legem facit. *Ambr.* de paradis.

³ John xvi. 2.

⁴ Acts xxvi. 9.

⁵ 1 Tim. i. 13.

⁶ Acts xxiii. 3, 4. et Phil. iii. 6.

that the conscience has this power over men's wills and actions by virtue of that unchangeable law of God, which He established by an ordinance of nature in our first creation: that the will of every man (which is the fountain whence all our actions immediately flow), should conform itself to the judgment of the practical understanding or conscience, as to its proper and immediate rule, and yield itself to be guided thereby. So that if the understanding through error point out a wrong way, and the will follow it: the fault is chiefly in the understanding for mis-guiding the will. But if the understanding show the right way, and the will take a wrong; then the fault is merely in the will, for not following the guide which God has set over it.

20. It may be demanded, Secondly, Whether or no in every particular thing we do, an actual consideration of the lawfulness and expediency thereof be so requisite, as that for want thereof we should sin in doing it! The reason of the doubt is, because otherwise how should it appear to be of faith? and, "whatsoever is not of faith is sin."—I answer, First; That in matters of weight, and worthy of consultation, it is very necessary that the lawfulness and expediency of them be first diligently examined, before they be enterprised. And, Secondly, That even in smaller matters the like¹ examination is needful when there is any apparent cause of doubting. But, Thirdly, That in such small and trivial matters, as it much skills not whether we do them or no, or whether we do this rather than that, and wherein no doubt arises to trouble us; an actual consideration of their lawfulness or expediency is so far from being requisite, that it would rather be troublesome and incommodious. True it is, that all voluntary actions are done with some deliberation, more or less: because it is the nature of the will to consult with the understanding in every act; else it should be irrational and brutish. Yet there are many things which we daily do, wherein the sentence of the understanding is so quick and present², because there is no difficulty in them, that they seem to be, (and are therefore sometimes so termed) "*actus indeliberati*:" such as are to sit down and to rise up³, to pluck a flower as we walk in a garden, to ask the time of

¹ Ubi est suspicio, ibi discussio necessaria. *Bernard. Ep. 7.*

² Ratio in rebus manifestis non inquirat, sed statim judicat. *Aquin. i. 2. qu. xiv. 4. ad 2.*

³ 'Εκόντες γάρ πολλά πράττομεν, πρὸ τοῦ διανοηθῆναι καὶ βουλευσασθαι, οἷον καθίζομεν, καὶ ἀνιστάμεθα, &c. *Arist. 1 Mag. Moral. 18.*

the day, or the name of the next town as we travel by the way, or whether we eat of this or that dish at the table, and the like¹. For the doing of every of which, it were a ridiculous servility to be imposed upon men, if they should be tied to district examination of the lawfulness and expediency thereof. There is not in them "*dignus vindice nodus*:" and a man's time ought to be more precious unto him, than to be trifled away in such needless and minute enquiries. It is even as if we should tie a great learned man that is ready in his Latin tongue, to bethink himself first of some grammar rule or example for the declining and parsing of every word he were to speak, before he should adventure to utter a Latin sentence. But, as such a man is sufficiently assured out of the habit of his learning, that he speaks congruously and with good propriety, though he have no present actual reference to his grammar rules; so here an habitual knowledge of the nature and use of indifferent things is sufficient to warrant to the conscience the lawfulness of these common actions of life, so as they may be said to be of faith, though there be no farther actual or particular disquisition used about them. A very needful thing it is the whilest, for Christian men to endeavour to have a right judgment concerning indifferent things: without which it can scarcely be avoided, but that both their consciences will be full of distracting scruples within themselves, and their conversation full of unbrotherly carriage toward others.

III. It may be demanded, thirdly, since "Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin;" what measure of faith, or what degree of persuasion is necessary for the warranting of our actions, so as less than that will not serve?—I answer, that what is here demanded cannot be positively defined by any peremptory and immovable rules. There is most an end, a latitude in such things as these are; which may be straitened or extended more or less, according to the exigence of present occasions, and as the different state or quality of particular business shall require. There is a *πληροφορία*, a fulness of persuasion arising from evident infallible and demonstrative proofs, which is attainable for the performance of sundry duties both of civil justice and of religion. And where it may be attained, it is to be endeavoured after, (though it be not of absolute necessity:) for we cannot make our assurances too strong. The apostle uses that word at the fifth verse, "Let every man be fully

¹ εἰ δὲ ἀεὶ βουλευέσεται, εἰς ἄπειρον ἤξει. *Arist. 2. Eth. 5.*

persuaded in his own mind¹,” *πληροφορεῖσθω* : it is a metaphorical word, and seems to be borrowed from a ship under full sail², that has both wind and tide with it, to carry it with a straight and speedy course to the desired point, and nothing to hinder it. But as men, when they are to purchase lands, will desire and propose to have as good assurance as by learned counsel can be devised, but yet must be content to take such assurance as the sellers can make, or else they shall make but a few markets : so although we may desire (*ex abundanti*) a full assurance of faith in every weighty action we shall enterprise, yet ordinarily and in most things we must content ourselves to take up with a conjectural, probable, and moral certainty, or else we shall find very few things left for us to do. *Fides logica* is not to be expected in all cases : in some, and those the most, *fides ethica* must serve the turn. Nay I say yet further, and I beseech you (brethren) to take notice of it as a matter of special use both for the directing and quieting of your consciences ; that ordinarily and in most things we need no other warrant for what we do than this only, that there is not (to our knowledge) any law either of nature or Scripture against them. As the lawyers use to say of men’s persons, “ *Quisque præsumitur esse bonus*,” &c. The law takes every man for a good man and true, till his truth and honesty be legally disproved, and as our Saviour sometimes said, “ He that is not against us, is for us³ ;” so in these matters we are to believe all things to be lawful for us to do, which cannot be shown by good evidence either of Scripture or reason to be unlawful. Those men therefore go quite the wrong way to work, to the fearful puzzling of their own and other men’s consciences, who use to argue on this manner ; “ This I have no warrant to do ; for where is it commanded ?” Whereas they ought rather to argue thus, “ This I have good warrant to do ; for where is it forbidden ?”—Apply this now a little to those ceremonies, that for order’s sake, and to add the greater solemnity to sacred actions, are appointed in the Church ; wearing the surplice, bowing at the name of the Lord Jesus, kneeling at the holy communion, and the rest. Though I might say, and that truly, that these also are commanded even by divine authority *in genere*, that is to say, as they fall within the compass

¹ Verse 5. hic plenè certus sit. *Heming.*

² Quasi plenìs velis feratur. *Piscat.* in Schol. ad Rom. xiv. 5.

³ Luke ix. 50.

of decent ceremonies, by virtue of that grand ecclesiastical canon, "Let all things be done honestly and in order ¹;" and that even *in specie* too they are commanded by the authority of those governors whom God has set over us, and to whom we are bound in conscience, and by virtue of God's commandment, to yield obedience; yet I waive all this for the present, because it is not so direct to the point in hand. Only I ask, where are any of these things forbidden? if they be, let it be shown; and that not by weak collections, and remote consequences, which are good for nothing but to engender strifes, and to multiply disputes without end; but by direct and full evidence either of Scripture text or reason;—which (for any thing I know) was never yet done, neither (as I verily believe) will ever be done. But if it cannot be shown that these things are forbidden, without any more ado, the use of them is by that sufficiently warranted.—He that will not allow of this doctrine, besides that he cherishes an error which will hardly suffer him to have a quiet conscience, I yet see not how he can reconcile his opinion with those sundry passages of our apostle, "Every creature of God is good ²," "To the pure all things are pure ³," "I know nothing is of itself unclean ⁴," "All things are lawful ⁵," &c. From which passages we may with much safety conclude, that it is lawful for us to do all those things, concerning which there can be nothing brought of moment to prove them unlawful. Upon which ground alone if we do them, we do them upon such a persuasion of faith as is sufficient. Provided that we have not neglected to inform our judgments the best we could for the time past; and that we are ever ready withal to yield ourselves to better information, whensoever it shall be tendered unto us, for the time to come.

22. It may be demanded, fourthly, suppose a man would fain do something, of the lawfulness whereof he is not in his conscience sufficiently resolved, whether he may in any case do it, notwithstanding the reluctancy of his conscience, yea or no?—As they write of Cyrus ⁶ that to make a passage for his army, he cut the great river Gyndes into many smaller channels, which in one entire stream was not passable, so to make a clear and distinct answer to this great question, I must divide it into some lesser ones. For

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 40.

² 1 Tim. iv. 4.

³ Tit. i. 15.

⁴ Rom. xiv. 14.

⁵ 1 Cor. vi. 12.

⁶ Herodot. in Clio; Senec. 3, de Ira; 21.

there are sundry things considerable in it ; whether we respect the conscience, or the person of the doer, or the action to be done. As namely and especially, in respect of the conscience, whether the reluctancy thereof proceed from a settled and stedfast resolution, or from some doubtfulness only, or but from some scruple ? And in respect of the person, whether he be *sui juris*, his own master, and have power to dispose of himself at his own choice in the things questioned ; or he be under the command, and at the appointment of another ? And in respect of the action or thing to be done : whether it be a necessary thing, or an unlawful thing, or a thing indifferent and arbitrary ? Any of which circumstances may quite alter the case, and so beget new questions. But I shall reduce all to three questions : whereof the first shall concern a resolved conscience, the second a doubtful conscience, and the third a scrupulous conscience.

23. The first question then is, if the conscience be firmly resolved, that the thing proposed to be done is unlawful, whether it may then be done or no ? Whereunto I answer in these two conclusions.—The first conclusion : if the conscience be firmly so resolved, and that upon a true ground (that is to say, if the thing be indeed unlawful, and judged so to be) it may not in any case, or for any respect in the world, be done. There cannot be imagined a higher contempt of God¹, than for a man to despise the power of his own conscience ; which is the highest sovereignty under heaven, as being God's most immediate deputy for the ordering of his life and ways. Βροτοῖς ἅπανσιν ἡ συνείδησις Θεοῦ², a heathen man could say. Woeful is the estate of those men (unless they repent) who for filthy lucre, or vain pleasure, or spiteful malice, or tottering honour, or lazy ease, or any other reigning lust, dare lie, or swear, or cheat, or oppress, or commit filthiness, or steal, or kill, or slander, or flatter, or betray, or do any thing that may advance their base ends ; nothing at all regarding the secret whisperings, or murmurings, no nor yet the loud roarings and bellowings of their own consciences there against. “*Stat contra ratio, et secretam gannit in aurem*”³. It does so ; but yet they turn a deaf ear to it, and despise it. Wonder not, if when they out of the terrors of their troubled con-

¹ Qui agit contra conscientiam quâ credit Deum aliquid prohibuisse, licet erret, contemnit Deum. *Bonavent.* 2. sent. dist. 39.

² *Menand.*

³ *Pers. Satyr.* 5.

sciences shall howl and roar in the ears of the Almighty for mercy, or for some mitigation at least of their torment, He then turn a deaf ear against them, and despise them. "To him that knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin¹," sin not to be excused by any plea or colour: but how much more inexcusably then is it sin to him, that knows the evil he should not do, and yet will do it? There is not a proner way to hell² than to sin against conscience. "Happy is he which condemneth not himself in that which he alloweth³:"—but most wretched is he that allows himself to the practice of that, which in his judgment he cannot but condemn.—Neither makes it any difference at all here, whether a man be otherwise *sui juris* or not. For although there be a greater respect due to the higher powers in doubtful cases, (as I shall touch anon) yet where the thing required is simply unlawful, and understood so to be, inferiors must absolutely resolve to disobey, whatsoever come of it.—God's faithful servants have ever been most resolute in such exigents. "We are not careful to answer thee in this matter⁴;" (belike in a matter of another nature they would have taken care to have given the king a more satisfactory, at least a more respective answer;—but in this matter) "Be it known to thee, O king, that we will not serve thy gods." "*Da veniam, Imperator*⁵," &c. You know whose answers they were. If we be sure that God has forbidden it, we sin against our own consciences, if we do it at the command of any mortal man whosoever, or upon any worldly inducement whatsoever. That is the first conclusion.

24. The second is this. If a man be in his conscience fully persuaded that a thing is evil and unlawful, which yet in truth is not so, but lawful; the thing by him so judged unlawful cannot by him be done without sin. Even an erroneous conscience^a binds thus far, that a man cannot go against it, and be guiltless, because his practice should then run cross to his judgment; and

¹ James iv. 17.

² Quod si contra conscientiam ædificat ad gehennam. c. 28. qu. 1. Omnes sect. ex his.

³ Rom. xiv. 22.

⁴ Dan. iii. 16—18.

⁵ C. 11. qu. 3. Qui resistet. ex Augustino.

^a Compare below in this Sermon, § 29, and *Mason's Sermon*, § 40, above, p. 521. See also *Stillingfleet's* Mischief of Separation, p. 42—5. *Law's* first, second, and third Letters to Bishop Hoadly, p. 330—4, 402—7, and 552—65. *Scholar Armed*, vol. i. edit. 1795.

so the thing done could not be of faith. For if his reason judge it to be evil, and yet he will do it, it argues manifestly that he has a will to do evil, and so becomes a transgressor of that general law which binds all men to eschew all evil.—Yet in this case we must admit of some difference, according to the different nature of the things, and the different condition of the persons. For if the things so judged unlawful, be in their own nature not necessary, but indifferent, so as they may either be done or left undone without sin; and the person withal be *sui juris* in respect of such things, no superior power having determined his liberty therein: then, although he may not do any of these things, by reason of the contrary persuasion of his conscience, without sin; yet he may without sin leave them undone. As for example: say a man should hold it utterly unlawful (as some erroneously do) to play at cards or dice, or to lay a wager, or to cast lots in trivial matters; if it be in truth lawful to do every of these things, (as I make no question but it is^a, so they be done with sobriety, and with due circumstances) yet he that is otherwise persuaded of them, cannot by reason of that persuasion do any of them without sin. Yet, forasmuch as they are things no way necessary, but indifferent, both in their nature, and for their use also, no superior power having enjoined any man to use them; therefore he that judges them unlawful, may abstain from them without sin, and so indeed he is in conscience bound to do, so long as he continues to be of that opinion.—But now on the other side, if the things so misjudged to be unlawful be any way necessary; either in respect of their own nature, or by the injunction of authority: then the person is by that his error brought into such a strait between two sins, as he can by no possible means avoid both, so long as he persists in that his error. For, both if he do the thing, he goes against the persuasion of his conscience, and that is a great sin: and if he do it not, either he omits a necessary duty, or else disobeys lawful authority; and to do either of both is a sin too^b. Out of which snare since there is no way of escape

^a Compare *Sanderson's* eleventh Sermon *ad Aulam*, § 13. and the seventh *ad Populum*, § 35. Also his fifth Sermon, *ad Populum*, § 24—5, given below, No. XIX. in this collection. See also the whole of this subject examined with great learning, judgment, and accuracy, in *Gataker*, on the Nature and Use of Lots, chap. vi.—ix. p. 150—315.

^b Compare below in this Sermon, § 29. *Mason's* Sermon, § 40. above, p. 521.

but one, which is to rectify his judgment^a, and to quit his pernicious error; it concerns every man therefore that unfeignedly desires to do his duty in the fear of God, and to keep a good conscience, not to be too stiff in his present apprehensions, but to examine well the principles and grounds of his opinions, strongly suspecting that wind that drives him upon such rocks, to be but a blast of his own fancy, rather than a breathing of the holy Spirit of truth. Once this is most certain, that whosoever shall adventure to do any thing repugnant to the judgment of his own conscience, (be that judgment true or be it false,) shall commit a grievous sin in so doing: ὅτι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, because it cannot be of faith, and “ whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.”

25. *That* is now where the conscience apparently inclines the one way. But say the scales hang even, so as a man cannot well resolve whether way he should rather take! Now he is in one mind¹, by and by in another; but constant in neither: right St. James’s ἀνὴρ δίψυχος, “ a double-minded man².” This is what we call a doubting conscience; concerning which, the second question is, what a man ought to do in case of doubtfulness? Perfect directions here, (as in most deliberatives,) would require a large discourse, because there are so many considerable circumstances that may vary the case; especially in respect of the cause from which that doubtfulness of mind may spring. Many times it arises from mere fickleness of mind, or weakness of judgment; as the lightest things are soonest driven out of their place by the wind: even as St. James says, “ a double-minded man is wavering in all his ways³ :” and St. Paul speaks of some that were like children⁴, off and on, soon wherryed about with every blast of doctrine. Sometimes it proceeds from tenderness of conscience, which is indeed a very blessed and gracious thing: but yet (as tender things may soon miscarry, if they be not the more choicely handled,) very obnoxious through Satan’s diligence and subtilty to be wrought upon to dangerous inconveniences. Sometimes it may proceed from the probability of those reasons that seem to

p. 521, in this volume. *Sanderson* De Obligat. Conscientiæ, Prælect. vi. § 16. *Stillfleet’s* Mischief of Separation, p. 39—45. *Law’s* Three Letters to Bishop Hoadly, p. 330—4, 402—7, and 552—65.

^a See *Mason’s* Sermon, § 35, and the note there, p. 511, above: also, the note on *Hooker’s* preface, c. iii. § 10. p. 389, above; and c. vi. § 5. c. ix. § 1.

¹ —animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc. *Virg. Æneid.* 10.

² James i. 8.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Eph. iv. 14

stand on either side, betwixt which it is not easy to judge which are strongest : or from the different judgments and opinions of learned and godly men thereabout, and from many other causes : but for some general resolution of the question, (what is to be done where the conscience is doubtful ?) I answer,

26. First, that if the doubtfulness be not concerning the lawfulness of any of the things to be done, considered simply and in themselves, but of the expediency of them as they are compared one with another : (as when of two things proposed at once, whereof one must, and but one can be done, I am sufficiently persuaded of the lawfulness of either, but am doubtful whether of the two rather to pitch upon :) in such a case, the party ought first to weigh the conveniences and inconveniences of both, as well and advisedly as he can, by himself alone ; and to do that which *then* shall appear to him to be subject to the fewer and lesser inconveniences. Or if the reasons seem so equally strong on both sides, that he cannot of himself decide the doubt ; then, secondly, if the matter be of weight ¹, and worth the while, he should do well to make his doubts known to some prudent and pious man : (especially to his own spiritual pastor, if he be a man meetly qualified for it,) resolving to rest upon his judgment, and to follow his direction. Or if the matter be of small moment, he may then, thirdly, do whether of both he has best liking to ? (as the apostle says in one particular case, and it may be applied to many more, “ Let him do what he will, he sinneth not ² :”) resting his conscience upon this persuasion, that so long as he is unfeignedly desirous to do for the best, and has not been negligent to use all requisite diligence ³ to inform himself aright ; God will accept of his good intention therein, and pardon his error, if he shall be mistaken in his choice.

27. But secondly, if the question be concerning the very lawfulness of the thing itself, whether it may be lawfully done, or no, and the conscience stand in doubt, because reasons seemed to be probable both *pro* and *contra*, and there are learned men as well of the one opinion, as of the other, &c. as we see it is (for instance) in the question of usury and of second marriage after divorce, and

¹ συμβούλους δὲ παραλαμβάνομεν εἰς τὰ μεγάλα, ἀπιστοῦντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς ὡς οὐχ ἱκανοῖς διαγνῶναι. *Arist.* 3. *Ethic.* 4.

² 1 Cor. vii. 36.

³ Non tibi imputabitur ad culpam, quod invitus ignoras. *Aug.* de Nat. et Grat.

in sundry other doubtful cases in moral divinity ;—in such a case the person (if he be *sui juris*) is certainly bound to forbear the doing of that thing of the lawfulness whereof he so doubts ¹ : and if he forbear it not, he sins. It is the very point the apostle in this verse intends to teach ; and for the confirming whereof he vouches this rule of the text : “ He that doubteth,” says he, “ is damned if he eat ; he is *αὐτοκατάκριτος*, condemned of his own conscience : because he does that willingly whereof he doubts, when he has free liberty to let it alone, no necessity urging him thereunto. And the reason why he ought rather to forbear than to adventure the doing of that whereof he doubts, is ; because in doubtful cases wisdom would that the safer part should be chosen. And that part is safer, which if we choose, we are sure we shall do well, than that, which if we choose, we know not but we may do ill. As for example, in the instances now proposed. If I doubt of the lawfulness of usury, or of marrying after divorce, I am sure that if I marry not, nor let out my money, I shall not sin in so abstaining : but if I shall do either of both doubtingly, I cannot be without some fear lest I should sin in so doing ; and so those actions of mine being not done in faith, must needs be sin, even by the rule of the text, *ὅ,τι οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως*, “ For whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.”

28. But then thirdly, if the liberty of the agent be determined by the command of some superior power to whom he owes obedience, so as he is not now *sui juris ad hoc*, to do or not to do at his own choice, but is to do what he is commanded : this one circumstance quite alters the whole case, and now he is bound in conscience to do the thing commanded ; his doubtfulness of mind whether that thing be lawful or no, notwithstanding. To do that whereof he doubts, where he has free liberty to leave it undone, brings upon him (as we have already shown) the guilt of wilful transgression : but not so where he is not left at his own liberty. And where lawful authority prescribes *in alterutram partem*, there the liberty *ad utramque partem contradictionis* is taken away, from so many as are under that authority. If they that are over them have determined it one way ; it is not thenceforth any more at their choice, whether they will take that way, or the contrary : but they must go the way that is appointed them without gain-saying or grudging. And if in the deed done at the command

¹ Nil faciendum, de quo dubites, sit necne rectè factum. *Cic.* l. 1. de Offic.

of one that is endued with lawful authority there be a sin, it must go on his score that requires it wrongfully, not on his that does but his duty in obeying. A prince commands his subjects to serve in his wars: it may be the quarrel is unjust, it may be there may appear to the understanding of the subject great likelihoods of such injustice; yet may the subject for all that fight in the quarrel; yea he is bound in conscience so to do: nay he is deep in disloyalty and treason, if he refuse the service, whatsoever pretensions he may make of conscience, for such refusal. Neither need that fear trouble him, lest he should bring upon himself the guilt of innocent blood; for the blood¹ that is unrighteously shed in that quarrel, he must answer for that set him on work, not he that spilt it. And truly it is a great wonder to me, that any man endued with understanding, and that is able in any measure to weigh the force of those precepts and reasons which bind inferiors to yield obedience to their superiors, should be otherwise minded in cases of like nature. Whatsoever is commanded us by those whom God has set over us, either in Church, commonwealth, or family, (*"quod tamen non sit certum displicere Deo"*², says St. Bernard,) which is not evidently contrary to the law and will of God, ought to be of us received and obeyed no otherwise, than as if God Himself had commanded it, because God Himself has commanded us to "obey the higher powers"³, and to "submit ourselves to their ordinances"⁴. Say it be not well done of them to command it! "*Sed enim quid hoc refert tuâ?*" says he; what is that to thee! Let them look to that whom it concerns: "*Tolle quod tuum est et vade.*" Do thou what is thine own part faithfully, and never trouble thyself further. "*Ipsum quem pro Deo habemus, tanquam Deum in his quæ apertè non sunt contra Deum audire debemus*;" Bernard still. God's vicegerents must be heard and obeyed in all things that are not manifestly contrary to the revealed will of God.

29. But the thing required is against my conscience^a, may some say; and I may not go against my conscience for any man's pleasure. Judge, I pray you, what perverseness is this, when the

¹ Is damnum dat, qui jubet dare: ejus verò nulla culpa est, cui parere necesse sit. L. 169. F. de div. Reg. jur.

² Bernard. de præcept. et dis.

³ Rom. xiii. 1.

⁴ 1 Pet. ii. 13.

^a Compare Hooker, preface, c. vi. § 3 and 6. above, p. 410 and 416, &c.

blessed Apostle commands thee “to obey for conscience sake¹,” that thou shouldest disobey, and that for conscience sake too. He charges thee upon thy conscience to be subject; and thou pretendest thy conscience to free thee from subjection. This by the way; now to the point.—Thou sayest, it is against thy conscience: I say again, that (in the case whereof we now speak, the case of doubtfulness,) it is not against thy conscience. For doubting, properly, is *motus indifferens in utramque partem contradictionis*², when the mind is held in suspense between two ways³, uncertain whether of both to take to; when the scales hang even, (as I said before,) and in *æquilibrio*, without any notable propension or inclination to the one side more than to the other. And surely, where things hang thus even, if the weight of authority will not cast the scale either way, we may well suppose that either the authority is made very light, or else there is a great fault in the beam.—Know, brethren, the gainsaying conscience is one thing, and the doubting conscience another. That which is done *repugnante conscientiâ*, the conscience of the doer flatly gainsaying it, that is indeed against a man’s conscience, (the conscience having already passed a definitive sentence the one way,) and no respect or circumstance whatsoever can free it from sin: but that which is done *dubitante conscientiâ*, the conscience of the doer only doubting of it, and no more, that is in truth no more against a man’s conscience than with it, (the conscience as yet not having passed a definitive sentence either way,) and such an action may either be a sin or no sin, according to those qualifications which it may receive from other respects and circumstances. If the conscience have already passed a judgment upon a thing, and condemned it as simply unlawful, in that case it is true that a man ought not, by any means, to do that thing—no, not at the command of any magistrate; no, not although his conscience have pronounced a wrong sentence, and erred in that judgment: for then he should do it *repugnante conscientiâ*,—he should go directly against his own conscience, which he ought not to do, whatsoever come of it. In such a case, certainly, he may not obey the magistrate;—yet let him know thus much withal, that he sins too in disobeying the magistrate; from which sin the following of the judgment of his own conscience cannot

¹ Rom. xiii. 5.

² Isidor.

³ Dubius, incertus quasi duarum viarum. *Isid. x.* Etym. διακρινόμενος.

acquit him. And this is that fearful perplexity whereof I spake, whereinto many a man casteth himself by his own error and obstinacy, that he can neither go with his conscience nor against it, but he shall sin. And who can help it, if a man will needs cherish an error, and persist in it?—But now, if the conscience be only doubtful whether a thing be lawful or no, but have not as yet passed a peremptory judgment against it, (yea, although it rather incline to think it unlawful¹,) in that case if the magistrate shall command it to be done; the subject with a good conscience may do it,—nay, he cannot with a good conscience refuse to do it, though it be *dubitante conscientiâ*.

30. But you will yet say, that in doubtful cases the safer part is to be chosen. So say I too; and am content that rule should decide this question: only let it be rightly applied. Thou thinkest it safer, where thou doubtest of the unlawfulness, to forbear than to do: as for example; if thou doubtest whether it be lawful to kneel at the communion, it is safest in thy opinion, therefore, for thee not to kneel. So should I think too, if thou wert left merely to thine own liberty. But thou dost not consider how thou art caught in thine own net, and how the edge of thine own weapon may be turned upon thee point-blank, not to be avoided;—thus. If authority command thee to kneel, which, whether it be lawful for thee to do or not, thou doubtest, it cannot choose but thou must needs doubt also, whether thou mayest lawfully disobey or not. Now, then, here apply thine own rule, *in dubiis pars tutior*, and see what will come of it. Judge, since thou canst not but doubt in both cases, whether it be not the safer of the two to obey doubtingly, than to disobey doubtingly. “*Tene certum, demitte incertum*”², is St. Gregory’s rule: where there is a certainty and an uncertainty, let the uncertainty go, and hold to that which is certain. Now the general is certain, that thou art to obey the magistrate in all things not contrary to the will of God; but the particular is uncertain, whether the thing now commanded thee by the magistrate be contrary to the will of God (I say uncertain to thee, because thou doubtest of it). Deal, safely, therefore, and hold thee to that which is certain, and obey.

31. But thou wilt yet allege, that the Apostle here condemns

¹ Plus est standum præcepto prælati, quàm conscientiæ. *Bonav. ii. sent. distinct. 39.*

² *Gregor.*

the doing of any thing, not only with a gainsaying, but even with a doubting conscience ; because doubting also is contrary to faith ; and he that doubteth is even for that condemned, if he eat.—O beware of misapplying Scripture ! It is a thing easily done, but not so easily answered. I know not any one gap that has let in more and more dangerous errors into the Church than this ; that men take the words of the sacred text fitted to particular occasions, and to the condition of the times wherein they were written, and then apply them to themselves and others as they find them, without due respect had to the differences that be between those times and cases, and the present. Sundry things spoken in Scripture agreeable to that infancy of the Church would sort very ill with the Church in her fulness of strength and stature ; and sundry directions very expedient in times of persecution, and when believers lived mingled with infidels, would be very unseasonably urged where the Church is in a peaceable and flourishing estate, enjoying the favour and living under the protection of gracious and religious princes. Thus the constitutions that the Apostles made concerning deacons and widows in those primitive times, are with much importunity, but very importunately withal, urged by the disciplinarians : and sundry other like things I might instance in of this kind, worthy the discovery, but that I fear to grow tedious.—Briefly, then, the Apostle's whole discourse in this chapter, and so wheresoever else he touches upon the point of scandals, is to be understood only in that case where men are left to their own liberty in the use of indifferent things ; the Romans, Corinthians, and others to whom St. Paul wrote about these matters being not limited any way in the exercise of their liberty therein by any over-ruling authority. But where the magistrates have interposed, and thought good upon mature advice to impose laws upon those that are under them, whereby their liberty is (not infringed as some unjustly complain, in the inward judgment, but only) limited in the outward exercise of it ; there the apostolic directions will not hold in the same absolute manner as they were delivered to those whom they then concerned, but only in the equity of them, so far forth as the cases are alike, and with such meet qualifications and mitigations as the difference of the cases otherwise does require. So that a man ought not out of private fancy, or merely because he would not be observed for not doing as others do, or for any the like weak respects, to do that thing of the lawfulness whereof he is not competently per-

suaded, where it is free for him to do otherwise ; which was the case of these weak ones among the Romans, for whose sakes, principally, the Apostle gave these directions. But the authority of the magistrate intervening so alters the case, that such a forbearance as to them was necessary, is to as many of us as are commanded to do this or that, altogether unlawful, in regard they were free, and we are bound ; for the reason already shown, which now I rehearse not.

32. But you will yet say, (for in point of obedience men are very loath to yield so long as they can find any thing to plead,) those that lay these burdens upon us, at leastwise should do well to satisfy our doubts, and to inform our consciences concerning the lawfulness of what they enjoin ; that so we might render them obedience with better cheerfulness.—How willing are we sinful men to leave the blame of our miscarriages anywhere, rather than upon ourselves ! But how is it not incongruous the while, that those men should prescribe rules to their governors, who can scarcely brook their governors should prescribe laws to them ? It were good we would first learn how to obey, ere we take upon us to teach our betters how to govern¹. However, what governors are bound to do, or what is fit for them to do in the point of information, that is not now the question. If they fail in any part of their bounden duty, they shall be sure to reckon for it one day : but their failing cannot in the meantime excuse thy disobedience. Although I think it would prove a hard task for whosoever should undertake it, to show that superiors are always bound to inform the consciences of their inferiors concerning the lawfulness of every thing they shall command. If, sometimes, they do it where they see it expedient or needful,—sometimes again (and that perhaps oftener) it may be thought more expedient for them, and more conducive for the public peace and safety, only to make known to the people *what* their pleasures are ; reserving to themselves the reasons thereof. I am sure, in the point of ecclesiastical ceremonies and constitutions, (in which case the aforesaid allegations are usually most stood upon,) this has been abundantly done in our Church,—not only in the learned writings of sundry private men, but by the public declaration also of authority, as is to be seen at large in the Preface commonly printed before the Book of Common Prayer, concerning that argument : enough to

¹ ἀρχεσθαι μαθὼν, ἀρχεῖν ἐπιστήσῃ. *Solon.* apud Stob. Serm. iii.

satisfy those that are peaceable, and not disposed to stretch their wits to cavil at things established. And thus much of the *second* question, touching a doubting conscience; whereon I have insisted the longer, because it is a point both so proper to the text, and whereat so many have stumbled.

33. There remains but one other question, and that of far smaller difficulty, "What is to be done, when the conscience is scrupulous?" I call that a scruple, when a man is reasonably well persuaded of the lawfulness of a thing, yet has withal some jealousies and fears, lest, perhaps, it should prove unlawful. Such scruples are most incident to men of melancholy dispositions, or of timorous spirits; especially if they be tender conscienced withal: and they are much increased by the false suggestions of Satan; by reading the books, or hearing the sermons, or frequenting the company of men more strict, precise, and austere in sundry points, than they need or ought to be; and by sundry other means which I now mention not. Of which scruples it behoves every man, first, to be wary that he does not at all admit them, if he can choose; or, if he cannot wholly avoid them, that secondly, he endeavour so far as may be to eject them speedily out of his thoughts, as Satan's snares, and things that may breed him worse inconveniences: or, if he cannot be so rid of them, that then, thirdly, he resolve to go on according to the more probable persuasion of his mind, and despise those scruples. And this he may do with a good conscience, not only in things commanded him by lawful authority, but even in things indifferent and arbitrary, and wherein he is let to his own liberty.

34. Much more might have been added for the further both declaration and confirmation of these points. But you see I have been forced to wrap things together that deserve a more full and distinct handling, that I might hold some proportion with the time. I had a purpose briefly to have comprised the sum of what I have delivered concerning a gainsaying, a doubting, and a scrupulous conscience, in some few conclusions for your better remembrance, and to have added also something by way of direction, what course might be the most probably taken for the correcting of an erroneous conscience, for the settling of a doubtful conscience, and for the quieting of a scrupulous conscience. But it is more than time that I should give place to other business; and the most, and most material of those directions have been here and there occasionally touched in that which has been

delivered already ; in which respect I may the better spare that labour. Beseech we God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, so to endue us all with the grace of his Holy Spirit, that in our whole conversations we may unfeignedly endeavour to preserve a good conscience, and to yield all due obedience to him first, and then to every ordinance of man for his sake !

Now to this Father, Son, and blessed Spirit, three Persons, and one eternal God, be ascribed all the kingdom, the power, and the glory, both now and for evermore. Amen.

XVII.

OF CONFORMITY AND NON-CONFORMITY.

“ Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not : and let not him that eateth not, judge him that eateth^a. ”—ROM. xiv. 3.

17. AND so I have done with my text in the general use of it :—wherein we have seen the two faults of despising and of judging our brethren, laid open ; and the ugliness of both discovered. I now descend to make such application, as I promised, both of the case and rules, unto some differences, and to some offences, given and taken in our Church in point of ceremony. The case ruled in my text was of eating, and not eating ; the differences which some maintain in our Church, are many in the particulars ; (as of kneeling, and not kneeling ; wearing, and not wearing ; crossing, and not crossing, &c.) but all these, and most of the rest of them, may be comprehended in gross under the terms of conforming, and not conforming.—Let us first compare the cases ; that having found wherein they agree or disagree, we may thereby judge how far St. Paul’s advice in my text ought to rule us, for not despising, for not judging one another.—There are four special things, wherein if we compare this our case with the Apostle’s, in every of the four we shall find some *agreement*, and some *disparity* also :—1. The nature of the matter : 2. The abilities of the persons : 3. Their several practice about the things : and, 4. Their mutual carriage one towards another.—And first, let us consider how the two cases *agree* in each of these.

^a From Sermons by Dr. Robert Sanderson, Lord Bishop of Lincoln ; the first Sermon *ad Clerum* ; preached at a visitation at Boston, Lincolnshire, April 17, 1619.

18. First, the *matter* whereabout the eater and the not-eater differed in the case of the Romans was in the nature of it indifferent; so it is between the conformer and not-conformer in our case. As there, fish, and flesh, and herbs were merely indifferent, such as might be eaten or not eaten without sin; so here, cap and surplice, cross and ring, and the rest, are things merely indifferent; such as (in regard of their own nature) may be used or not used without sin, as being neither expressly commanded nor expressly forbidden in the word of God.

Secondly, the *persons* agree; for as there, so here also, some are strong in faith, some weak. There are many whose judgments are upon certain and infallible grounds assured and resolved, and that *certitudine fidei*, that cap, and surplice, and cross, and the rest, are things lawful and such as may be used with a good conscience. There are some others again, who, through ignorance, or custom, or prejudice, or otherwise weakened in their judgments^a, cannot (or will not) be persuaded that these things are altogether free from superstition and idolatry: nor consequently the use of them from sin.

Thirdly, the *practice* of the persons is much alike. As there the strong did use his liberty according to the assurance of his knowledge (*Πιστεύει φαγεῖν*) and did eat freely without scruple, and the weak did forbear to eat, because of his doubting and irresolution; so here, most of us in assured confidence that we may wear, and cross, and kneel, and use other ceremonies and customs of our Church, do willingly, and *ex animo*, conform ourselves thereunto. Yet some there are who, out of I know not what niceness and scrupulosity, make dainty of them, and either utterly refuse conformity, or at leastwise desire respite, till they can better inform themselves.

Lastly, There is some correspondence also in the faulty *carriage* of the parties each towards other; for as there the eater despised the not-eater, and the not-eater judged the eater; so here, it cannot be denied, but that some conformers (although I hope far the lesser, I am sure far the worse sort) do despise and scandalize the non-conformers more than they have reason to do, or any discreet honest man will allow. But is it not most certain

^a “A knowing man will do that which a tender-conscience man dares not do by reason of his ignorance; the other knows there is no hurt: as a child is afraid to go into the dark when a man is not, because he knows there is no danger.” *Selden's Table-Talk*, art. “Conscience,” § 2.

also that the non-conformers (but too generally, yea, and the better sort of them too, but too often and much) do pass their censures with marvellous great freedom, and spend their judgments liberally upon and against the conformers?—Hitherto the cases seem to agree. One would think, *mutatis mutandis*, the apostle's rule would as well fit our Church and case as the Roman; and should as well free the non-conformers from our contempt as us from their censures. “Let not him that conforms despise him that conforms not; and let not him that conforms not judge him that conforms.”

19. But if you will please to take a second surviev of the four several particulars wherein the cases seemed to agree, you shall find very much *disparity* and disproportion betwixt the two cases in each of the four respects.—In the case of my text the matter of difference among them was not only indifferent in the nature of it, but it was also left as indifferent for the use; the Church (perhaps) not having determined any thing positively therein; at least no public authority having either enjoined or forbidden the use of such or such meats.—But in the case of our Church it is far otherwise. Cap, surplice, cross, ring, and other ceremonies, which are the matter of our differences, though they be things indifferent for their nature, and in themselves; yet are not so for their use, and unto us. If the Church had been silent, if authority had prescribed nothing herein, these ceremonies had then remained for their use, as they are for their nature, indifferent: lawful, and such as might be used without sin; and yet arbitrary, and such as might be also forborne without sin. But men must grant (though they be unwilling, if yet they will be reasonable) that every particular Church has power¹, for decency and order's sake², to ordain and constitute ceremonies; which being once ordained, and by public authority enjoined, ceased to be indifferent for their *use*, though they remain still so for their *nature*; and of indifferent become so necessary that neither may a man without sin refuse them³ where authority requires, nor use them where authority restrains the use.

20. Neither is this accession of necessity any impeachment to Christian liberty, or ensnaring⁴ of men's consciences; as some⁵

¹ Article XX. agreeable to the confessions of other Protestant Churches.

² *Ἐὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν.* 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

³ Constit. et Canon. 30.

⁴ Ex. 1 Cor. vii. 35.

⁵ Lincolnsh. Abridg. p. 34.

have objected.—For then do we ensnare men's consciences by human constitutions when we thrust them upon men as if they were divine; and bind men's consciences to them immediately, as if they were immediate parts of God's worship, or of absolute necessity unto salvation. This tyranny and usurpation over men's consciences the Pharisees¹ of old did, and the Church of Rome at this day does exercise, and we justly hate in her; equaling², if not preferring her constitutions to the laws of God. But our Church (God be thanked) is far from any such impious presumption; and has sufficiently³ declared herself by solemn protestation, enough to satisfy any ingenuous impartial judgment, that by requiring obedience to these ceremonial constitutions she has no other purpose than to reduce all her children⁴ to an orderly uniformity in the outward worship of God, so far is she from seeking to draw any opinion, either of divine necessity⁵ upon the constitution, or of effectual holiness upon the ceremony.—And as for the prejudice which seems to be hereby given to Christian liberty, it is so slender a conceit that it seems to betray in the objectors a desire, not so much of satisfaction as cavil. For, first, the liberty of a Christian to all indifferent things is in the mind and conscience; and is then infringed when the conscience is bound and straitened by imposing upon it an opinion of doctrinal necessity. But it is no wrong to the liberty of a Christian man's conscience to bind him to outward observance for order's sake, and to impose upon him a necessity of obedience: which one distinction of *doctrinal* and *obediential* necessity, well weighed and rightly applied, is of itself sufficient to clear all doubts in this point; for, to make all restraint of the outward man in matters indifferent an impeachment of Christian liberty, what were it else, but even to bring flat Anabaptism⁶ and anarchy into the Church, and to overthrow all bond of subjection and obedience to lawful authority? I beseech you consider

¹ Matt. vii. 8, &c.

² In Spiritum Sanctum blasphemant, qui sacros canones violant. 25 qu. 1. Violatores.

³ Constit. &c. can. 74. art. 20. Act for uniformity; and treatise of ceremonies prefixed to the Book of Common Prayer.

⁴ Without prejudice to the liberty of other Churches. See Preface to Communion Book.

⁵ The Church ought not to enforce any thing besides the holy Writ to be believed for necessity of salvation. Artic. XX.

⁶ See Conference at Hampton Court, p. 70, 71.

wherein can the immediate power and authority of fathers, masters, and other rulers over their inferiors consist, or the due obedience of inferiors be shown towards them, if not in these indifferent and arbitrary things¹? For things absolutely necessary², as commanded by God, we are bound to do, whether human authority require them or no; and things absolutely unlawful, as prohibited by God, we are bound not to do, whether human authority forbid them or no. There are none other things left then, wherein to express properly the obedience due to superior authority, than these indifferent things. And if a father³ or master have power to prescribe to his child or servant in indifferent things, and such restraint be no way prejudicial to Christian liberty in them; why should any man either deny the like power to Church governors, to make ecclesiastical constitutions concerning indifferent things, or interpret that power to the prejudice of Christian liberty?—And again, secondly, men must understand that it is an error to think ceremonies and constitutions to be things merely indifferent; I mean *in the general*. For howsoever every *particular* ceremony be indifferent, and every particular constitution arbitrary and alterable⁴, yet that there should be *some* ceremonies it is *necessary, necessitate absolutâ*, inasmuch as no outward work can be performed without ceremonial circumstances, some or other; and that there should be some constitutions concerning them it is also necessary (though not simply and absolutely, as the former; yet *ex hypothesi*, and) *necessitate convenientiæ*⁵. Otherwise, since some ceremonies must needs be used, every parish, nay, every man⁶ would have his own fashion by himself as his humour led him; whereof what other could be the issue but infinite distraction and unordered confusion in the Church?—And again, thirdly, to return their weapon upon themselves: if every restraint in indifferent things be injurious to Christian liberty, then themselves are injurious^a no less by their

¹ In rebus mediis lex posita est obedientiæ. *Bern. Epist.* 7.

² De hujusmodi quippe nec præceptor expectandus, nec prohibitor auscultandus est. *Ber. de Præc. et Dispensat.* See *Agell.* 2 Noct. Attic. 7. et *Ber. Ep.* 7.

³ See *Sa. Collins's* Sermon in 1 Tim. vi. 3. p. 44, &c.

⁴ Art. XXXIV.

⁵ See *Calvin.* lib. 4. *Instit.* c. 10. sect. 27.

⁶ Quot capita tot schismata. *Hieronym.*

^a “They that are against superstition oftentimes run into it on the wrong side. If I will wear all colour but black, then am I superstitious in not wear-

negative restraint from some ceremonies, wear not, cross not, kneel not¹, &c., than they would have the world believe our Church is by her positive restraint unto the ceremonies of wearing, and crossing, and kneeling, &c. Let indifferent men judge, nay, let themselves that are parties judge, whether is more injurious to Christian liberty, public authority by mature advice commanding, what might be forborne, or private spirits, through humourous dislikes, forbidding what may be used? the whole Church imposing the use, or a few brethren requiring the forbearance of such things as are otherwise and in themselves equally indifferent for use, or forbearance?

21. But they say our Church makes greater matters of ceremonies than thus; and prefers them even before the most necessary duties of preaching and administering the sacraments, inasmuch as they are imposed upon ministers under pain of suspension and deprivation from their ministerial functions and charges.—First, for actual deprivation; I take it unconforming ministers have no great cause to complain^a. Our Church, it is well known, has not always used that rigour she might have done. Where she has been forced to proceed as far as deprivation, she has ordinarily, by her fair, and slow, and compassionate proceedings therein, sufficiently manifested her unwillingness thereto, and declared herself a mother every way indulgent enough to such ill-nurtured children as will not be ruled by her. Secondly, those that are suspended or deprived suffer it but justly for their obstinacy and contempt; for howsoever they would bear the world in hand, that

ing black.” *Selden’s Table-Talk*, Art. “Superstition,” § i. See also above, No. XVI. § 11, of this volume.

¹ Like that Col. ii. 21.—“Touch not, taste not, handle not.”

^a “The altar of Damascus tells us that no fewer than three hundred preaching ministers were either silenced or deprived. But it appears on the rolls brought in by Bishop Bancroft before his death that there had been but forty-nine deprived upon all occasions; which, in a realm containing nine thousand parishes, could be no great matter. But so it was that by the punishment of some few of the principals, he” (Bancroft) “struck such a general terror into all the rest, that inconformity grew out of fashion in a less time than could be easily imagined.

“Hereupon followed a great alteration in the face of religion; more Churches beautified and repaired in this short time of his government than had been in many years before; the Liturgy more solemnly officiated by the priests, and more religiously attended by the common people; . . . and all things in a manner are reduced to the same estate in which they had been first settled under Queen Elizabeth.” *Heylin’s History of Presbyterians*, p. 376.

they are the only persecuted ones, and that they suffer for their consciences, yet in truth they do but abuse the credulity of the simple therein; and herein (as in many other things) jump with the Papists, whom they would seem above all others most abhorrent from. For, as seminary priests and Jesuits give it out they are martyred for their religion¹, when the very truth is, they are justly² executed for their prodigious treasons³, and felonious or treacherous practices against lawful princes and estates; so the brethren pretend they are persecuted for their consciences, when indeed they are but justly censured for their obstinate and pertinacious contempt of lawful authority; for it is not the refusal of these ceremonies they are deprived for, otherwise than as the matter wherein they show their contempt; it is the contempt³ itself, which formally and properly subjects them to just ecclesiastical censure of suspension or deprivation. And contempt of authority, though in the smallest matter⁴, deserves no small punishment: all authority having been ever solicitous (as it has good reason) above all things to vindicate and preserve itself from contempt, by inflicting sharp punishments upon contemptuous persons in the smallest matters, above all other sorts of

¹ Pro inficiatione pontificatus fœminei. *Aquipont.* in resp. ad Sohn de Antichristo. Thes. xv. speaking of the priests executed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

² See Donne's Pseudo-Martyr per totum; especially c. v. &c.

³ Compare "The Execution of Justice in England" (Cecil's) "for maintenance of public peace, &c. without any persecution for questions of religion, 1582." 4to. Also, "Important Considerations which ought to move all sound Catholics, who are not wholly *Jesuited*, to acknowledge that the proceedings of Her Majesty and the State, since the beginning of her reign, have been both mild and merciful, 1601." 4to. N.B. This is a tract addressed by the secular priests to the Roman Catholics of England, warning them of the dangers they incurred by the treasonable intrigues and machinations of the Jesuits. Compare also King James's Works, p. 252, 3; and Sir Francis Walsingham, in *Burnet's* Reformation, vol. ii. p. 388—91.

³ The practice of our Church sufficiently confirms this; which censures no man for the bare omission of some kind of rites and ceremonies now and then; where it may be presumed by the party's cheerful and general conformity otherwise, that such omission proceeds not either from an opiniative dislike of the ceremony imposed, or from a timorous and obsequious humouring of such as do dislike it. "Whosoever willingly and purposely does openly break," &c. Art. 34.

⁴ In minimis quoque mandatis culpam facit non minimam: et convertit in crimen gravis rebellionis nævum satis levem simplicis transgressionis. *Bern. de Prec. et Dispens.*

offenders in any degree whatsoever.—Thus have we showed and cleared the first and main difference betwixt the case of my text, and the case of our Church, in regard of the matter: the things whereabout *they* differed being *every way* indifferent: ours not so.

22. And as the matter, so there is secondly much odds in the condition of the persons. The refusers in the case of my text, being truly weak in the faith; as being but lately converted to the Christian faith, and not sufficiently instructed by the Church in the doctrine and use of Christian liberty in things indifferent: whereas with our refusers it is much otherwise. *First*, they are not new proselytes; but men born, and bred, and brought up, in the bosom of the Church; yea many, and the chiefest of them, such as have taken upon them the calling of the ministry, and the charge of souls, and the office of teaching and instructing others. And such men should not be weaklings. *Secondly*, ours are such as take themselves to have far more knowledge, and understanding, and insight in the Scriptures, and all divine learning, than other men: such as between pity and scorn seem most to wonder at the ignorance and simplicity of the vulgar, and to lament (which is, God knows, lamentable enough; though not comparable to what it was within not many years since:) the want of knowledge, and the insufficiency of some of the clergy in the land. And with what reason should these men expect the privilege of weak ones? *Thirdly*, our Church has sufficiently declared and published the innocency of her purpose and meaning in enjoining the ceremonies: nor so only, but has been content to hear, and receive, and admit the objections and reasons of the refusers; and has taken pains to answer and satisfy to the full all that ever yet could be said in that behalf. And therefore it is vanity for these men (or their friends in their behalf) to allege weakness, where all good means have been plentifully used for full information in the points in doubt. *Lastly*, upon the premises it does appear that the weakness of our brethren, pretended by those that are willing to speak favourably of them, proceeds for the most part not so much out of simple ignorance, arising from the defect either of understanding or means; as out of an ignorance, at the best in some degree of wilfulness and affectation, in not seeking, or not admitting such ingenuous satisfaction, as they might have by reason; if not out of the poison of corrupt and carnal affections (as they give us sometimes but too much cause to suspect) of pride, of singularity, of envy, of contention, of factious ad-

miring some men's persons. By which, and other like partial affections, men's judgments become oftentimes so blinded, that of unwilling at the first, they become at length unable to discern things with that freedom and ingenuity they should. And so the cases differ in regard of the persons.

23. They differ, *thirdly*, in the practice of the persons. There the strong did eat, because he was well assured he might do it, Πιστεύει φαγεῖν, in the verse before my text; and the weak did no more but forbear eating; as indeed he might do, no authority interposing to the contrary. But here we conform not only because we know we may lawfully do it; but for that we know we must of necessity do it¹, as bound thereunto in obedience to lawful authority, and in the conscience² we ought to make of such obedience. And the refusers do not only *de facto*, not conform, to the contempt of authority and the scandal of others, but they stand in it too, and trouble the peace of the Church by their restless petitions, and supplications, and admonitions, and other publications of the reasons and grounds of their such refusal. And verily this country and the county has been not the least busy in these factious and tumultuous courses, both in troubling our most gracious, judicious, and religious sovereign with their petitions³, and also in publishing their reasons, in a book called "The Abridgment," printed 1605, to their own shame, and the shame of their country. He who (as I have been informed⁴) was thought to have had a chief hand in the collecting of those reasons, and printing of that book, was for his obstinate refusal of conformity, justly deprived from his benefice in this diocese, and thereupon relinquished his ministry for a time, betaking himself to another calling: so depriving the Church and people of God of the fruit and benefit of those excellent gifts which were in him. But since that time he has, upon better and more advised judgment, subscribed and conformed; and the Church, like an indulgent mother, has not only received him into her bosom again, but has restored him too, though not to the same, yet to a benefice elsewhere of far greater value.

24. *Lastly*, There is a difference in the faulty carriage of the

¹ Ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι. Rom. xiii. v. 5.

² Not only for wrath, but also for conscience-sake. Ibid.

³ Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, p. xii. in the margin.

⁴ Dr. John Burgess: of whose case see the note on Hooker's Preface, chap. iii. § 11, above, p. 391. See also Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 377.

persons ; and that on both parts ; especially on ours. For though our non-conforming brethren condemn us with much liberty of speech and spirit, having yet less reason for it than the weak Romans had (for the strong among them might have forborne some things for the weak's sake ; and it would have well become them for the avoiding of scandal so to have done ; which we cannot do without greater scandal in the open contempt of lawful authority :) yet we do not despise them, (I mean with allowance from the Church ; if particular men do more than they should, it is their private fault, and ought not to be imputed to us, or to our Church,) but use all good means we can to draw them to moderate courses, and just obedience ; although they better deserve to be despised than the weak Romans did : they being truly weak, ours obstinate ; they timorous, ours also contemptuous.

25. Now these differences are opened betwixt the case in my text and the case of our Church, we may the better judge how far forth St. Paul's advice here given to the Romans in their case of eating and not eating, ought to rule us in our case of conforming and not conforming in point of ceremony.—And first, of not despising ; then, of not judging.—The ground of the apostle's precept for not despising him that ate not, was his weakness. So far then as this ground holds in our case, this precept is to be extended, and no further. And we are hereby bound not to despise our non-conforming brethren, so far forth as it may probably appear to us they are weak and not wilful. But so far forth, as by their courses and proceedings it may be reasonably thought their refusal proceeds from corrupt or partial affections, or is apparently maintained with obstinacy and contempt ; I take it we may, notwithstanding the apostle's admonition in my text, in some sort even despise them.

26. But because they think they are not so well and fairly dealt withal as they should be, let us consider their particular grievances, wherein they take themselves to be despised ; and examine how just they are.—They say first, they are despised in being scoffed and flouted, and derided by loose companions, and by profane or Popishly-affected persons ; in being styled Puritans, and brethren, and precisians, and having many jests and fooleries fastened upon them, whereof they are not guilty. They are, *secondly*, despised ¹, they say, in that when they are convented

¹ All benefit of law being denied them, and they debarred of other means

before the bishops and others in authority, they cannot have the favour of an indifferent hearing; but are proceeded against as far as suspension, and sometimes deprivation, without taking their answers to what is objected, or giving answers to what they object. *Thirdly*, in that many honest and religious men, of excellent and useful gifts, cannot be permitted the liberty of their consciences, and the free exercise of their ministry, only for standing out in these things, which ourselves cannot but confess to be indifferent.

27. To their first grievance we answer, that we have nothing to do with those that are Popishly affected. If they wrong them, as it is like enough they will, (for they will not stick to wrong their betters,) *we* are not to be charged with that; let them answer for themselves.—But by the way, let our brethren consider, whether their stiff and unreasonable opposing against those lawful ceremonies we retain, may not be one principal means to confirm but so much the more in their darkness and superstition, those that are wavering, and might possibly by more ingenuous and seasonable insinuations be won over to embrace the truth which we profess. And as for loose persons and profane ones, that make it their sport upon their ale-benches to rail and scoff at Puritans; as if it were warrant enough for them to drink drunk, swear and stare, or do any thing without control, because forsooth they are no Puritans; as we could wish our brethren and their lay followers, by their uncouth and sometimes ridiculous behaviour, had not given profane persons too much advantage to play upon them, and through their sides to wound even religion itself; so we could wish also that some men by unreasonable and unjust, other some by unseasonable and indiscreet scoffing^a at them, had not given them advantage to triumph in their own innocency, and persist in their affected obstinacy. It cannot but be some confirmation to men in error,

by conference or writing for their defence. Defence of Minister's Reasons, part 1, Preface to the Reader, "We do accuse the reverend bishops in the sight of God and man, for their hard and extreme dealing towards us." Removal of Imputations, p. 40.

^a Compare *Hooker's* Dedication to Archbishop Whitgift, § 7.

The faults committed on both sides in these controversies, are thus adverted to with great truth and beauty by Lord *Bacon*. He first notices the misconduct of a number of the low and scurrilous writers on the Puritan side of the question:

"It is more than time that there were an end and surcease made of this

to see men of dissolute and loose behaviour, with much eagerness, and petulancy and virulence, to speak against them. We all

immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matter of religion is handled in the style of the stage. Indeed, bitter and earnest writing must not hastily be condemned; for, men cannot contend coldly and without affection, about things which they hold dear and precious. A politic man may write from his brain, without touch and sense of his heart, as in a speculation that appertains not unto him; but a feeling Christian will express in his words a character of zeal or love. The *latter* of which, as I could wish rather embraced, being more proper for these times, yet is the *former* warranted also by great examples.

“But to leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, or indignation towards faults, and to turn religion into a comedy or satire; to search and rip up wounds with a laughing countenance; to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, is a thing far from the devout reverence of a Christian, and scant becoming the honest regard of a sober man. ‘*Non est major confusio, quam serii et joci;*’ there is no greater confusion than the confounding of jest and earnest. The majesty of religion, and the contempt and deformity of things ridiculous, are things as distant as things may be. Two principal causes have I ever known of atheism: curious controversies and profane scoffing. Now that these two are joined in one, no doubt that sect will make no small progression.

“And here I do much esteem the wisdom and religion of that bishop” (he seems to allude to the case of his own tutor, Whitgift:) “which replied to the first pamphlet of this kind, who remembered that a fool was to be answered, but not by becoming like unto him; and considered the matter which he handled, and not the person with whom he dealt. . . . As much do I mislike the invention of him,” (here he refers, as Hooker does in his dedication, to the pamphlets published by Nash and others, in a scoffing and scurrilous strain, of which however, Walton says, in his life of Hooker, that “he put a greater stop to the malicious pamphlets on the other side, than a much wiser man had been able:”) “who, as it seems, pleased himself in it as in no mean policy, that these men are to be dealt withal at their own weapons, and pledged in their own cup.

“And truly, as I do marvel that some of those preachers which call for reformation, whom I am far from wronging so far as to join them with these scoffers, do not publish some declaration whereby they may satisfy the world, that they dislike their cause should be thus solicited; so I hope assuredly, that my lords of the clergy have none intelligence of this inter-libelling, but do altogether disallow that their credit should be thus defended. For though I observe in one of them many glosses, whereby the man would insinuate himself into their favours, yet I find it to be ordinary that many pressing and fawning persons do misconjecture of the humours of men in authority, and many times ‘*Veneri immolant suam;*’ they seek to gratify them with that which they most dislike. . . .

‘To conclude this point: as it were to be wished, that these writings had been abortive, and never seen the sun; so the next is, since they be come

know how much scandal and prejudice it is to a right good cause, to be either followed by persons open to just exception, or maintained with slender and unsufficient reasons, or prosecuted with unseasonable and indiscreet violence. And I am verily persuaded, that as the increase of Papists¹, in some parts of the land, has occasionally sprung (by a kind of antiperistasis) from the intemperate courses of their neighbour Puritans; so the increase of Puritans, in many parts of the land, owes not so much to any sufficiency themselves conceive in their own grounds, as to the disadvantage of some profane, or scandalous, or idle, or ignorant, or indiscreet opposers. But setting these aside, I see not but that otherwise the name of Puritan, and the rest, are justly given them. For appropriating to themselves the names of brethren, professors, good men, and other like^a; as differences betwixt

abroad, that they be censured by all that have understanding and conscience, as the intemperate extravagances of some light persons. Yea, further, that men beware, except they mean to adventure to deprive themselves of all religion, and to pave their own hearts, and make them as the highway,—how they may be conversant in them, and much more how they delight in that vein; but rather to turn their laughing into blushing, and to be ashamed as of a sort of madness, that they have in matters of religion taken their disport and solace.” *Bacon, On the Controversies of the Church, Works, vol. ii. p. 502.*

¹ Many by their factious behaviour were driven to be Papists. The King’s Ma. in Confer. at Hamp. p. 98.

^a Compare *Hooker’s Preface*, chap. iii. § 11, and note, above, p. 391.

Again: “It is truly said, ‘*Tam sunt mores quidam schismatici, quam dogmata schismatica.*’ There be as well schismatical fashions, as opinions. They have impropriated unto themselves the names of ‘zealous, sincere, and reformed:’ as if all others were cold minglers of holy things and profane; and friends of abuses. Yea, be a man endued with great virtues, and fruitful in good works; yet, if he concur not with them, they term him, in derogation, ‘a civil and moral man;’ and compare him to Socrates, or some heathen philosopher. Whereas, the wisdom of the Scriptures teaches us otherwise; namely, to judge and denominate men religious according to their works of the second table; because they of the first are often counterfeit and practised in hypocrisy. So St. John says, that a man does vainly boast ‘of loving God, whom he never saw, if he love not his brother whom he hath seen.’ And St. James says, ‘this is true religion, to visit the fatherless and the widow.’ So as that which is with them but philosophical and moral, is in the apostle’s phrase, true religion and Christianity. . . . And as they censure virtuous men by the names of ‘civil’ and ‘moral,’ so do they censure men truly and godly wise, who see into the vanity of their affections, by the name of ‘politics;’ saying, that their wisdom is but carnal, and savouring of man’s brain. So likewise, if a preacher preach with care and meditation, I

them and those they call formalists: would they not have it thought, that they have a brotherhood and profession of their own, freer and purer from superstition and idolatry, than others have that are not of the same stamp? and doing so, why may they not be called Puritans? The name, I know, is sometimes fastened upon those that deserve it not; rascal people will call any man that bears but the face of honesty, a Puritan; but why should that hinder others from placing it where it is rightly due?

28. To their second grievance I answer; public means by conferences, disputations, and otherwise, have been often used: and private men not seldom afforded the favour of respite and liberty to bring in their allegations. And I think it can be hardly, or but rarely instanced, that ever deprivation has been used, but where fatherly admonitions have first been used, and time given to the delinquents to consider of it, and inform themselves better. This course usually has been taken; though every private particular man has no reason^a to expect it. The reverend Fathers of our Church, we may well think, amid so much other employment, cannot be so unthrifty of their good hours, as to lavish them out in hearing contentious persons *eandem cantilenam*, sing the same note a hundred times over, and require further satisfaction, after so many public and unanswerable satisfactions already given. Yet have the bishops¹ and other Church governors, out of their religious zeal for the peace of God's Church, been so far from despising our brethren herein; that they have dispensed sometimes with their other weighty occasions, and taken pains to answer their reasons, and confute their exceptions, satisfy all their doubts, and discover the weakness of all their grounds in the points questioned.

29. And as to their third grievance: *First*, for my own part, I make no doubt, neither dare I be so uncharitable as to think, but that many of them have honest, and upright, and sincere hearts

speak not of the vain scholastical manner of preaching, but soundly indeed, ordering the matter he handles distinctly for memory, deducting and drawing it down for direction; and authorizing it with strong proofs and warrants; they censure it as a form of speaking not becoming the simplicity of the gospel; and refer it to the reprehension of St. Paul, speaking of the enticing speech of man's wisdom." *Bacon's Advertisement concerning the Controversies of the Church of England*, Works, vol. ii. p. 518, 9.

^a Compare above, p. 406—9, and n.; 465—6.

¹ Witness the learned books of divers reverend prelates; *John Whitgift*, *John Buckeridge*, *Thomas Morton*, &c.

to God-ward, and are unfeignedly zealous of God's truth and for religion. They that are such, no doubt feel the comfort of it in their own souls: and we see the fruits of it in their conversation, and rejoice at it. But yet I cannot be so ignorant on the other side, as not to know, that the most sanctified and zealous men are men, and subject to carnal and corrupt affections; and may be so far swayed by them in their judgments, as not to be able to discern without prejudice and partiality, truth from error. Good men and God's dear children may continue in some error in judgment¹ and consequently in a sinful practice arising thence, and live and die in it, (as some of these have done in disobedience to lawful authority,) and that unrepented of otherwise, than as in the lump of their unknown sins. It is not honesty, nor sincerity^a,

¹ Sancti stante charitate possunt errare etiam contra Catholicam veritatem. Occh. Dial. part. i. l. ii. c. 4.

^a This topic of sincerity has been discussed with admirable vivacity, skill, and truth, by William Law, in every one of his three Letters to Bishop Hoadly. The extract which we shall give is from the first place where the subject is mentioned, and from the first Letter.

“ In the 98th page you have these words: ‘ But when you are secure of your integrity before God, this will lead you (as it ought all of us) not to be afraid of the terrors of men, or of the vain words of regular and uninterrupted successions, authoritative benedictions, excommunications, nullity or validity of God's ordinances to the people, upon account of niceties and trifles, or any other the like dreams.’

“ My lord, thus much must be implied here: be not afraid of the terrors of men, who would persuade you of the danger of being in this or that communion, and fright you into particular ways of worshipping God; who would make you believe such sacraments, and such clergy, are necessary to his favour. But these your lordship affirms, we may condemn, if we are but secure of our integrity.

“ So that if a man be not a hypocrite, it matters not what religion he is of. This is a proposition of an unfriendly aspect to Christianity: but that it is entirely your lordship's, is plain from what you declare, p. 90; ‘ That every one may find it in his own conduct to be true, that his title to God's favour cannot depend upon his actual being, or continuing in any particular method, but upon his real sincerity in the conduct of his conscience.’ Again, p. 91. ‘ The favour of God follows sincerity, considered as such; and consequently equally follows every equal degree of sincerity.’ So that I hope I have not wrested your lordship's meaning, by saying, that according to these notions, if a man be not a hypocrite, it matters not what religion he is of. Not only sincere Quakers, Ranters, Muggletonians, and Fifth-Monarchy men, are as much in the favour of God as any of the Apostles; but likewise sincere Jews, Turks, and Deists are upon as good a bottom, and as secure of the favour of God as the sincerest Christian.

“ For

that can privilege men from either erring or sinning. Neither ought the unproved conversation of men countenance out their

“ For your lordship says, it is sincerity, as such, that procures the favour of God. If it be sincerity, as such, then it is sincerity independent and exclusive of any particular way of worship : and if the favour of God equally follows every equal degree of sincerity, then it is impossible there should be any difference between a sincere martyr and a sincere persecutor : and he that burns the Christian, if he be but in earnest, has the same title to reward for it, as he that is burnt for believing in Christ.

“ Your lordship says, you cannot help it, if people will charge you with evil intentions and bad views. (Answer, p. 46.) I intend no such charge : but I wonder your lordship should think it hard that any one should infer from these places, that you are against the interest of the Church of England.

“ For, my lord, cannot the Quakers, Muggletonians, Deists, Presbyterians, assert you as much in their interest as we can? Have you said any thing for us, or done any thing for us, in this Preservative, but what you have equally done for them? Your lordship is ours, as you fill a bishopric; but we are at a loss to discover from this discourse, what other interest we have in your lordship : for you openly expose our communion, and give up all the advantages of it, by telling all sorts of people, if they are but sincere in their own way, they are as much in God’s favour as any body else.—Is this supporting our interest, my lord?

“ Suppose a friend of King George should declare it to all Britons whatever, that though they were divided into five thousand different parties, to set up different pretenders; yet if they were but sincere in their designs, they would be as much in the favour of God, as those who are most sincerely attached to his majesty :—does your lordship think such a one would be thought any great friend to the government? And, my lord, is not this the declaration you made as to the Church of England? Have you not told all parties that their sincerity is enough? Have you said so much as one word in recommendation of our communion? Or, if it was not for your Church-character in the title-pages of this discourse, could any one alive conceive what communion you was of? Nay, a reader that was a stranger, would imagine, that he who will allow no difference between communions, is himself of no communion. Your lordship, for aught I know, may act according to the strictest sincerity, and may think it your duty to undermine the foundations of the Church. I am only surprised, that you should refuse to own the reasonableness of such a charge. Your lordship has cancelled all our obligations to any particular communion upon pretence of sincerity.

“ I hope, my lord, there is mercy in store for all sorts of people, however erroneous in their way of worshipping God; but cannot believe that to be a sincere Christian, is to be no more in the favour of God, than to be a sincere Deist, or sincere destroyer of Christians. It will be allowed, that sincerity is a necessary principle of true religion; and that without it, all the most specious appearances of virtue are nothing worth : but still, neither common sense, nor plain Scripture, will suffer me to think, that when our Saviour was on earth, they were as much in the favour of God, who sincerely refused to be

opinions, or their practices, against light of divine Scripture, and right reason : as we read Cyprian's error in old time ; and we see

his disciples, and sincerely called for his crucifixion, as those who sincerely left all and followed Him. If they were, my lord, where is that blessedness of believing, so often mentioned in the Scripture ? Or where is the happiness of the Gospel revelation, if they are as well who refuse it sincerely, as those who embrace it with integrity ?

“ Our Saviour declared, that those who believed should be saved ; but those who believed not, should be damned. Will your lordship say, that all unbelievers were insincere ; or that, though they were damned, they were yet in the same favour of God as those who were saved ?

“ The apostle assures us, that ‘ there is no other name under heaven given unto men, whereby they can be saved,’ but Jesus Christ. But your lordship has found out an atonement, more universal than that of his blood ; and which will even make those blessed and happy, who count it an unholy thing. For seeing it is sincerity, as such, that alone recommends us to the favour of God, they who sincerely persecute his name are in as good a way, as those that sincerely worship it. Has God declared this to be the only way of salvation ? How can your lordship tell the world, that sincerity will save them, be they in what way they will. Is this all the necessity of Christ's satisfaction ? Is this all the advantage of the Gospel covenant, that those who sincerely condemn it, are in as good a state without it, as those that embrace it ?

“ My lord, here is no aggravation of your meaning. If sincerity, as such, be the only thing that recommends us to God, and every equal degree of it procures an equal degree of favour ; it is a demonstration, that sincerity *against* Christ, is as pleasing to God, as sincerity *for* Him. My lord, this is a doctrine which no words can enough decry ; so I shall leave it, to consider what opinion St. Paul had of this kind of sincerity. He did not think, when he persecuted the Church, though he did it ignorantly, and in unbelief, and out of zeal towards God, that he was as much in the favour of God, as when he suffered for Christ. ‘ I am the least,’ says he, ‘ of the Apostles, not fit to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of Christ.’ The Apostle does not scruple to charge himself with guilt, notwithstanding his sincerity.

“ A little knowledge of human nature will teach us that our sincerity may be often charged with guilt ; not as if we were guilty, *because* we are sincere ; but because it may be our fault that we are hearty and sincere in such or such ill-grounded opinions. It may have been from some ill conduct of our own, some irregularities, or abuse of our faculties, that we conceive things as we do, and are fixed in such or such tenets. And can we think no breach is owing to a sincerity in opinions, contracted by ill habits and guilty behaviour ? There are several faulty ways by which people may cloud and prejudice their understandings, and throw themselves into a very odd way of thinking : for some cause or other, God may send them ‘ a strong delusion that they should believe a lie.’ And will your lordship say, that those who are thus sunk into errors, (it may be through their own ill conduct, or as a judgment of God upon them,) are as much in his favour as those that love and adhere

in our days, not only the suspected tenets of Arminius¹, but even the bold heresies of Faustus Socinus have spread much the more for the reverend opinion men had of their personal endowments and sanctity. *Secondly*, though comparisons be ever harsh, and most times odious; yet since honesty and piety is alleged, (without disparagements be it spoken to the best of them,) there are as good, and honest, and religious, and zealous men every way, of them that willingly and cheerfully conform, as of them that do not. In the times of Popish persecution, how many godly bishops and conformable ministers laid down their lives for the testimony of God's truth, and for the maintenance of his Gospel? And if it should please God in his just judgment, (as our sins, and amongst others our schisms and distractions most worthily deserve,) to put us once again to a fiery trial, (which the same God for his goodness and mercy defend!) I make no question but many thousands of conformers would, by the grace of God, resist unto blood, embrace the faggot, and burn at a stake, in detestation of all Popish, Antichristian idolatry, as readily, and cheerfully, and constantly, as the hottest, and precisest, and most scrupulous non-conformer. But, *thirdly*, let men's honesty, and piety, and gifts be what they can: must not men of honesty, and piety, and gifts, live under laws? And what reason that these, or any other respects, should exempt² any man from the just censure of the Church, in case he will not obey her laws, and conform to her ceremonies? especially, since such men's impunity would but encourage others to presume upon the like favour: and experience teaches us, that no men's errors are so exemplary and pernicious as theirs, who for their eminency of gifts, or sanctity of life, are most followed with popular applause, and personal admiration.

to the truth?—This, my lord, is a shocking opinion, and has given numbers of Christians great offence, as contradicting common sense and plain Scripture; as setting all religion upon the level as to the favour of God.

“The *next* thing, according to your lordship, ‘we ought not to be concerned at, is vain words of regular and uninterrupted succession, as niceties, trifles,’ &c.”

¹ So *Pelagius*, from whose root Popery (in that branch) sprouted, was a man as strict for life as most Catholics: yet a most dangerous and pestilent heretic. *Pelagii, viri, ut audio, sancti, et non parvo profectu Christiani. Aug. 3. de Pec. Merit. et Rem. 1. Istum, sicut eum qui noverunt loquuntur, bonum ac prædicandum virum. Ibid. c. 3.*

² Non enim in cujusquam personâ prætermittendum est, quod institutis generalibus continetur. *Leo, Dist. 61. Miramur.*

30. We see their grievances against us, how unjust they are, in the matter of despising. I would they did no more despise the Church's authority, than we do their infirmities!—But in the matter of judging, see if we have not a just grievance against *them*. As might be declared at large in many instances, out of their printed books, and private letters, and common discourses. I will but give you a taste¹, because I know I grow tedious, and I long to be at an end.

31. *First*, They judge our Church as half Popish and Anti-christian, for retaining some ceremonies used in Popery; though we have purged them from their superstitions, and restored them to their primitive use. Their great admired opener² of the Revelation, makes our Church the linsey-wolsey Laodicean Church, neither hot nor cold. And some of them have slovenly compared our late gracious sovereign Queen Elizabeth of most blessed memory, to a sluttish housewife³; that having swept the house, yet left the dust and dirt behind the doors; meaning thereby the ceremonies. If our Church were but half so ill, as these men would make it, I think every honest religious man should hold himself bound to separate^a from it, as his most excellent majesty

¹ I refer the reader for more particular satisfaction to Francis Mason's sermon on 1 Cor. xiv. 40. p. 30. Sam. Collins's sermon on 1 Tim. vi. 3. p. 21. 22. and others; but especially to their own writings.

² *Brightman*, in Apoc. cap. 3.

³ This simile was first used by a very reverend, grave, and worthy dean, (who has many ways deserved well of our whole Church,) *Alexander Nowel*, Dean of Paul's, in a sermon before Queen Elizabeth; and modestly and moderately urged, not at all against the ceremonies, (which by his practice he did allow,) but for the further restraint of Popish priests and Jesuits, who lay thick in Ireland, and the western coasts of England and Wales, as heaps of dust and dirt behind the doors. Yet I here ascribed it to the Puritans, who (though they father it upon that good man) must own it as their own brat, because by misapplying it to the ceremonies, they have made it their own. *Malè dum recitas, incipit esse tuum*.

^a So again, in his Eleventh Sermon *ad Aulam*. "By condemning sundry indifferent things, and namely, Church ceremonies, as unlawful, we give great scandal to those of the separation," (the Brownists,) "to their further confirming in that their unjust schism. For why should these men," (the Puritan ministers,) "will they say, (and, for aught I know, they speak but reason;) why should they, who agree so well with us in our *principles*, hold off from our *conclusions*? Why do they yet hold communion with, or remain in the bosom of that Church, that imposes such unlawful things upon them? How are they not guilty themselves of that lukewarm Laodicean

has observed¹ the Brownists have done upon their very grounds ; accounting them as lukewarm for not quite separating, as they do us for no further reforming.

32. *Secondly*, They judge our bishops, and other Church governors, as limbs of Antichrist, locusts of the bottomless pit, domineering lords over God's heritage, usurpers of temporal jurisdiction, spiritual tyrants over men's consciences, &c. seeking by all means to make the name of lord bishop odious to the gentry and commons. Witness their Mar-prelate, and other infamous and scandalous libels in that kind. Having power in their hands, if the bishops should use more rigorous courses towards them than they have done, could ye blame them ?

33. *Thirdly*, They judge those that subscribe and conform, " Machiavelian time-servers," " formal gospellers," " state divines ;" men that know no conscience but law, nor religion but the king's : and such as would be as forward for the mass as the communion, if the state should alter.

34. *Fourthly*, All such ministers as are not endowed with gifts for the pulpit, they damn, as hirelings, and not shepherds : calling them idol-shepherds, betrayers of Christ's flock, intruders into the ministry without a calling, dumb dogs, and I know not how many names besides. Yea, although they be such as are diligent, according to their measure of gifts, to perform such duties as the Church requires : to present the prayers of the people to God ; to declare, (by reading the Holy Bible, and good homilies for that purpose appointed,) the will of God to the people ; to instruct the younger sort in the points of catechism ; to visit and comfort the

temper, wherewith they so often and so deeply charge others ? Why do they halt so shamefully between two opinions ? If Baal be God, and the ceremonies lawful, why do they not yield obedience, cheerful obedience, to their governors, so long as they command but lawful things ? But if Baal be an idol, and the ceremonies unlawful, as they and we consent, why do they not either set them packing ; or if they cannot get that done, pack themselves away from them, as fast as they can ; either to Amsterdam, or to some other place ? The objection is so strong, that I must confess, for my own part, if I could see cause to admit of those principles, whereon most of our non-conformers, and such as favour them, ground their dislike of our Church-orders and ceremonies, I should hold myself in all conscience bound, (for any thing I ever yet read or heard to the contrary,) to forsake the Church of England, and to fly out of Babylon, before I were many weeks older."

¹ Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, p. 21, &c. primæ edit. 1619. See Hooker's Preface, § 8.

sick and afflicted ; and to administer reverently and orderly the holy sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper.

35. *Fifthly*, They judge all such as interpose for the Church's peace, and oppose their novelties, as enemies to all goodness, men of profane minds ; haters of religion, despisers of the Word ; persecutors of the brethren ; imps of Satan, instruments of hell, and such as utterly abhor all godly and Christian courses.

36. *Sixthly*, and lastly, (for I irk to rake longer in this sink,) they bewray themselves to be manifest judges of all that are not of their stamp ; by singling out unto themselves, and those that favour them, certain proper appellations, of brethren, and good men, and professors : as if none had brotherhood in Christ, none had interest in goodness, none made profession of the Gospel, but themselves. Whereas others have received the sign of their profession in their foreheads after baptism, which perhaps they did not : whereas others daily stand up in the congregation to make profession of their Christian belief, which it may be they do not : or, if those things be not material, whereas others by the grace of God are as stedfastly resolved in their hearts, if need should be, to seal the truth of their profession with their blood, as any of them can be.

37. But they will say, "These peremptory censures are but the faults of some few : all are not so hot and fiery. There be others that are more temperate in their speeches, and moderate in their courses ; and desire only they may be spared for their own particular : but they preach not against any of these things, nor intermeddle to make more stirs in the Church."

I answer, *first*, it were lamentable if this were not so : if all were of that hot temper, or distemper rather, that many are, they would quickly tire out themselves, without spurring. Far be it from us to judge men's hearts ; or to condemn men for that we know not by them. Yet of some that carry themselves with tolerable moderation outwardly, we have some cause to suspect that they do inwardly and in their hearts judge as deeply, as the hottest spirited railers. And we gather it from their forwardness at every turn, and upon every slender occasion, obliquely to gird, and indirectly to glance at our Church, and the discipline and the ceremonies thereof, as far as they well dare. And if such men meddle no further, we may reasonably think, it is not for want of goodwill to do it ¹, but because they dare not.

¹ Eadem velle eos cognosces : da posse, quantum volunt. *Sen. Ep. 42.*

Secondly, Though they preach not against these things in the public congregations; yet in their private conventicles it is not unknown some do. Though their pulpits do not ring with it, yet their houses do: though their ordinary sermons *ad populum* be more modest; yet their set conferences are sometimes but too free, especially when they are required their opinions by those that invite them. And what themselves (for fear of censure) thus preach but “in the ear,” their lay-disciples openly “preach on the house top¹.”

Thirdly, Although both their pulpits and tables should be silent, yet their practice sufficiently preaches their dislike. And who knows not that a real and exemplary seducement makes the author guilty, as well as a verbal and oratory? St. Peter did not preach Judaism; but only, for offending the Jews, forbear to eat with the Gentiles: yet St. Paul reproves him for it to his face, and interprets that fact of his, as an effectual and almost compulsive seducement; *cogis Judaizare*; “Why compellest thou the Gentiles to Judaize²?”

Lastly, it is to be considered, whether it may be enough for a pastor, not to meddle with these things: and whether he be not in conscience bound, especially in case he live among a people distracted in opinions, to declare himself expressly either for them or against them. If they be utterly unlawful, and he know it so; how is he not bound in conscience to reprove those that use them, or require them? otherwise he betrays the truth of God³ by his silence, and suffers men to go on in their superstition without rebuke. But if he be sufficiently resolved of their lawfulness, how is he not bound in conscience to reprove those that refuse them, or oppose them? otherwise he betrays the peace of the Church by his silence, and suffers men to go on in their disobedience without rebuke. Nay more, every minister that has received pastoral charge, has twice or thrice (if not oftener) witnessed his allowance of all and singular the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Once at his ordination before the bishop; then at his institution into his benefice, before his ordinary; and

¹ Matt. x. 27.

² Gal. ii. 14. Utique conversationis fuit vitium, non prædicationis. *Tert. de Præscript. cap. 23.* Non imperio, sed facto. *Lyra.* Non docentis imperio, sed conversationis exemplo. *Gloss. Ord. ibid.*

³ Otherwise what else do we, but deny and betray the truth? *Def. of Min. Reas. part i. Pref. to the Reader.*

both these by subscription under his hand ; and then after upon his induction before his own flock ; and that by verbal approbation. By which subscription and approbation, he has not only acknowledged “in the Church the power of ordaining rites and ceremonies¹,” but he has after a sort also bound himself “openly to rebuke such as willingly and purposely break the traditions and ceremonies of the Church, as offenders against the common orders of the Church, and wounders of the consciences of the weak brethren². He then that for any respect whatsoever, is meal-mouthed in these things, wherein he is bound both in conscience, and by virtue of his own voluntary act, to speak freely, neither is constant to his own hand and tongue ; nor is “faithful in God’s house, as was Moses³,” in discharging a good conscience, and revealing unto his people “the whole counsel of God⁴.”

38. Thus have I endeavoured, having the opportunity of this place (as I held myself both in conscience, and in regard of my subscription bound,) to deliver my opinion freely, so far as my text gave occasion, concerning the ceremonial constitutions of our Church ; and therein laboured to free, not only the conformer from all unjust censures, but even the non-conformer also, so far as he has reason to expect it, from all scandalous despisings. I beseech you pardon my length, if I have been troublesome ; I had much to say, and the matter was weighty, and I desired to give some satisfaction in it to those that are contrary-minded ; and I have no purpose (for any thing I know,) at all to trouble this place any more hereafter.—Let us all now humbly beseech Almighty God to grant a blessing to what has been presently taught and heard ; that it may work in the hearts of us all charitable affections one towards another, due obedience to lawful authority, and a conscionable care to walk in our several callings, faithfully, painfully, and peaceably ; to the comfort of our own souls, the edification of God’s Church, and the glory of the ever-blessed Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God ; to whom be ascribed by us and the whole Church, as is most due, the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen.

¹ Article XX.² Article XXXIV.³ Heb. iii. 2.⁴ Acts xx. 27.

XVIII.

TEACHING FOR DOCTRINES THE COMMANDMENTS OF MEN^a.

“And here I do profess, that as I have lived, so I desire, and by the grace of God resolve, to die in the communion of the Catholic Church of Christ and a true son of the Church of England; which, as it stands by law established, to be both in doctrine and worship agreeable to the word of God, and in the most, and most material parts of both conformable to the faith and practice of the godly Churches of Christ in the purer and primitive times, I do firmly believe: led so to do, not so much from the force of custom and education, as upon the clear evidence of truth and reason; after a serious and impartial examination of the grounds as well of Popery as of Puritanism, according to that measure of understanding, and those opportunities which God has afforded me;—and herein I am abundantly satisfied, that the *schism* which the Papists on the one hand, and the *superstition* which the Puritans on the other hand, lay to our charge, are very justly chargeable UPON THEMSELVES respectively.” BISHOP SANDERSON IN HIS LAST WILL.

“*But in vain do they worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.*”—MATT. XV. 9.

OUR Saviour sometimes forewarns his disciples to beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. Which leaven, as he expounds himself, (and he best knew his own meaning,) was of two sorts; the leaven of hypocrisy¹, and the leaven of corrupt and superstitious doctrine². We read, 1 Cor. v. 8, of a third sort, and that is the leaven of maliciousness; which also usually accompanies the other two. When any of the three are in abundance, but especially where they all meet and abound, (as in these Pharisees,) it is impossible by any care or cunning so to keep them hidden, as

^a From Bishop *Sanderson*;—the fifth Sermon *ad Clerum*, preached at a visitation holden at Grantham, Lincolnshire; Oct. 8, 1641.

¹ Luke xii. 1.

² Matt. xvi. 12.

not to bewray themselves upon occasion to an observing eye ; as you know it is the nature of leaven though it be hidden never so deep in a heap of meal, to work up to the top, so that a man may certainly know by the effects, and be able to say,—that there it is. In the story of this present chapter, the Pharisees discover all the three ; malice, hypocrisy, and superstition. Their malice against Christ, although it appeared sufficiently in this, that their quarrelling his disciples for eating with unwashen hands, was with the intent to bring an odium upon him for not instructing them better ; yet He passes it by, without taking any special notice thereof ; it may be, for that his own person was chiefly concerned in it. But then the other two, their hypocrisy and superstition, in rejecting the commandments of God for the setting up of their own traditions ; because they trenched so near and deep upon the honour of God his Heavenly Father, He neither would nor could dissemble. But themselves having given Him the occasion by asking Him the first question, “Why do thy disciples transgress the tradition of the elders?” He turns the point of their own weapon full upon them again, as it were by way of recrimination¹, not without some sharpness,—“Do you blame them for that? But why then do you yourselves also transgress the commandment of God by your tradition?”—which is a far greater matter².

2. That is their charge, (verse 3.) Which having made good by one instance taken from the fifth commandment, (more He might have brought, but it needed not, this one being so notorious and so convincing,) He thenceforth doubts not to call them hypocrites to their faces, and to apply to them a passage out of the Prophet Isaiah, very pat to his purpose. Wherein the prophet charged the people of those times with the very same crimes, both of them, whereof these Pharisees are presently appealed ; to wit, hypocrisy and superstition :—hypocrisy in their worship, and superstition in the doctrine. The leaven whereof, by how much more it swelled them in their own and the common opinion, making them to be highly esteemed among men for their outward³ preciseness and semblances of holiness ; by so much the more it

¹ Percutit illos atrociorē recriminatione. *Eras.* in Paraph.

² Τὸ πολλῷ μείζον ἐγκλημα, *Chrys.* Hom. 51. Συμβαίνουσιν μετ' ἀκριβείας, *Chrys.* ibid. Isaiah xxix. 13.

³ Ἀκριβεστάτῃ αἴρεσις. Acts xxvi. 5. Luke xvi. 15.

soured them towards Almighty God, rendering the whole lump of their so strict religion abominable in his sight. So true is that of our Saviour, "That which is highly esteemed among men, is abomination in the sight of God." Their hypocrisy he puts home to them in the verses before the text; "Ye hypocrites, well did Isaiah prophesy of you, saying, This people draweth nigh unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips; but their heart is far from me." That done, he forgets not to remember them of their superstition too; continuing his allegation out of the prophet still, in the words of my text, "But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

3. This latter verse I have chosen to entreat of alone at this time: for although hypocrisy and corrupt teaching¹ do often go together, as in those Jews whom the prophet long before reproved, and in these Pharisees whom our Saviour here reproveth: yet have I purposely severed this verse from the former in the handling, moved thereunto out of a double consideration. First, because hypocrisy lurking more within, we are not able to pronounce of it with such certainty; neither (if we were) have we indeed any good warrant so to do; as we may of unsound doctrines² which lie more open to the view, and are allowed to our examination. Secondly, and especially, because hundreds of those my brethren whom I cannot in reason excuse from symbolizing with the Pharisees in "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men," (which is the fault reproved in this verse,) I cannot yet in charity and in my own thoughts, but acquit from partaking with them (in the measure at least of) that their foul hypocrisy, wherewith they stand charged in the former verses.

The words themselves being one entire proposition, to stand upon the curious dividing of them would be a matter of more ostentation than use; and the truth thereof also, when the meaning is once laid open, will be so evident, that I shall presume of your assent, without spending much time in the proof. The main of our business then upon the text at this time must be explication, application, and use. First the explication of the words, then the application of the matter; and lastly, some corollaries inferred therefrom for our use. Which for your better

¹ Ἐν ὑποκρίσει ψευδολόγων. 1 Tim. iv. 2.

² 1 Thess. v. 21. 1 John iv. 1.

understanding and remembrance I shall endeavour to do as plainly and orderly as I can.

4. As for the words first. There are three things in them that desire explication : first, what is meant by “the commandments of men:” secondly, what it is to teach such commandments for doctrines : thirdly, how and in what respect they that teach such doctrines may be said to “worship God in vain.”—For the first; *ἐνταλμα*, or *ἐντολῇ*, a commandment, properly and strictly taken, is an affirmative precept, requiring something to be done: the contrary whereof is a prohibition, or negative precept, forbidding the doing of something. But in the Holy Scriptures, (as in our common speech also,) the word is usually so extended as to comprehend both, (prohibitions also, as well as commandments properly so called.) The reason whereof is, because affirmatives and negatives do for the most part mutually include and infer the one the other; as in the present case it is all one, whether the Pharisees should command men to wash before meat, or forbid them to eat before they had washed. We call the whole decalogue the ten commandments, though there be negative precepts there as well as affirmative, yea, more negative than affirmative. And those negatives, touch not, taste not, handle not, are called “the commandments of men¹.” Which place I note the rather, because the appellation here used, and cited out of Isaiah xxix. according to the Septuagint, *ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων*, is not found any where else in the whole Testament besides in the relation of this story, save in that one place only. By the analogy of which places, inasmuch as there is mention made in them all as well of doctrines, as of commandments, and that in some of them with the conjunction copulative between them, we are warranted to bring within the extent of this word, according to the general intention and scope of our Saviour in this place, doctrinals as well as morals; that is to say, as well those that prescribe unto our judgments, what we are bound to believe or not to believe in matter of opinion; as those that prescribe unto our consciences, what we are bound to do, or not to do, in matter of practice. Although the special occasion whereupon our Saviour fell into this discourse against the Pharisees, and the special instance whereby he convinces them, do withal show, that the morals do

¹ *Τὰς ἐντολάς οἶδας, μὴ μοιχεύσῃς, μὴ, &c.* Mark x. 19. Luke xviii. 20. Col. ii. 12.

more principally, properly, and directly fall under his particular attention and scope therein. In the full extent of the word then, all those prescriptions are to be taken for "the commandments of men," wherein any thing is by human authority either enjoined or forbidden to be believed or done, (especially to be done,) which God in his holy word has not so enjoined or forbidden. Jonadab's command to the Rechabites¹ that they should not drink wine, they nor their sons for ever, and the Pharisees' tradition here, that none should eat with unwashen hands, were both the "commandments of men."

5. This is clear enough, yea, and good enough hitherto, if there were no more in it but so : for you must observe, (or else you quite mistake the text, and the whole drift of it,) that it is no part of our Saviour's meaning, absolutely and wholly to condemn all the commandments of men. For that were to cut the sinews of all government^a and order, and to overturn churches, kingdoms, corporations, families, and all other both greater and lesser societies of men : none of all which can be upheld without some positive laws and sanctions of man's devising. We do not therefore find, that either Jonadab was blamed for commanding the Rechabites not to drink wine ; or that they were blamed for observing his commandment therein. But rather on the contrary that God well approved both of him and them, yea, and rewarded them for their obedience unto that command²; though it were a command but of man's devising, and had no more than a bare human authority to warrant it³. And therefore those men are very wide that vouch this text against the ecclesiastical constitutions or ceremonies, with such confidence, as if they were able with this one engine to take them all off at a blow ; not considering that it is not barely the commandments of men, either materially or formally taken, (that is to say, neither the things commanded by men, nor yet men's commanding of them,) but it is the teaching of such commandments for doctrines, that our Saviour here condemns the Pharisees for.—*What* that is, therefore, we are next to enquire, διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας, "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

6. In the 29th of Isaiah the substantives have a conjunction

¹ Jer. xxxv. 6.

^a Compare *Mason's* Sermon, § 9. and the note, above, p. 465.

² Jer. xxxv. 18, 19.

³ Abridgm. Linc. p. 44.

copulative between them in the Septuagint; and they are read in the very same manner and order [ἐντάλματα καὶ διδασκαλίας,] by St. Paul, alluding thereunto in Col. ii. But in the Greek text in all copies extant, both here and in Mark vii. where the same history is related, they are put without the conjunction, by apposition, as the grammarians call it¹. The meaning is the same in both readings; only this latter way it appears better, and it is in effect this: “Whosoever shall endeavour to impose upon the judgments of men, *in credendis*, or in point of faith, any thing to be believed as a part of God’s holy truth; or shall endeavour to impose upon the consciences of men, *in agendis*, or in point of manners, any thing to be observed as a part of God’s holy will, which cannot be sufficiently evidenced so or so to be, either by express testimony of the written Word of God, rightly understood and applied, or by clear natural and necessary deduction therefrom, according to the laws of true logical discourse, is guilty, more or less, of that superstition our Saviour here condemns in the Pharisees, of teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.”

7. And a fault it is of a large comprehension. It takes in all additions whatsoever, that are made to that absolute and all sufficient rule of faith and manners, which God has left unto his Church in his written Word. In what *kind* soever they are, whether in opinion, worship, ordinance, injunction, prohibition, promise, or otherwise; from what *cause* soever they proceed, whether from credulity, ignorance, education, partiality, hypocrisy, misgoverned zeal, time-serving, or any other; for what *end* soever they may be done, whether those ends be in truth intended, or but in show pretended; say it be the glory of God, the reformation of abuses, the preventing of mischiefs or inconveniences, the avoiding of scandals, the maintenance of Christian liberty, the furtherance of piety, or whatever else can be imagined; if they have not a sufficient foundation in the sacred text, and yet shall be offered to be pressed upon our judgments or consciences, in the name of God and as his Word, they are to be held as chaff, fitter to be scattered before the wind, or cast out to the dunghill, than to be hoarded up in the garners among the wheat²; (alas! what is the chaff to the wheat?) or as hay, wood, or stubble, meetter to become fuel for the oven or hearth, than to be coffered up in the treasures among gold, and silver, and pre-

¹ Per appositionem. *Eras. Bez.*

² Jer. xxiii. 28. 1 Cor. iii. 12. 15.

cious stones. And he that brings any such doctrine with him, let his piety or parts be otherwise what they can be; should he in either of both, or even in both, match not only the holy apostles of Christ ¹, but the very blessed angels in heaven; yet should we rather defy him as a traitor, for setting God's stamp upon his own bullion, than receive him as his faithful ambassador; and salute him with an anathema, sooner than bid him "God speed." Especially if the doctrine be apparently either false or ungrounded, and yet positively and peremptorily delivered, as if it were the undoubted word and will of God ².

8. I may not now descend to particulars. But thus much it will concern us all to know in the general, "that whosoever teaches anything either to be absolutely unlawful, which God has not forbidden in his Word, or to be absolutely necessary, which God has not required in his Word, he teaches for doctrines the commandments of men; and so far forth plays the Pharisee's part in burthening the consciences of God's people with the superstitious fancies of his own brain." But otherwise, the enjoining of something for a time which God has not forbidden, or the forbidding of something for a time which God has not required, by those that are endued with lawful authority in any ecclesiastical, political, or domestical society, so as the same be not done for conscience sake towards God, or with any opinion of worship, merit, or operative holiness, but merely out of prudential considerations, and for the reasons of order, decency, expedience, or other like respects of conveniency and accommodation, is a thing no ways justly chargeable with Pharisaism, superstition, or to be cried down and condemned under the name of will-worship; nor does it come within the compass of our Saviour's reproof in this place. If Jonadab had laid an obligation upon the consciences of the Rechabites, not to drink wine, by telling them that for conscience sake towards God they ought to abstain therefrom; or if the Jewish elders and governors, leaving the consciences of the people free, had only made a law under some penalty for decency and cleanliness sake, that no man should sit down to meat in public with unwashen hands; to my seeming, had he then been guilty of this Pharisaical superstition, and they free. In brief, then, to conclude this enquiry, "to lay an obligation either upon the judgments or consciences of men, in point of opinion or practice,

¹ Gal. i. 8.

² 2 John 10.

which God has not laid, that, and nothing but that, is to teach for doctrines the commandments of men."

9. We have yet a third thing to be enquired of, for the explanation of the words; namely, how and in what respect they that teach such doctrines may be said to worship God in vain. The ambiguity of our English word *worship*, has occasioned many errors among divines, and misunderstandings of one another's words and writings, whereby the disputes and controversies about worship are become of all other the most intricate and perplexed. The Hebrews and the Greeks, too, have sundry words, and those of distinct notions and significations, which we in English, for want of fitter expressions, are fain to translate promiscuously by this one word worship. The Greek words *προσκυνεῖν*, *λατρεύειν*, *θρησκεύειν*, and *σέβεσθαι*, (which is the word here used,) are all indifferently rendered *worshipping*. Here, according to the notion of the Greek word, it properly signifies the performance of some religious or devout act, with an intention to honour God thereby. Whereby it appears that these Pharisees placed a great part of their religion in the observation of these traditions of men's devising, and flattered themselves with this conceit, that they did God a great deal of honour in so doing; and that, therefore, He could not choose but be marvellous well pleased with them for so doing. By long accustoming themselves to which like outward observances, they had almost lost the vigour and soul of true religion, (which consists in the inward reverence and devotion of the heart,) and had little other left than the bare carcase, or empty outside thereof; and that also patched and pieced up for the most part with the devices and inventions of men.

10. And this our Saviour now tells them is "worship in vain." He says so indeed; but has He any text for it? The place He cites is in Isaiah xxix. 13. where the words, according to the original, run but thus: "Their fear towards me is taught by the precept of men;" but that it is vain, the Prophet does not there say.—He does not say it *αὐτολέξει*, in those very words according to the Hebrew; but the scope of the place imports all that and more. For God there threatens to punish the people for such worship; which He would not have done if He had been either pleased with it, or honoured by it. But the very word and all is so found, even as our Saviour cites it, *ματὴν καὶ σέβονται*, in the Septuagint there; which being the most common and received translation in those days, was, therefore, for the most part

followed by Christ and his apostles in their quotations, especially where it swerved not very much in sense from the original. Now a thing is said to be done in vain, when it has not that wished effect which the doer intended and expected. Those Pharisees, then, intending by those superstitious will-worships to honour God, and hoping to please Him therewithal, when their expectations should be so far frustrated, that God should all on the contrary profess Himself dishonoured and displeased thereby, it must needs be acknowledged that this, their will-worship, was all in vain. Certainly God will reject what Himself has forbidden; and He has forbidden, and that both frequently, and with the severest interminations, all manner of will-worship, (of this kind, and properly so called,) and all additions of men unto his holy Word.

11. In the several parts of the text thus opened, we may see the full meaning of the whole.—God will not approve of, nor accept any wit-worship, or will-worship, forged or devised by man, with an opinion as if it were a necessary part of God's service; nor allow of any doctrine that tends to bind the judgments or consciences of his people further than He has thought fit Himself to bind them by the expresses of his Word. He will, when time serves, root out every plant which is not of his own planting. And when the day is come, which “shall declare (by a fiery trial) every man's work of what sort it is¹,” the gold, and silver, and precious stones shall abide the fire, and the workman that built with such good stuff shall receive a blessed reward: but he that builds wood, or hay, or stubble, though by the great mercy of God he himself may pass through the fire and be saved, (with some difficulty,) so long as he holds fast the foundation, which is Christ and his merits, yet he shall suffer loss in his work however. *That* shall be sure to burn and perish, whatsoever becomes of *him*. All that fear of God is but superstitious and vain, that is taught by the precepts and commandments of men.

12. From the *explication* of the text hitherto, I come now to the *application* of it. Wherein I doubt not by God's help, but to make clear to the judgment of any man, that is not either incapable through ignorance, or fore-possessed with prejudice,—these three things. *First*, that the Papists are guilty of the Pharisaical superstition and will-worship here condemned. *Secondly*, that the

¹ Matt. xv. 12. 1 Cor. iii. 12—15.

Church of England and her regular and obedient children are not guilty of the same. *Thirdly*, that those divines and others in the Church of England, that so undutifully charge her therewithal, are, in truth, themselves inexcusably guilty of that very crime whereof they unjustly accuse her.

13. *First*, for the Papists. That they are the right children and successors of the Pharisees, no man, that rightly understands the tenets of the Romish Church, but will easily grant; if he shall duly consider what a mass of human traditions, both in point of belief and worship, are imposed upon the judgments and consciences of all that may be suffered to live in the visible communion of that Church; and that with opinion of necessity, and under pain of damnation. The Pope's supremacy, worshipping of images, invocation of saints and angels, the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass, purgatory, the seven sacraments, transubstantiation, adoration of the host, communion under one kind, private masses, forbidding priests' marriage, monastical vows, prayer in an unknown tongue, auricular confession;—all these, and I know not how many more, are such, as even by the confession of their own learned writers¹, depend upon unwritten traditions more than upon the Scriptures. True it is, that for most of these they pretend to Scripture also; but with so little colour at the best, and with so little confidence at the last, that when they are hard put to it, they are forced to fly from that hold, and to shelter themselves under their great Diana tradition. Take away that, it is confessed that many of the chief Articles of their faith, *nutare et vacillare videbuntur*, will seem even to totter and reel, and have much ado to keep up. For what else could we imagine should make them strive so much to debase the Scripture all they can, denying it to be a rule of faith, and charging it with imperfection, obscurity, uncertainty, and many other defects; and on the other side to magnify traditions as every way more absolute: but merely their consciousness, that sundry of their doctrines, if they should be examined to the bottom, would appear to have no sound foundation in the written Word? And then must we needs conclude from what has been already delivered, that they ought to be received (or, rather, not to be received but rejected,) as “the doctrines and commandments of men.”

¹ *Andradius*. Multò maxima pars Evangelii pervenit ad nos traditione; perexigua literis est mandata. *Hos.* Confes. c. 92. Egenum elementum. *Hosius*. Plumbea regula. *Pighius*, etc.

14. Nor will their flying to tradition help them in this case, or free them from Pharisaism: but rather make the more against them. For to omit that it has been the usual course of false teachers, when their doctrines were found not to be Scripture-proof, to fly to tradition¹, do but enquire a little into the original and growth of Pharisaical traditions, and you shall find that one egg is not more like another, than the Papists and the Pharisees are alike in this matter². When Saduc³ (or whosoever else was the first author of the sect of the Sadducees) and his followers began to vent their pestilent and atheistical doctrines, against the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and other like, the best learned among the Jews (the Pharisees especially) opposed against them by arguments and collections drawn from the Scriptures. The Sadducees finding themselves unable to hold argument with them, (as having two shrewd disadvantages—but a little learning and a bad cause,) had no other means to avoid the force of all their arguments, than to hold them precisely to the letter of the text, without admitting any exposition thereof, or collection therefrom. Unless they could bring clear text, that should affirm *totidem verbis*, what they denied, they would not yield. The Pharisees, on the contrary, refused (as they had good cause) to be tied to such unreasonable conditions; but stood upon the meaning of the Scriptures, as the Sadducees did upon the letter; confirming the truth of their interpretations partly from reason, and partly from tradition. Not meaning by tradition (as yet) any doctrine other than what was already sufficiently contained in the Scriptures; but merely the doctrine which had been in all ages constantly taught and received with an universal consent among the people of God, as consonant to the Holy Scriptures and grounded thereon. By this means, though they could not satisfy the Sadducees⁴, (as heretics and sectaries commonly are

¹ Vid. *Chamier*. tom. i. *Panstrat.* lib. ix. c. 16. *Jewell's Defence*, vol. ii. c. 9.

² Non malè comparari Phariseos Catholicis. *Serarius* apud *Hall*. *Serm.* on Matt. v. 30.

³ Saduc discipulus antiqui Sochæi, author sectæ Sadducæorum secundùm Rabbinos. V. El. Tisb. in צדוק *Schindler*. in *Lexic.* Pentagl. Sed hoc ut commentum Rabbinicum exigit Montacutius: qui Sadducæorum originem ad Dositheum quendam refert, ex autoritate Epiphani et aliorum; eosque Sadducæos dictos confirmat à צדק Justitia, ob mores austeros, et in judiciis severitatem. V. *Montacut.* Appar. vii, sect. 49.

⁴ Τοσαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τῶ πλῆθει, ὡς——, &c. *Jos.* xiii. *Antiq.* xviii.

obstinate) yet so far they satisfied the generality of the people, that they grew into very great esteem with them, and within a while carried all before them, the detestation of the Sadducees and of their loose errors also conducing not a little thereunto. And who now but the Pharisees ; and what now but tradition, in every man's eye and mouth ? Things being at this pass, any wise man may judge, how easy a matter it was for men so revered as the Pharisees were, to abuse the credulity of the people and the interest they had in their good opinion, to their own advantage ; to make themselves lords of the people's faith, and by little and little to bring into the worship whatsoever doctrines and observances they pleased, and all under the acceptable name of the traditions of the elders¹. And so they did, winning continually upon the people by their cunning, and shows of religion, and proceeding still more and more, till the Jewish worship by their means was grown to that height of superstition and formality, as we see it was in our Saviour's days.—Such was the beginning, and such the rise, of these Pharisaical traditions.

15. Popish traditions also both came in and grew up just after the same manner. The orthodox bishops and doctors in the ancient Church, being to maintain the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, the consubstantiality of the Son with the Father, the hypostatical union of the two natures in the person of Christ, the divinity of the Holy Ghost, and other like articles of the Catholic religion, against the Arians, the Eunomians, Macedonians, and other heretics ; for that the words Trinity, homouision, hypostasis, procection, &c. (which for the better expressing of the Catholic sense they were forced to use) were not expressly to be found in the Holy Scriptures, had recourse therefore very often, in their writings against the heretics of their times, to the tradition of the Church. Whereby they meant not (as the Papists would now wrest their words) any unwritten doctrine not contained in the Scriptures, but the very doctrine of the Scriptures themselves, as they had been constantly understood and believed by all faithful Christians in the Catholic Church down from the apostles' times till the several present ages wherein they lived. This course of theirs, of so serviceable and necessary use in those times, gave the first occasion, and after-rise, to that heap of errors and super-

¹ Δευτερώσεις. *Epiph. in Ptol. Justin. Novell.* 146, et alii. Δῆλον ὅτι πολλὰ ἱκανοτόμουν. *Chrysos. Hom.* 51. in Matt.

stitutions, which in process of time (by the power and policy of the Bishop of Rome especially) were introduced into the Christian Church under the specious name and colour of Catholic traditions¹. Thus have they trodden in the steps of their forefathers the Pharisees; and stand guilty even as they, of the superstition here condemned by our Saviour, in teaching for doctrines men's precepts.

16. But if the Church of Rome be cast, how shall the Church of England be quit, that symbolises so much with her in many of her ceremonies, and otherwise? What are all our crossings, and kneelings, and duckings? What surplice and ring, and all those other rites and accoutrements that are used in or about the public worship, but so many commandments of men? For it cannot be made appear (nor truly do I think was it ever endeavoured) that God has any where commanded them.—Indeed these things have been objected heretofore, with clamour enough; and the cry is of late revived again with more noise and malice than ever, in a world of base and unworthy pamphlets, that like the frogs of Egypt² croak in every corner of the land: and I pray God the suffering of them to multiply into such heaps do not cause the whole land so to stink in his nostrils, that He grow weary of it and forsake us.—But I undertook to justify the Church of England and her regular and obedient children in this behalf: and it will be expected I should do it. If any of the children of this Church in their too much haste have overrun their mother^a; that is, have busied themselves and troubled others with putting forward new rites and ceremonies, with scandal, and without law; or, by using

¹ Mox subsecuta est corruptela. *Calvin.* in loc.

² *Exod.* viii. 14.

^a *Laud*, a prisoner in the Tower, at the time when this sermon was preached, is often alleged to have been one of that kind of persons: but with what probable degree of justice, let us hear his own protestations, in the very teeth and face of those who could best testify against him, if he bare false witness to himself.

“Meantime, since I am the man so particularly shot at by my lord, I shall answer for myself according to truth: and with truth which I can legally prove, if need be. I have not commanded or enjoined any one thing, ceremonial or other, upon *any* parochial congregation in England, much less upon *all*, to be either practised or suffered, but that which is *directly commanded by law*. And if any inferior ordinary in the kingdom, or any of my own officers have given any such command, it is either without my knowledge, or against my direction.” *Troubles and Trial*, p. 499. Answer to the Lord *Say's* Speech, touching the Liturgy.

her name without her leave for the serving of their own purposes, have causelessly brought an evil suspicion upon her (as some are blamed) let them answer it as well as they can: it is not my business now to plead for them, but to vindicate the Church of England against another sort of men, who have accused her of superstition unjustly.

17. Set both these aside, and her defence is made in a word, if we do but remember what has been already delivered in the explication of the text, to wit, that it is not the commandments of men, either materially or formally taken, but the opinion that we have of them, and the teaching of them for doctrines, wherein superstition properly consists.—Materially first. There is no superstition either in wearing or in not wearing a surplice; in kneeling, or in not kneeling at the communion; in crossing, or in not crossing an infant newly baptized: even as there is no superstition in washing or in not washing the hands before meat; so long as neither the one is done with an opinion of necessity, nor the other forborne out of the opinion of unlawfulness. For, so long, the conscience stands free. The apostle has so resolved in the very like case; that neither he that eateth is the worse for it, nor “he that eateth not”¹ the better for it. A man may eat, and do it with a good conscience too. As in the present case, at this time, it is certain Christ’s disciples did eat and washed not; it cannot be doubted, but at some time or other they washed before they eat. Not for conscience sake towards God either; but even as they saw it fit, and as the present occasion required:—and they might do both without superstition. But if any man shall wear, or kneel, or cross, with an opinion of necessity and for conscience-sake towards God, as if those parts of God’s service wherein those ceremonies are used in our Church could not be rightly performed without them, yea, although the Church had not appointed them;—doubtless the use of those ceremonies by reason of such his opinion should be superstition to him. Because a man cannot be of that opinion, but he must believe it to be true doctrine, that such and such ceremonies are of themselves necessary parts of God’s worship.—As on the contrary, if any body should refuse to wear, or kneel, or cross, out of an opinion of their unlawfulness, as if those ceremonies did vitiate the whole act of that worship whereunto they are applied, I

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 8.

cannot see, but upon the same ground, and by reason of such his opinion, the refusal of those ceremonies should be to him also superstition. Because a man cannot be of that opinion, but he must believe this to be a true doctrine, that such and such ceremonies are of themselves unlawful to be used in the worship of God. But the obedient children of the Church of England, having no such opinion either of the necessity or unlawfulness of the said ceremonies, but holding them to be (as indeed they are) things in their own nature indifferent, are even therefore free from superstition in both the kinds aforesaid. So then in the things commanded taken materially, that is to say, considered in themselves without respect to the Church's command, there is no superstition; because there is nothing concerning them doctrinally taught either the one way or the other.

18. Now if we can as well clear these things taken also formally, that is to say, considered not in themselves, but as they stand commanded by public authority of the Church, the whole business is done as to this point.—Nor is there in truth any great difficulty in it, if we will but apprehend things aright. For although the very commanding them do seem to bring with it a kind of necessity, and to lay a tie upon the conscience, (as that of St. Paul implies both, “you must needs be subject, and that for conscience sake¹:”) yet is not that any tie brought upon the conscience *de novo* by such command of the Church: only that tie that lay upon the conscience before by virtue of that general commandment of God of obeying the higher powers in all their lawful commands, is by that commandment of the Church applied to that particular matter. Even as it is in all civil constitutions and human positive laws whatsoever. And the necessity also is but an obediencial^a, not a doctrinal necessity. But the text requires a doctrinal necessity, to make the thing done a vain and superstitious worship “teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.” Which the Church of England in prescribing the aforesaid ceremonies has not done; nor by her own grounds could do. For, look, as the case stands with private men for doing or refusing; even so stands the case with public governors for commanding or forbidding. As therefore with private men it is not the bare doing or refusing of a thing, as in discretion they

¹ Rom. xiii. 5.

^a Compare the preceding article, No. XVII. § 20.

shall see cause; but the doing of it with an opinion of necessity, or the refusing of it with the opinion of unlawfulness, that makes the action superstitious, as has been already shown; so with public governors, it is not the commanding or forbidding of a mutable ceremony, as for the present they shall deem it fit, for order, decency, or uniformity's sake, or such other like respect; but the commanding of it with an opinion as if it were of perpetual necessity, or the forbidding it with the like opinion as if it were simply unlawful, that makes the constitution superstitious.

19. Now I appeal to any man, that has not run on madly with the cry for company, but endeavoured with the spirit of charity and sobriety to satisfy his understanding herein, if the Church of England, both in the preface before the Book of Common Prayer ¹ and in the articles of her confession ², and in sundry passages in the Homilies, occasionally; (and these books are acknowledged her most authentic writings, the two former especially, and the just standard whereby to measure her whole doctrine:) if, I say, she have not in them all, and that in as plain and express terms as can be desired, disclaimed all human traditions, that are imposed upon the consciences of God's people, either in point of faith or manners; and declared to the world, that she challenged no power to herself to order any thing by her own authority but only in things indifferent, and such as are not repugnant to the word of God; and that her constitutions are but for order, comeliness, and uniformity sake, and not for conscience sake towards God, and that therefore any of those her orders and constitutions may be retained, abolished, or altered from time to time, and at all times, as the governors for the time being shall judge to serve best unto edification. What should I say more? If men list to be contentious, and will not be satisfied, who can help it? yet thus much I dare say more: let any Papist or precisian in the world give instance but in any one single thing, doctrinally maintained by the Church of England, which he can

¹ The ceremonies that remain are retained for discipline and order, which, upon just causes, may be altered and changed, and therefore are not to be esteemed equal with God's law. Preface, of Ceremonies.

² The Church has power to decree rites and ceremonies, but it ought not besides the Scripture to enforce any thing to be believed for necessity of salvation. Art. XX. Every particular or national Church has authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies, &c. Art. XXXIV.

with any colour of truth except against as a commandment of men; if we do not either show good warrant for it from the written word of God, (which we doubt not but to be able to do, and is most *ad rem*;) or else (which is enough *ad hominem*) for every single instance they shall bring, return them ten of their own teaching, every whit as liable to the same exception as that; —we will yield the bucklers and confess her guilty.

20. But now, what will you say, if after all this clamouring against English Popish ceremonies, (as of late they have blazoned them,) they that keep all this ado, prove in the end the guilty persons themselves ^a? I am much deceived if it do not clearly prove so, if we either compare her doctrine and theirs together, or take a view of some of theirs by themselves. *First*, compare them a little ¹, which will also add some confirmation to the former point for the farther justifying of the Church of England in this behalf. And for example and perspicuity sake, let the instance be kneeling at the communion; there being the like reason of all the rest. I pray you consider well the evidence; weigh the grounds, and observe the course held on both sides, and then give sentence accordingly. If, as God has given those our Church governors power to determine of indifferent mutable circumstances, and they using the liberty of the power given them, have appointed kneeling rather than sitting or standing, as judging it a gesture of greater reverence and well becoming our unworthiness, but without any opinion either of the necessity of that gesture, or of the unlawfulness of the other two; so God had given the like power to these our brethren, and they using the liberty of that power had appointed sitting or standing, rather than kneeling, as judging either of them a more proper table gesture than it, yet without any opinion of their necessity, or of the unlawfulness of kneeling; the case had then been alike of both. These had been as free as they; neither of them had been guilty of superstition, in teaching for doctrines the commandments of men; because there was no doctrinal necessity whereby to bind the conscience of God's people on either side. Again, if as these say to their proselytes peremptorily in effect thus, "You are bound in conscience not to kneel; it is an unlawful gesture, a

^a Compare above, No. XV. § 16, and note: also No. XVII. § 20, and Sanderson's Seventh Sermon *ad Populum*, §§ 18—20. and § 44.

¹ Τὰ γὰρ πράγματα ἀπὸ συγκρίσεως μάλιστα φαίνεται. Chrysost. Orat. ii. contr. Judæos.

superstitious relique of Popery, and carries with it a shrewd appearance of their idolatrous bread-worship; and therefore we charge you upon your consciences not to kneel;" so our Church governors should say to the people peremptorily in effect thus, "You are bound in conscience to kneel, or else you profane the holy sacrament, not discerning the Lord's body; and therefore we charge you upon your consciences to kneel:" the case of both had here also been alike. Both alike guilty of superstition, "in teaching for doctrines the commandments of men:" because by that doctrinal necessity as well the one sort as the other had laid a perpetual obligation upon the consciences of men, in a matter which God having not any where either commanded or forbidden has therefore left free and indifferent. But now taking the case as *de facto* it is, without ifs and ands, set the one against the other, and make the comparison right; and here it is. Our brethren having no public authority given them to order what shall be done or not done in matters of external government, do yet bind the consciences of God's people, by teaching that which they thus forbid to be simply and in itself unlawful. Our governors on the contrary, though having public authority to prescribe in such matters, do yet leave the consciences of men at liberty, without teaching that which they appoint, to be of absolute necessity in itself. This being *species facti*, as the civilians speak, the even true state of the case: say now I beseech you in good sooth, and be not partial, *quid juris?* at whose door lies the superstition? The one side teaching no such doctrine, but having authority, do by virtue of that authority appoint the people to kneel: the other side having no such authority, but teaching a doctrine, do by virtue of that doctrine charge the people not to kneel: whether of both sides may rightlier be said to "teach for doctrines the commandments of men?"

Tu quum sis quod ego, et fortassis nequior——

21. Their guilt herein will yet farther appear, if, leaving comparisons, we take a view of some of their doctrines by themselves. I say, but some of them: for how many hours would serve to reckon them all? or who indeed (even of themselves) knows them all? there are so many covies of new doctrines sprung up ever and anon, especially in these late times of connivance and licentiousness; which by that they are well hatched, presently fly abroad the country, and are entertained by some or other for as good

divinity, as if they were the undoubted oracles of the Holy Ghost. I dare not affirm it, because I will not put myself to the trouble to prove it, and because I heartily desire and wish I be deceived in it; yet I cannot dissemble my fear that it is but too true, (by the proportion of what we almost daily hear or see,) that within little more than this one twelvemonth last past there have been more false and superstitious doctrines vented in the pulpits and presses in England, than have been (in so open and daring a manner) in the whole space of almost fourscore years before, I mean since the first of Queen Elizabeth of blessed memory. And to make good the former charge, omitting sundry other their unwarrantable positions, partly concerning Church-government, orders, and ceremonies, established by law, partly concerning sundry received customs in matters wholly or in part ecclesiastical, partly concerning the use of sundry pastimes and recreations, partly concerning sundry usages and customs *in vitâ communi*, in things merely civil, and not sacred or ecclesiastical, the particulars whereof would amount to many scores, if not hundreds: I shall present unto your view a dozen only, which I have selected from the rest of those that I have observed to have been most urged of late in sermons and pamphlets; by which you may in part judge of the rest. And they are these:

22. 1. That the appointing of a set form of prayer or liturgy, to be used in the service of God, is unlawful or Antichristian; or that it is a straitening or limiting of the Holy Spirit of God.

2. That it is not in the power of the Church to ordain any rites or ceremonies in the service of God, which the people are bound to observe, other than such as God has commanded in his word.

3. That rites and usages, devised or abused either by heathens or idolaters, may not¹ be lawfully used by Christians in the service of God.

4. That it is unlawful or superstitious to kneel at the holy communion, in the act of receiving the sacrament.

5. That instrumental music may not be used in the service of God, as well as vocal.

6. That episcopacy is Antichristian, or repugnant to the word of God.

7. That the Presbyterian discipline is the very sceptre of

¹ That the observation of annual festivals in memory of Christ or his apostles, as Christmas, Easter, &c. is Antichristian, superstitious, and unlawful.

Christ's kingdom, or the order appointed by Christ himself for the perpetual government of his church, which ought of all particular congregations to be inviolably observed unto the world's end.

8. That it is simply unlawful for a minister to be possessed of two benefices ^a.

9. That ecclesiastical persons may not meddle in secular affairs ^b, nor can with a good conscience exercise any civil office or jurisdiction, although by human authority, law, or custom allowed them.

10. That it is not lawful, in preaching God's word, to recite sentences out of the Fathers; much less from the writings of heathen writers.

11. That the election or consent of the people is of necessity required, either to the ordaining of ministers, or to the appointing of them to their particular charges.

12. Lastly, (which though I find not positively delivered *in terminis*, nor is the danger thereof so generally observed, as of sundry of the former; yet for that I find it often touched upon in these late treatises, and conceive it to be an error of no less dangerous consequence than many of the former, I thought meet not to omit it :) that the examples of Christ ^c and of his apostles

^a "As soon as a preacher is made, he has power to preach all over the world, but the civil power restrains him. He cannot preach in this parish or in that, there is one already appointed. Now if the state allows him two livings, then he has two places where he may exercise his function, and so has the more power to do his office; which he might do every where, if he were not restrained." *Selden's Table-Talk*, art. "Non-residence." § 2. Compare *Hooker*, book v. chap. 80, § 6—7, vol. ii. 639—41. Keble's edit. and *Stillingfleet's Letter to Archbishop Tillotson*, Miscellaneous Discourses, p. 377—8. A.D. 1735. 8vo.

^b "It is a foolish thing to say ministers must not meddle with secular matters, because his own profession will take up the whole man. May he not eat, or drink, or walk, or learn to sing?—The meaning of that is, he must seriously attend his calling." *Selden's Table-Talk*, art. "Minister Divine." § 9.

"You would not have bishops meddle with temporal affairs; think who you are that say it. If a Papist, they do in your Church; if a Presbyterian, where you have no bishops, you mean your Presbyterian lay-elders should meddle with temporal affairs, as well as spiritual. Besides, all jurisdiction is temporal, and in no Church but they have some jurisdiction or other; the question then will be reduced to *magis* and *minus*—they meddle *more* in one Church than in another." *Ibid.* art. "Bishops in the Parliament." § 5. See also *Sanderson*, 3d Serm. *ad Magistratum*, § 12. p. 120—2. edit. 1681.

^c See No. XIV. above, in this volume, § 10, and notes.

ought to be observed of all Christians, as a perpetual rule binding them to conformity, even as their precepts do unto obedience.

23. Concerning which positions, I do here in the face of this congregation take God to witness, who shall judge us all at the last day, that I do verily believe, and in my conscience am persuaded, that all and every of them are the vain and superstitious inventions of men, wholly destitute of all sound warrant from the written word of God rightly understood and applied: and (till they shall be better proved) ought to be so esteemed of every man that desires to make God's holy word the rule of his opinions and actions. Many and great are the mischiefs otherwise, that come to the Church and people of God, by the teaching of these and other like groundless positions: as amongst others, these three following. First, great scandal is hereby given to Atheists, Papists, Separatists, and other the enemies of our religion; especially to the Papists: who will not only take occasion thence to speak evil of us and of the way of truth and holiness which we profess, but will be themselves also the more confirmed in their own wicked errors, by objecting to us, that since we left them, we cannot tell where to stay. Secondly, many sober and godly men, both ministers and others, who cheerfully submit to the established laws and government, (as they take themselves by the law of God bound to do, in things which they believe not to be repugnant to his word,) are by this means unworthily exposed to contempt and miscensure, as if they were time-servers, or inclined to Popery, or superstition at the least. But if they shall farther endeavour, in their sermons or otherwise, to show their just dislike, and to hinder the growth of these unlawful impositions, and to hold the people in their good belief by instructing them better; they shall be sure to be forthwith branded as opposers of the Gospel^a. As if there were such a spirit of infallibility annexed to some men's pulpits, as some have said there is to the Pope's chair, that whatsoever they shall deliver thence must needs be Gospel. Thirdly, hereby many an honest-hearted and well-meaning Christian is wonderfully abused; by being misled into error, superstition, and disobedience, by having his conscience brought into bondage in those things, whereunto it was the good pleasure of God to leave him free; and by being disposed to much uncharitableness in judging evil of his brother, that has given him no just cause so to do.

^a Compare *Mason's Sermon*, § 11. and note, p. 466, above.

24. Besides these and sundry other mischiefs of dangerous consequence, too long now to repeat, the thing that I am presently to affirm, concerning all and every of the positions afore-said, and other like them, pertinently to the text and business in hand, is this, that whosoever shall doctrinally and positively teach any of the same, does *ipso facto* become guilty of the superstition here condemned by our Saviour, and so far forth symbolizes with the Pharisees in teaching for doctrines the commandments of men. And I doubt not, but there are in the Church of England sundry learned, judicious, and orthodox divines, no way suspected of favouring Popery or Popish innovations, that by God's help and the advantage of truth will be ready to maintain what I now affirm in a fair Christian and scholar-like trial, against whosoever are otherwise minded, whensoever by authority they shall be thereunto required.

25. I have now finished what I had to say from this Scripture by way of application. From the whole premises would arise sundry inferences, as corollaries and by way of use. In the prosecution whereof, had we time for it, I should have occasion to fall upon some things that might be of right good use for the settling of men's judgments and consciences in a way of truth and peace. And truly my aim lay chiefly here, when my thoughts fixed upon this text. But having enlarged myself so far beyond my first purpose already, I shall only give you a short touch of each of them; and it may be hereafter (as I shall see cause, and as God shall dispose) I may take some other occasion, here or elsewhere, to enlarge them further.

26. The first should be an earnest request to such of my brethren, as through inconsideration, zeal against Popery or profaneness, or any other cause, have been a little too forward and faulty this way;—that they would in the fear of God review their own dictates, and (all partiality and self-seeking laid aside) bestow a little pains to examine thoroughly the soundness of those principles from which they draw their conclusions: whether they be the very true word of God indeed, or but the fancies and devices of the wit of man. I know how loathly men are induced to suspect themselves to be in an error: and that it is with our brethren herein as with other men, may sufficiently appear in this, that few of them will so much as bestow the reading of those books ^a, that might give them satisfaction. But (beloved)

^a Compare No. XVI. above, p. 596, note, “fully handled by Mr. Hooker

better try your own work yourselves, and if it prove but hay or stubble, burn it yourselves, by acknowledging your error and retracting it, that you may build better; than let it lie on still, till a sorer fire catch it. Better for any of us all, whether in respect of our errors or sins, to prevent the Lord's judging of us, by timely "judging ourselves¹," than to slack the time till his judgment overtake us.

27. The second use should be an admonition to all my brethren of the ministry for the time to come, and that in the apostle's words, "Let every man take heed what he buildeth²." St. Paul himself was very careful this way, not to deliver any thing³ to the people, but what he had received from the Lord. The prophets of the Lord still delivered their messages with this preface, "*Hæc dicit Dominus*⁴." Yea, that wretch Balaam, though a false prophet, and covetous enough, professed yet that if Balak would give him his house full of silver and gold, he neither durst nor would "go beyond the word of the Lord to do less or more⁵." There is a great proneness in us all to idolize our own inventions. Besides much ignorance, hypocrisy, and partiality; any of which may bias us awry, our educations may lay such early anticipations upon our judgments; or our teachers, or the books we read, or the society we converse withal, may leave such impressions therein, as may fill them with prejudice, not easily to be removed. The golden mean is a hard thing to hit upon almost in any thing, without some warping toward one of the extremes, either on the right hand, or on the left: and without a great deal of wisdom and care seldom shall we seek to shun one extreme, and not run a little too far towards the other, if not quite into it. In all which, and sundry other respects, we may soon fall into gross mistakes and errors, if we do not take the more heed; whilst we suspect no such thing by ourselves, but verily believe that all we do is out of pure zeal for God's glory, and the love of his truth. We

..... but few men of that party will read his books, though written with singular learning, wisdom, godliness, and moderation."

"All which errors and mis-proceedings they do fortify and intrench by an addicted respect to their own opinions, and an impatience to hear contradiction or argument. Yea, I know some of them that would think it a tempting of God, to hear or read what may be said against them: as if there could be a '*Quod bonum est tenete*,' without an '*Omnia probate*' going before."

Bacon on the Controversies of the Church, Works, vol. ii. p. 552.

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 31.

² 1 Cor. iii. 10.

³ 1 Cor. xi. 23. xv. 3.

⁴ *Quod accepisti, non quod excogitasti.* *Vinc. Liv.* c. 27. ⁵ Num. xxii. 18.

had need of all the piety, and learning, and discretion, and pains, and prayers we have : and all little enough without God's blessing too, (yea, and our own greater care too) to keep us from running into errors, and from "teaching for doctrines the commandments of men."

28. The third use should be for admonition also, to all the people of God, that they be not hasty to "believe every spirit ; but to try the spirits¹" (especially when they see the spirits to disagree and clash one with another, or find otherwise just cause of suspicion) ; and that, as the Bereans did, by the Scriptures² : using withal all good subsidiary helps for the better understanding thereof ; especially those two as the principal, the rule of right reason, and the known constant judgment and practice of the universal Church, that so they may fan away the chaff from the wheat : and letting go the refuse, "hold fast that which is good³." To this end every man should especially beware, that he do not suffer himself to be carried away with names^a ; nor to have any man's

¹ 1 John iv. 1.

² Acts xvii. 11.

³ 1 Thess. v. 21. Jude 16. Gal. i. 8.

^a "The Church never wants a kind of persons which love the salutation of '*Rabbi*, Master : ' not in ceremony or compliment, but in an inward authority which they seek over men's minds, in drawing them to depend upon their opinions, and to seek knowledge at their lips. *These men are the true successors of Diotrophes, the lover of pre-eminence, and not lord-bishops.*—Such spirits do light upon another sort of natures, which do adhere to these men ; '*Quorum gloria in obsequio ;*' stiff followers, and such as zeal marvelously for those whom they have chosen for their masters. This latter sort, for the most part, are men of young years, and superficial understanding, carried away with partial respects of persons, or with the enticing appearance of godly names and pretences. '*Pauci res ipsas sequuntur ; plures nomina rerum ; plurimi nomina magistrorum ;*' few follow the things themselves, more the names of the things, and most the names of their masters. The universities are the seat or the continent of this disease ; whence it has been, and is derived into the rest of the realm. These men will no longer be '*a numero*' or the number. There do others side themselves before they know their right hand from their left. So it is true which is said, '*Transeunt ab ignorantia ad præjudicium ;*' they skip from ignorance to a prejudicate opinion, and never take a sound judgment in their way. . . . In the mean while, the honourable names of '*sincerity*,' '*reformation*,' and '*discipline*,' are put in the foreward ; so as contentions and evil zeals cannot be touched, except these holy things be thought first to be violated." *Bacon on the Controversies of the Church, Works, vol. ii. p. 509.*

"No, Sir ; we cannot pin our faith upon the sleeve of any particular man. As one used to say ; We love no *nisms* ; neither Calvinism, nor Lutheranism, nor Jansenianism ; but only one, that we derive from Antioch, that is,

person either in hatred or admiration¹ : but embrace what is consonant to truth and reason, though Judas himself should preach it ; and reject what even an angel from heaven should teach, if he have no other reason to induce him to believe it, than that he teaches it.

29. The fourth use should be for exhortation to the more learned sort of my brethren, to show their faithfulness, duty, and true hearty affection to God and his truth and Church, by maintaining the simplicity of the Christian faith, and asserting the doctrine of Christian liberty, against all corrupt mixtures of men's inventions, and against all unlawful impositions of men's commandments, in any kind whatsoever. If other men be zealous to set up their own errors, shall we be remiss to hold up God's truth? God having deposited it with us, and committed it to our special trust ; how shall we be able to answer it to God and the world, if we suffer it to be stolen out of the hearts of our people by our silence or neglect? Like enough you shall incur blame and censure enough for so doing ; as if you sought but yourselves in it, by seeking to please those that are in authority in hope to get preferment thereby. But let none of these things discourage you. If you shall not be able by the grace of God in some measure to despise the censures of rash and uncharitable men, so long as you can approve your hearts and actions in the sight of God, and to break through (if need be) far greater trials and discouragements than these ; you are not worthy to be called the servants of Christ.

30. The last use should be an humble supplication to those that have in their hands the ordering of the great affairs of Church and state ; that they would in their goodness and wisdom make some speedy and effectual provision, to repress the exorbitant licentiousness of these times, in printing and preaching every man what he list ; to the great dishonour of God, scandal of the reformed religion, fomenting of superstition and error, and disturbance of the peace both of Church and commonwealth. Lest if way be still given thereunto, those evil spirits that this late connivance has raised, grow so fierce within a while, that it will trouble all the power and wisdom of the kingdom to conjure them

Christianism." *Bramhall's Works*, part i. p. 28. Compare also above, p. 375-6, in this vol.

¹ Παρακαλῶ καὶ δεῖσθαι πάντων ὑμῶν ἀφέντες τὶ τῷ δεῖν καὶ τῷ δεῖν δοκεῖ περὶ τούτων, παρὰ τῶν γραφῶν ταῦτα ἅπαντα πυνθάνεσθαι. *Chrys. Hom. 13. in 2 Cor.*

handsomely down again. But certainly, since we find by late experience, what wildness in some of the lay-people, what petulance in some of the inferior clergy, what insolence in some both of the laity and clergy, our land is grown into, since the reins of the ecclesiastical government have lain a little slack; we cannot but see, what need we have to desire and pray, that the ecclesiastical government and power may be timely settled in some such moderate and effectual way, as that it may not be either too much abused by them that are to exercise it, nor too much despised by those that must live under it. In the mean time, so long as things hang thus loose and unsettled, I know not better how to represent unto you the present face of the times in some respects, than in the words of the Prophet Jeremy, "The prophets prophesy lies, and the priests get power into their hands by their means, and my people love to have it so; and what will you do in the end thereof¹?"

31. What the end of these insolencies will be, God alone knows. The increase of profaneness, riot, oppression, and all manner of wickedness on the one side; and the growth of error, novelty, and superstition on the other side, are no good signs onward. The Lord of his great mercy grant a better end thereunto, than either these beginnings or proceedings hitherto portend^a, or our sins deserve! And the same Lord of his infinite goodness vouchsafe, to dispel from us by the light of his Holy Spirit all blindness and hardness of heart; to purge out of us by the fire of his Holy Spirit all dross of pride and hypocrisy; to increase in us by the grace of his Holy Spirit the love of truth and godliness; to support us by the comforts of his Holy Spirit amidst all our distresses and fears; and to lead us by the guidance of his Holy Spirit along the paths of holiness unto the ports of happiness; and all this for the alone merits' sake of his blessed Son and our alone Saviour Jesus Christ! to which blessed Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, be ascribed by us and the whole Christian Church, all the kingdom, the power, and the glory, from this time forth for evermore! Amen. Amen.

¹ Jer. v. 31.

^a This Sermon was preached Oct. 8, 1641, and on the 25th of August, in the following year, the royal standard was erected at Nottingham.

XIX.

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY.

“For every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving^a.”—1 TIM. iv. 4.

OF that great and universal apostasy, which should be in the Church through the tyranny and fraud of Antichrist, there are elsewhere in the Scriptures more full, scarce any where more plain predictions, than in this passage of St. Paul, whereof my text is a part:—the quality of the doctrines foretold, contrary to the faith, erroneous, devilish; “Now the Spirit speaketh expressly, that in the later times some shall depart from the faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils¹,” the quality of the doctors foretold, liars, hypocritical, unconscionable; “Speaking lies in hypocrisy, having their consciences seared with a hot iron².” But lest these generalities should seem not sufficiently distinctive, each side charging other (as commonly it happens where differences are about religion,) with apostasy, and error, and falsehood, and hypocrisy; the Apostle thought it needful to point out those Antichristian doctors more distinctly, by specifying some particulars of their devilish doctrines. For which purpose he gives instance in two of their doctrines³, whereof he makes choice, not as being simply the worst of all the rest, (though bad enough,) but as being more easily discernible than most of the rest; viz. a prohibition of marriage, and an

^a From Bishop *Sanderson*; the fifth Sermon, *ad Populum*; preached at St. Paul's Cross, London, Nov. 21, 1624.

¹ Ver. 1.

² Ver. 2.

³ Ver. 3.

injunction of abstinence from certain meats. Which particulars, being so agreeable to the present tenets of the Romish synagogue, do give even of themselves alone, a strong suspicion, that *there* is the seat of Antichrist. But joined unto the other prophecies of St. Paul¹, and St. John², in other places, make it so unquestionable; that they who will needs be so unreasonably charitable, as to think the Pope is not Antichrist, may at the least wonder, (as one says well³) by what strange chance it fell out, that these Apostles should draw the picture of Antichrist in every point and limb, so just like the Pope, and yet never think of him.

2. The words of the text are the ground of a confutation, indeed properly and directly of the later of these two errors only, concerning abstinence from certain meats, but yet so, as it strongly overthrows the other too, concerning marriage; and in truth generally all other superstitious precepts or prohibitions of like nature. Marriage being the holy ordinance of God, as meats are the good creatures of God; and neither marriage, nor meats, nor any other creature or ordinance, being to be refused as upon tie of conscience; provided ever, they may be received with such thankfulness, and such other requisite conditions, as become Christian men, "For every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused, if it be received with thanksgiving."

3. Which words give us occasion to consider of three points, which, according to the number and order of the several clauses in this verse, are these. First, the quality of God's creatures, as they come from Him, and are given to us: [Every creature of God is good.] Secondly, the use of God's creatures, consisting in their lawfulness unto us, and our liberty unto them: [And nothing to be refused.] Thirdly, a condition necessary on our parts, lest the creatures otherwise good and lawful, should become unto us evil and hurtful; and that is thankfulness: [If it be received with thanksgiving.] The two first set out the bounty of God towards us; who has made a world of creatures, and all good, and has not envied us the use of any of them: and the third, contains our duty unto God in regard thereof; viz. to return unto Him, for the free use of all his good creatures, the tribute of our thanks. Of these three points it is my purpose, by God's grace, and with your patience, to speak in such manner, as shall be most for our

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 3, &c.

² Apoc. xiii. 11, &c.

³ *Moulin's Accomplishment*, in the Preface.

edification ; in such measure as the usual hours will allow ; and in such order as the text gives them :—and first, of the first, from the first clause thereof ; “ Every creature of God is good.”

4. By creature understand not only such as are appointed for nourishment, but even all kind of created beings ; the heaven and the earth¹, and all things therein contained², visible and invisible³, with all their several properties and accidents. Of all and each of these the Apostle’s assertion is true ; “ Every creature of God is good.” He concludes all kinds of meats to be good ; because they are the creatures of God : which argument were not good, if every creature were not good. And by goodness understand not only that goodness *ad intra*, whereby every thing is simply and metaphysically good, in regard of the nature, perfection, and being thereof, but that goodness *ad extra* too, whereby every thing is in the kind, and in some measure endowed with an ability to do some good without and beyond itself. You may call them an absolute, and a relative goodness⁴. And every creature has both of these. There being in the meanest and basest of God’s creatures, not only an absolute goodness, whereby it is perfect in its proper kind, *quà ens*, as it has a being and existence ; but also a relative goodness too ; and that two-fold. One, respecting God the Creator ; whose glory, more or less, it serves to show forth, *quà creatura*, as it is the work of his hands. Another, respecting its fellow-creatures⁵ ; to some of whom it is some way or other serviceable, *quà pars mundi*, as it is a part of the whole, but especially serviceable unto man, for whose service (next under the glory of God) the whole was created. The sum is, Every creature which God has made is good. Good, absolutely and in itself, as a thing : good, in that it sets forth the glory of Him that made it, as a creature ; good, as a part of the world, for the service it does to man, and other creatures⁶.

5. Hereof we need neither further, nor other testimony, than God’s own approbation registered in the story of the creation⁶. Where we may see God’s allowance stamped, both upon the several creatures of each several day, that they were good⁷, and also upon the whole frame of the creatures, when the work was

¹ Gen. i. 1.

² Exod. xx. 11.

³ Col. i. 16.

⁴ V. Scalig. exer. 307. sect. 27.

⁵ Πάντα τὰγαθὰ ὡφέλιμα, Plat. in Prot. et in Menon.

⁶ Compare Hooker, book i. chap. v. § 1. above, vol. i. p. 106. and chap. xi. § 1. p. 153.

⁷ Gen. i.

⁷ Gen. i. 4. 12. 18. 21. 25.

finished ; that behold they were “ exceeding good ¹.” *Et nusquam in toto corpore menda fuit.* In this goodly system and fabric of nature that which is beyond all is the harmony and conjuncture of the parts, exceeding in goodness, beauty, and perfection ; yet so as no one part is superfluous or unprofitable, or, if considered singly and by itself, destitute of its proper goodness and usefulness : as in the natural body of a man, not the least member, or string, or sinew, but has its proper office and comeliness in the body ; and as in the artificial body of a clock or other engine of motion, not the least wheel, or pin, or notch, but has its proper work and use in the engine. God has given to every thing He has made that number, weight, and measure ² of perfection and goodness which He saw fittest for it unto those ends for which He made it. “ Every creature of God is good.”

6. A truth so evident, that even those among the Heathen philosophers, who either denied or doubted of the world’s creation, did yet, by making *ens* and *bonum* ³, terms convertible, acknowledge the goodness of every creature. It were a shame, then, for us, who “ through faith understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God ⁴,” if our assent unto this truth should not be by so much firmer than theirs, by how much our evidence for it is stronger than theirs. They perceived the thing ; we the ground also : they saw it was so ; we why it is so : even because it is the work of God ; a God full of goodness ; a God who is nothing but goodness ; a God essentially and infinitely good ⁵, yea, very goodness itself. As is the workman, such is his workmanship ⁶. Not for degree, (that is here impossible,) but for the truth of the quality ; nor alike good with Him, but like to Him in being good. In every creature there are certain tracts and footsteps, as of God’s essence, whereby it has its being ; so of his goodness too, whereby it also is good. The Manichees ⁷ saw the strength of this inference, who, though they were so injurious unto the creatures, as to repute some of them evil, yet durst not be so absurd as to charge the true God to be the cause of those they so reputed. Common reason taught them that from the good God could not

¹ Gen. v. 31.

² Wisd. xi. 20.

³ Τ’ ἀγαθὸν ἰσαχῶς λέγεται τῷ ὄντι. *Arist.* 1. *Ethic.* 6.

⁴ Heb. xi. 3.

⁵ Pars natura eorum est esse bonos. (De Diis.) *Senec.*

⁶ Ὁ Θεός τε καὶ πάντα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄριστα ἔχει. *Plat.* in *Timæo.*

⁷ See *Aug.* passim in scriptis contra Manichæos.

proceed any evil thing, no more than darkness could from the light of the sun, or cold from the heat of the fire ; and therefore, so to defend their error as to avoid this absurdity, they were forced to maintain another absurdity (indeed a greater, though it seemed to them the less of the two), viz., to say, there were two Gods ; a good God, the author of all good things ; and an evil God, the author of all evil things. If, then, we acknowledge that there is but one¹ God, and that one God good, (and we do all so acknowledge,) unless we will be more absurd than those most absurd heretics, we must withal acknowledge all the creatures of that one and good God to be also good. He is so the causer of all that is good, (for “every good gift, and every perfect giving, descendeth from above from the Father of lights²,”) as that He is the causer only of what is good (for “with him is no variable-ness, neither shadow of turning,” says St. James). As the sun, who is *pater luminum*, the fountain and father of lights (whereunto St. James in that passage does apparently allude) gives light to the moon and stars, and all the lights of heaven, and causes light wheresoever he shines, but nowhere causes darkness ; so God the Father, and fountain of all goodness, so communicates goodness to every thing He produces, as that He cannot produce any thing at all but that which is good³. Every creature of God then is good.

7. Which being so, certainly then, first, (to raise some inferences from the premises for our farther instruction and use,) certainly I say, sin, and death, and such things as are evil, and not good, are not of God’s making ; they are none of his creatures ; for all his creatures are good. “Let no man therefore say, when he is tempted,” and overcome of sin, “I am tempted of God⁴ :” neither let any man say, when he has done evil, “It was God’s doing.” God, indeed, preserves the man, actuates the power, and orders the action to the glory of his mercy or justice ; but He has no hand at all in the sinful defect and obliquity of a wicked action. There is a natural (or rather transcendental) goodness, *bonitas entis*, as they call it, in every action, even in that whereto the greatest sin adheres ; and that goodness is from

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 6.

² James i. 17.

³ Errat, si quis putet illos (Deos) nocere velle, qui non possunt. *Sen. Epist. 95.* Nec dant malum, nec habent. *Ibid.*

⁴ James i. 13.

God, as that action is his creature¹; but the evil that cleaves unto it is wholly from the default of the person that commits it, and not at all from God. And as for the evils of pain also, neither are they of God's making. "*Deus mortem non fecit*," says the author of the book of wisdom, "God made not death, neither doth he take pleasure in the destruction of the living; but wicked men by their words and works have brought it upon themselves²:" "*Perditio tua ex te Israel*," "O Israel, thy destruction is from thyself³!" that is, both thy sin, whereby thou destroyest thyself, and thy misery, whereby thou art destroyed, is only and wholly from thyself. Certainly, God is not the cause of any evil, either of sin or punishment. Conceive it thus;—not the cause of it (formally, and) so far forth as it is evil; for otherwise we must know, that (materially considered) all evils of punishment are from God; for, "Shall there be evil in the city, and the Lord hath not done it⁴?" In evils of sin there is no other but only that natural or transcendental goodness (whereof we spake) in the action; which goodness, though it be from God, yet because the action is morally bad, God is not said to do it; but in evils of punishment there is, over and besides that natural goodness whereby they exist, a kind of moral goodness (as we may call it, after a sort; improperly, and by way of reduction), as they are instruments of the justice of God; and whatsoever may be referred to justice may so far forth be called good; and for that very goodness God may be said in some sort to be the Author of these evils of punishment, though not also of those other evils of sin. In both we must distinguish the good from the evil; and ascribe all the good, wheresoever it be, (transcendental, natural, moral, or if there be any other,) to God alone, but by no means any of the evil. We are unthankful if we impute any good but to Him; and we are unjust if we impute to Him any thing but good.

8. Secondly, from the goodness of the least creature guess we at the excellent goodness of the great Creator⁵. *Ex pede Herculem*⁶. God has imprinted, as before I said, some steps and footings of his goodness in the creatures; from which we must take the best scantling we are capable of, of those admirable, and

¹ Mali author non est, qui omnium quæ sunt author est: quia in quantum sunt, in tantum bona sunt. *Aug.* 83. *Quæst.* 21.

² *Wisd.* xiii. 16.

³ *Hos.* xiii. 9.

⁴ *Amos* iii. 6.

⁵ *Wisd.* xiii. 1. &c.

⁶ *A. Gell.* 1. *Noct. Attic.* 1.

inexpressible, and unconceivable perfections that are in Him. There is no beholding of the body of this sun, who dwells in such a "glorious light as none can attain unto¹;" that glory would dazzle with blindness the sharpest and most eagle eye that should dare to fix itself upon it with any stedfastness: enough it is for us from those rays and glimmering beams which He has scattered upon the creatures², to gather how infinitely He exceeds them in brightness and glory. *De ipso vides, sed non ipsum*³: we see his, but not Him. His creatures, they are our best, indeed our only instructors; for though his revealed word teach us *that* we should never have learned from the creatures without it, yet (fitted to our capacity) it teaches no otherwise than by resemblances taken from the creatures. Τὸ γνωστὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ⁴, as St. Paul calls it, the whole latitude of "that which may be known of God is manifest in" the creatures; and the invisible things of God not to be understood but by things that are made." St. Basil therefore calls the world, *θεογνωστίας παιδευτήριον*⁵, the very school where the knowledge of God is to be learned. And there is a double way of teaching, a twofold method of training us up into that knowledge in that school; that is to say, *per viam negationis*, and *per viam eminentiæ*⁶. First, *viâ negationis*⁷: look whatsoever thou findest in the creature which savours of defect or imperfection, and know God is not such. Are they limited? subject to change, composition, decay, &c.? Remove these from God; and learn that He is infinite, simple, unchangeable, eternal. Then *viâ eminentiæ*: look whatsoever perfection there is in the creature in any degree, and know that the same, but (infinitely and incomparably) more eminently, is in God. Is there wisdom, or knowledge, or power, or beauty, or greatness, or goodness, in any kind, or in any measure, in any of the creatures? Affirm the same, but without measure, of God; and learn that He is infinitely wiser, and more skilful, and stronger, and fairer, and greater, and better. In every good thing so differently

¹ 1 Tim. vi. 16.

² Tanta hæc formarum varietas in rebus conditis, quid nisi quidam sunt radii Deitatis: demonstrantes quidem quod verè sit à quo sunt; non tamen quid sit, prorsus definientes. *Bern. Ser. 31. in Cant.*

³ *Bern. ibid.*

⁴ Rom. i. 19, 20.

⁵ *Basil.*

⁶ *Aquin. 1. qu. xii. 12.*

⁷ Ἐπὶ Θεοῦ τί ἐστιν εἰπεῖν ἀδύνατον, κατ' οὐσίαν, οἰκειότερον δὲ μᾶλλον ἐκ τῆς πάντων ἀφαιρίσεως ποιῆσθαι τὸν λόγον. *Damasc. 1. de Fid. Orthodox. 4.*

excellent above and beyond the creatures, as that, though they be good, yet compared with Him they deserve not the name of good: "There is none good but one, that is God¹." None good as He: simply, and absolutely, and essentially, and of Himself such. The creatures that they are good, they have it from Him; and their goodness depends upon Him; and they are good but in part, and in some measure, and in their own kinds. Whosoever, therefore, we find any good from, or observe any goodness in any of the creatures, let us not bury our meditations there, but raise them up by those stairs (as it were) of the creatures to contemplate the great goodness of Him their Creator. We are unhappy truants, if, in this so richly furnished school of God's good creatures, we have not learned from them at the least so much knowledge of Him and his goodness, as to admire and love, and depend upon it and Him. Look upon the workmanship, and accordingly judge of the workman. Every creature of God is good: surely, then, the Creator must needs excel in goodness.

9. Thirdly, there is in men, amongst other cursed fruits of self-love, an aptness to measure things, not by the level of exact truth, but by the model of their own apprehensions². Who is there that cannot fault another's work? The cobbler³ could espy something amiss in Apelles's master-piece; because the picture was not drawn just according to his fancy. If a thousand of us hear a sermon, scarce one of that thousand, but he must show some of that little wit he has in disliking something or other. There the preacher was too elaborate, here too loose; that point he might have enlarged, contracted this; he might have been plainer there, showed more learning here; that observation was obvious, that exposition enforced, that proof impertinent, that illustration common, that exhortation needless, that reproof unseasonable. One mislikes his text, another his method, a third his style, a fourth his voice, a fifth his memory, every one something. A fault more pardonable if our censures stayed at the works of men like ourselves, and, Momus-like⁴, we did not quarrel with the works of God also, and charge many of his good creatures either with manifest ill, or at leastwise with unprofitableness.

¹ Mark x. 18.

² Non ex sui naturâ, sed ex suo commodo, vel incommodo. *Aug.* 12. de Civit. 4.

³ *Plin.* 35. Nat. Hist. 10.

⁴ *Lucian.* in Hermotimo.

“ Why was this made ? or why thus ? What good does this, or what use of that ? It had perhaps been better, if this or that had never been ; or if they had been otherwise ¹. ” Thus we sometimes say or think. To rectify this corruption ², remember this first clause of my text, “ every creature of God is good. ” Perhaps thou seest not, what good there is in some of the creatures ? Like enough so ; but yet consider, there may be much good which thou seest not. Say, it gives thee no nourishment ; possibly it may do thee service ³ in some other kind. Say, it never yet did that ; yet it may do hereafter. Latter times have found out much good use of many creatures, whereof former ages were ignorant ⁴ ; and why may not after times find good in those things which do us none ? Say, it never did, nor ever shall do service to man, (although who can tell that ?) yet who knows but it has done or may do service to some other creature that does service to man ? Say, not that neither ; yet this good thou mayest reap even from such creatures, as seem to afford none ; to take knowledge ⁵ of thine own ignorance, and to humble thyself thereby, who art so far from comprehending the essence, that thou canst not comprehend the very works of God. The most unprofitable creatures profit us, at least this way : *Visu, si non usu* ⁶, as Bernard speaks ; if not to use them, yet to see in them as in a glass God’s wisdom and our own ignorance. And so they do us good ; if not *cedendo in cibum* ⁷, if not *exhibendo ministerium*, in feeding and serving us ; yet *exercendo ingenium*, as the same Bernard speaks ; in exercising our wits, and giving us a sight of our ignorance.

10. But yet those creatures, which are apparently hurtful to us, as serpents, and wild beasts, and sundry poisonous plants ; but above all, the devils and accursed angels : may we not say, they are ill, and justly both blame and hate them ? Even these also

¹ See *Sirac.* xxxix. 16, 17, &c.

² Ne tacti artificii opus in aliquo reprehendere vanitate humanæ temeritatis audeamus. *Aug.* 12. de Civit. 4.

³ Τὰ μὴν πρὸς βρώσιν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς διακονίαν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς τέρψιν, τὰ δὲ πρὸς νοσημάτων ἴασιν. *Damasc.* 2 de Fid. Orthod. 12.

⁴ Quam multa animalia hoc primùm cognovimus sæculo ? et quidem multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis, sciet. *Senec.* 7. Nat. Qu. 31.

⁵ Utitur quibusdam assumendis et respuendis, ad valetudinem : quibusdam tolerandis, ad patientiam ; quibusdam ordinandis, ad justitiam ; quibusdam considerandis, ad aliquod veritatis documentum. *Aug.* 83. quæst. 25.

⁶ *Bern.* Serm. V. in Cant.

⁷ *Ibid.*

are good, as they are the creatures of God, and the workmanship of his hands. It is only through sin that they are evil : either to us, as the rest ; or in themselves, as the devils. These (now wicked) angels were glorious creatures at the first ; by their own voluntary transgression it is, that they are now the worst and the basest. And as for all the other creatures of God, made to do us service ; they were at first, and still are good in themselves : if there cleaves to them any evil, whereby they become hurtful to us, that is by accident ; and we have to thank none but ourselves for that. For who or what could have harmed us, if we had been followers of that which was good ? It was “not of their own accord¹,” but through our sinfulness, that the creatures became subject unto vanity, and capable either to do, or to suffer ill. They had been still harmless, if we had been still faultless : it was our sin², that at once forfeited both our innocency and theirs. If then we see any ill in them, or find any ill by them, let us not lay the blame, or wreak our hatred upon them : let us rather bestow our blame and hatred where it is most due ; the blame upon ourselves, the hatred upon our sins. If Balaam had done justly, he would have spared the ass³, and have corrected himself ; but the false prophet does the fault, and the poor beast must bear both blame and strokes. When we suffer, we curse, or at the easiest, blame the creatures : this weather, that flood, such a storm, has blasted our fruits, sanded our grounds, shipwrecked our wares, and undone us. When, alas ! these have neither heart nor strength against us, but what ourselves put into them by our sins. Every sense of evil therefore, in or from the creatures, should work in us a sense of our disobedience unto God ; should increase in us a detestation of the sins we have committed against God : should teach us, by condemning ourselves, to acquit the good creatures of God : which as they are good in themselves, so should they have been ever and only good unto us, if we had been true to ourselves, and continued good and faithful servants unto God. They are all good : do not thou accuse any of them, and say they are evil : do not thou abuse any of them, and make them evil.

11. Hitherto of the first point, *the goodness* of the creatures, [every creature of God is good.] Follows the second, which is

¹ Rom. viii. 20.

² Ἡμετέρας ταῦτα συναπολαύει τῆς ἀπωλείας. Chrysos. in Gen. Hom. 25.

³ Num. xx. 27, &c.

their *use* : consisting in their lawfulness unto us, and our liberty unto them ; every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused. [Nothing.] *That is*, most agreeably to the argument of the former verse, nothing fit for food : but more generally, (and so I rather think the Apostle intends,) no creature of God, whereof we may have use or service in any kind whatsoever. Nothing, which may yield us any comfortable content for the support of this life, in point of health, ease, profit, delight, or otherwise, (with due sobriety, and other requisite conditions,) nothing is to be refused. By which refusal, the Apostle means not a bare forbearance of the things ; (for, that we both may, and in many cases ought, so to refuse some of the creatures, shall anon appear ;) but the thing he forbids, is the forbearance of the creature, as upon immediate tie of conscience ; viz. either out of a superstitious opinion of the unlawfulness of any creature, for some supposed natural or legal uncleanness in it ; or out of a like superstitious opinion of some extraordinary perfection or operative and effectual holiness of such refusal. The point is this ; all the creatures of God are lawful for us to use : so as it is against Christian liberty, either to charge the use of them with sin, or to place holiness in the abstaining from them.

12. Our Apostle often teaches this point. In Rom. xiv. at verse 20, ["All things are pure :"] and at verse 14. there he delivers it as a certain truth, and upon knowledge, ["I know, and am persuaded by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing unclean of itself,"] and therefore he imputes it as an error and weakness in judgment to them that refused some kind of meats out of a superstitious opinion, or but timorous fear of their unlawfulness, at verse 2. ["One believeth he may eat all things : another, who is weak, eateth herbs :"] and in 1 Cor. x. 25. ["Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake :"] and anon, verse 27. ["If an unbeliever bid you to a feast, and you be disposed to go ; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake."] And, to the end that we might know the liberty he there gives to extend to all other creatures, as well as meats, he pronounces of them all universally at verse 23. [πάντα μοι ἔξεστι, "All things are lawful for me."] And so he doth in Tit. i. 15. universally too ; *Omnia munda mundis*, "To the pure all things are pure." From all which testimonies we may conclude, there is no unlawfulness or impurity in any of the creatures, but that we may with security of conscience, freely

use them without sin. If we use them doubtingly against conscience, or indiscreetly against charity, or otherwise inordinately against sobriety, they become indeed in such cases sinful unto us : but that is through our default, not theirs, who sinfully abuse that which we might lawfully use. And that abuse of ours, neither defiles¹ the things themselves ; nor ought to prejudice² the liberty of another that may use them well.

13. And as there is no sin in the use, so neither is there any religion or perfection to be placed in the refusal of any of God's creatures. Rather on the contrary, to abstain from any of them, out of a conceit of any such perfection or holiness, is itself a sinful superstition. Our Apostle ranks it with idolatrous angel-worship, and condemns it as sinful and superstitious, Col. ii. from verse 16. to the end of the chapter. The subjecting of ourselves to those and such like ordinances, touch not, taste not, handle not, though it may have a show of wisdom in will-worship, and in a voluntary humility and neglecting of the body, yet it is derogatory to that liberty wherein Christ has set us free, and a reviving of those rudiments of the world from which we are dead with Christ. Every creature of God is good ; and nothing to be refused, out of a superstitious either fear of unlawfulness, or opinion of holiness.

14. Now the ground of this our right or liberty unto the creatures is double : the one God's ordinance at the first creation ; the other, Christ's purchase in the work of redemption. At the creation, God made all things for man's use, as He did man for his own service ; and as He reserved to himself his absolute sovereignty over man, so He gave unto man a kind of limited sovereignty over the creatures³. " He hath put all things in subjection under our feet⁴," says David : which dominion over the creatures was one special branch of that glorious image of God⁵ in us, after which we were created : and therefore was not, nor could be absolutely lost⁶ by sin ; but only decayed and defaced, and impaired, as the other branches of that image were.

¹ Rom. xiv. 14.

² 1 Cor. x. 29, 30.

³ Gen. i. 29.

⁴ Psal. viii. 6. Quòd nos in hoc pulcherrimo domicilio voluerunt (Dii) secundas sortiri, quod terrenis præfecerunt. Sen. 2. de Ben. 16.

⁵ Gen. i. 17.

⁶ Bonis naturæ mala adventitia dum non succedunt, nec accedunt, turpant utique ea, non exterminant, conturbant, non deturbant. Bern. in Cant. Serm. LXXXII.

So that, albeit man by sin lost a great part of his sovereignty, (*τὰ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἡκροστηριώθη*¹, as speaks St. Chrysostom,) especially so far as concerns the execution of it; many of the creatures being now rebellious and noisome unto man, and unanswering his commands and expectations, yet the right still remains even in corrupt nature; and there are still to be found some tracings and characters, as in man of superiority, so in them of subjection. But those dim², and confused, and scarce legible: as in old marbles, and coins, and out-worn inscriptions, we have much ado to find out what some of the letters were.

15. But if by sin we had lost all that first title we had to the creature wholly and utterly, yet as God has been pleased graciously to deal with us, we are fully as well as before. God the Father has granted us, and God the Son has acquired us, and God the Holy Ghost has sealed us a new patent. By it whatsoever defect is, or can be supposed to be, in our old evidence, is supplied; and by virtue of it we may make fresh challenge, and renew our claim unto the creatures. The blessed Son of God “Having made peace through the blood of his cross³,” has reconciled us to his Father; and therein also reconciled the creature both to us and Him: “reconciling by him” (says our Apostle,) *πάντα* “all things” (not men only) “unto himself.” For God having given us his Son, “the heir of all things⁴,” has He not “with him given us all things⁵” else? Has He not permitted us the free use of his creatures in as ample right as ever? “If the Son has made us free, we are free indeed⁶.” And as verily as Christ is God’s, so verily if we be Christ’s, all things are ours. This Apostle sets down the whole series and form of this spiritual hierarchy, (if I may so speak,) this subjection and subordination of the creatures to man, of man to Christ, of Christ to God, “All are yours, and ye are Christ’s, and Christ is God’s⁷.”

16. Strengthened with this double title, what should hinder us from possession? Why may we not freely use^a that liberty,

¹ Chrysost. in Gen. Hom. 9.

² Διὰ τῆς παραβάσεως τοῦς τῆς θείας εἰκόνοϋς χαρακτηῖρας ἐξοφώσαμέν τε καὶ συνεχέαμεν. Dam. 4. de fid. Orthod. 4.

³ Col. i. 20.

⁴ Heb. i. 2.

⁵ Rom. viii. 32.

⁶ John viii. 36.

⁷ 1 Cor. iii. 22, 23.

^a See the next article below, No. XX. § 15.

“It is much the doctrine of the times that men should not please themselves, but deny themselves every thing they take delight in:—not look upon beauty,

which was once given us by God, and again restored us by Jesus Christ? Why should we not “stand fast in¹,” and contend earnestly for the maintenance of that liberty, wherewith Christ has set us free: by rejecting all fancies, opinions, and doctrines, that any way trench upon this our Christian prerogative; or seek either to shorten, or to corrupt, our freedom unto, and power over the creatures? First, if any shall oppose the legal prohibitions of the Old Testament, whereby some creatures were forbidden the Jews², pronounced by God Himself unclean, and decreed unlawful: it should not trouble us. For, whatever the principal reasons were, for which those prohibitions were then made unto them, (as there be divers reasons given thereof by divines, both ancient and modern;) certain it is, they now concern not us. The Church, during her nonage and pupillage, (though she were heir of all³, and had right to all; yet,) was to be held under tutors and governors, and to be trained up under the law of ceremonies as under a school-master⁴, during the appointed time. But, when the fulness of the time appointed was come⁵, her wardship expired, and livery sued out, as it were, by the coming and suffering of Christ in the flesh, the Church was then to enter upon her full royalties, and no more to be burdened with those beggarly rudiments⁶ of legal observances. The handwriting of ordinances⁷ was then blotted out; and the muddy partition wall broken down⁸; and the legal impurity of the creatures scoured off by the blood of Christ⁹. They have little to do then, but

wear no good clothes, eat no good meat, &c. which seems the greatest accusation that can be upon the Maker of all good things. If they be not to be used, why did God make them?” *Selden’s Table-Talk*, art. Self-Denial.

“Certain it is, that all particular things which are desired in the world, as food, raiment, honour, wealth, pleasure, knowledge, they are subordinated in such wise unto that future good which we look for in the world to come, that even in them there lieth a direct way leading unto this. Otherwise we must think, that God, making promises of good things in this life, did seek to pervert men, and to lead them from their right minds. Where is then the obliquity of the mind of man? His mind is perverse and crooked, not when it bends itself unto any of these things, but when it bends so, that it swerves either to the right hand or to the left, by excess or defect, from that exact rule whereby human actions are measured. The rule to measure and judge them by, is the law of God.” *Hooker’s Sermon on the Nature of Pride*.

¹ Gal. v. 1.

² Lev. xi.

³ Gal. iv. 1, 2.

⁴ Gal. iii. 24, 25.

⁵ Gal. iv. 4.

⁶ Πρωτὰ στοιχεῖα. Gal. iv. 9.

⁷ Col. ii. 14.

⁸ Eph. ii. 14.

⁹ Ἡ κτίσις τῇ θείῃ ἡγιασται αἵματι. *Damasc. 4. de fid. Orthodox. 4.*

withal much to answer, who, by seeking to bring in Judaism again into the Christian Church, either in whole or in part, do thereby, as much as lies in them, (though perhaps unawares to themselves, yet indeed and in truth,) evacuate the cross of Christ ¹. In that large sheet ² of the creatures, which reaches from heaven to the earth, whatsoever we find, we may freely kill and eat, and use every other way to our comforts without scruple. God having cleansed all, we are not to call or esteem any thing common or unclean. God having created all good, we are to refuse nothing. If any shall oppose, secondly, the seeming morality of some of these prohibitions, as being given before the law ³ of ceremonies, pressed from moral reasons ⁴, and confirmed by apostolical constitution ⁵ since; upon which ground some would impose upon the Christian Church this, as a perpetual yoke, to abstain from blood: or, thirdly, the profanation which some creatures have contracted by being used in the exercise of idolatrous worship, whereby they become anathema, and are to be held as execrable things; as Achan's wedge ⁶ was, and the brazen serpent ⁷ which Hezekiah stamped to powder; upon which ground also, some others have inferred an utter unlawfulness to use any thing in the Church, which was abused in Popery, by calling them rags and reliques of idolatry:—neither this nor that ought to trouble us. For although neither my aim, (which lies another way,) nor the time, will permit me now to give a just and full satisfying answer to the several instances, and their grounds; yet the very words and weight of my text, do give us a clear resolution in the general, and sufficient to rest our consciences, and our judgments and practice upon; that, notwithstanding all pretensions of reason to the contrary, yet those things, for so much as they are still good, ought not to be refused. For the Apostle has here laid a sure foundation, and impregnable, in that he grounds the use upon the power; and from the goodness of the creature infers the lawfulness of it. “Every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused.” He concludes, it is therefore not to be refused, because it is good. So that look whatsoever goodness there is in any creature; that is, whatsoever natural power it has, which either immediately and of itself is, or may by the improvement of human art and industry be taught to be, of

¹ Gal. v. 2. 4. 11.² Acts x. 11. 15.³ Gen. ix. 4.⁴ Lev. xvii. 11. 14.⁵ Acts xv. 20. 29.⁶ Josh. vii. 1.⁷ 2 Kings xviii. 4.

any use unto man, for necessity, nourishment, service, lawful delight or otherwise ; the creature, wherein such goodness or power is to be found, may not be refused as upon tie of conscience ; but that power and goodness it has, may lawfully be employed to those uses, for which it is meet in regard thereof. Ever provided, we be careful to observe all those requisite conditions, which must guide our consciences, and regulate our practice, in the use of all lawful and indifferent things. They that teach otherwise, lay burdens upon their own consciences which they need not, and upon the consciences of their brethren which they should not ; and are injurious to that liberty which the blessed Son of God has purchased for his Church, and which the blessed Spirit of God has asserted in my text.

17. Injurious, in the second place, to this branch of our Christian liberty, is the Church of Rome^a : whom St. Paul in this passage has branded with an indelible note of infamy ; inasmuch as those very doctrines, wherein he gives instance, as in doctrines of devils, are the received tenets and conclusions of that Church. Not to insist on other prejudices done to Christian liberty, by the intolerable usurpation of “ the man of sin¹,” who exercises a spiritual tyranny over men’s consciences, as opposite to evangelical liberty, as Antichrist is to Christ : let us but a little see how she has fulfilled St. Paul’s prediction, in teaching lying and devilish doctrines, and that with seared conscience and in hypocrisy, in the two specialties mentioned in the next former verse, viz. forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.

18. Marriage, the holy ordinance of God, instituted in the place and estate² of innocency, honoured by Christ’s³ presence at Cana in Galilee ; the seed plot of the Church, and the sole allowed remedy⁴ against incontinency and burning lusts ; by the Apostle commended as honourable in all men⁵, and commanded in case of uction⁶ to all men : is yet by this purple strumpet⁷ forbidden, and that *sub mortali*, to bishops, priests, deacons, subdeacons, monks, friars, nuns : in a word, to the whole clergy, (as they extend that title,) both secular and regular. Wherein, besides the devilishness of the doctrine, in contrarying the ordinance

^a Compare *Sanderson’s* Eleventh Sermon, ad Aulam, § 9 ; and his Seventh, ad Populum, §§ 18—21.

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 3.

² Gen. ii. 18.

³ John ii. 2.

⁴ 1 Cor. vii. 2.

⁵ Heb. xiii. 4.

⁶ 1 Cor. vii. 9.

⁷ Rev. xvii. 13.

of God, and in denying men, subject to sinful lusts, the lawful remedy, and so casting them upon a necessity of sinning ; see if they do not teach this lie, with seared consciences ? For with what conscience can they make the same thing a sacrament in the lay, and sacrilege ¹ in the clergy ? With what conscience permit stewes ; and forbid marriage ? With what conscience allege Scriptures for the single life of priests ; and yet confess it to be an ordinance ² only of ecclesiastical, and not of divine right ? With what conscience confess fornication to be against the law of God, and priests' marriage only against the law of holy Church : and yet make marriage in a priest a far fouler sin ³ than fornication, or incest ? With what conscience exact a vow of continency from clerks, by those canons, which defend their open incontinency ⁴ ? With what conscience forbid lawful marriages to some ; and yet by dispensation allow unlawful marriages to others ?

19. And is not the like also done in the other particular, concerning meats ? The laws of that Church forbidding some orders ⁵ of men some kinds of meats perpetually ; and all men some meats upon certain days : and that not for civil respects ; but with opinion of satisfaction, yea, merit, yea, and supererogation too. In which also, besides the devilishness of the doctrine, in corrupting the profitable and religious exercise of fasting, and turning it into a superstitious observation of days and meats : judge if they do not teach this lie also, as the former, with seared consciences. For, with what conscience can they allow an ordinary confessor to absolve for murder, adultery, perjury, and such petty crimes ; but reserve the great sin of eating flesh upon a Friday or Ember-day, to the censure of a penitentiary ; as being a matter beyond the power of an ordinary priest to grant absolution for ? With what conscience make the tasting of the coarsest flesh a breach of the Lent-fast ; and surfeiting upon the delicatest fishes and confections, none ? With what conscience, forbid they such and such meats, for the taming of the flesh ; when they allow those that are far more nutritive of the flesh, and incentive of fleshly lusts ? With what conscience enjoin such

¹ *Bellar. de Monach. ca. 34.*

² *Aquin. ii. 2. qu. 88. 2. Bellar. de Cler. cap. 18. Becan. 1. man. Controv. 13. ca. 11.*

³ *Coster. Enchirid. cap. 20. prop. 9.*

⁴ *Ca. li. qu. dist. 34. c. 12. qu. 1. ca. Dilectissimis.*

⁵ *Benedictines and Carthusians.*

abstinence for a penance, and then presently release it again for a penny? Indeed the Gloss upon the canon¹, that does so, has a right worthy and a right wholesome note: Note, says the Gloss², that he who gives a penny to redeem his fast, though he give money for a spiritual thing, yet he does not commit simony, because the contract is made with God. If these men had not seared up their consciences, would they not, think you, feel some check at the broaching of such ridiculous and inconsistent stuff, as flows from these two heads of devilish doctrines; of forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats?

20. I deny not, but the bawds of that strumpet, the doctors of that Church, have their colourable pretences wherewith to blanch over these errors, else the lies would be palpable; and they should not otherwise fill up the measure of their apostacy, according to the Apostle's prophecy, in teaching these lies in hypocrisy. But the colours, though never so artificially tempered, and never so handsomely laid on, are yet so thin, that a steady eye, not bleared with prejudice, may discern the lie through them, for all the hypocrisy. As might easily be shown; if my intended course led me that way, and did not rather direct me to matter of more profitable and universal use. Having therefore done with them, it were good for us in the third place, (that we might know our own freehold with better certainty, and keep ourselves within our due bounds;) to inquire a little what is the just extent of our Christian liberty unto the creatures, and what restraints it may admit. A point very needful to be known for the resolution of many doubts in conscience, and for the cutting off of many questions and disputes in the Church, which are of very noisome consequence, for want of right information herein. I have other matter also to entreat of; and therefore since I may not allow this inquiry so large a discourse, as it well deserves, I shall desire you to take into your Christian consideration these positions following.

21. The first, our Christian liberty extends to all the creatures of God. This arises clearly from what has been already delivered: and the testimonies of Scripture for it are express. "All things are pure³;" "All things are lawful⁴;" "All are yours⁵;" elsewhere: and here, "nothing to be refused."

¹ Dist. 84. ca. Presbyter.

² Gloss. Ibid.

³ Rom. xiv. 20.

⁴ 1 Cor. x. 23.

⁵ 1 Cor. iii. 22.

22. The second position. Our Christian liberty equally respects the using, and the not using of any of God's creatures. There is no creature, but a Christian man by virtue of his liberty, as he may use it upon just occasion, so he may also upon just cause refuse it. "All things are lawful for me," says St. Paul, "but I will not be brought under the power of any thing¹." Where he establishes this liberty in both the parts of it: liberty to use the creatures, or else they had not all been lawful for him; and yet liberty not to use them, or else he had been under the power of some of them. Whence it follows that all the creatures of God stand in the nature of things indifferent: that is, such as may indifferently be either used or not used, according as the rules of godly discretion, circumstances duly considered, shall direct.

23. The third position. Our Christian liberty for the using or not using of the creature, may without prejudice admit of some restraint in the outward practice of it. *Ab illicitis semper quandoque et a licitis*; I think it is St. Gregory's rule; a Christian must never do unlawful; nor yet always, lawful things. St. Paul had liberty to eat flesh, and he used that liberty, and ate flesh; yet he knew there might be some cases, wherein to abridge himself of the use of that liberty so far, "not to eat flesh whilst the world standeth²." But what those restraints are, and how far they may be admitted without prejudice done to that liberty, that we may the better understand, let us go on to

24. The fourth position. Sobriety may and ought to restrain us in the outward practice of our Christian liberty.—For our diet; all fish, and flesh, and fowl, and fruits, and spices, are lawful for us, as well as bread and herbs: but may we therefore with thriftless prodigality and exquisite riot fare deliciously and sumptuously every day, under pretence of Christian liberty?—Likewise for our apparel; all stuffs and colours, the richest silks, and furs, and dyes, are as lawful for us, as cloth, and leather, and sheep's russet: Christian liberty extends as well to one as another. But do we think that liberty will excuse our pride, and vanity, and excess, if we ruffle it out in silks and scarlets, or otherwise in stuff, colour, or fashion unsuitably to our years, sex, calling, estate, or condition? In all other things of like nature; in our buildings, in our furniture, in our retinues, in our disports, in our

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 12.

² 1 Cor. viii. 13.

recreations, in our society, in our marriages, in other things, we ought as well to consider, what in Christian sobriety is meet for us to do ; as what in Christian liberty may be done. Scarce is there any one thing, wherein the devil puts slurs upon us more frequently, yea, and more dangerously too (because unsuspected) than in this very thing, in making us take the uttermost of our freedom in the use of indifferent things. It therefore concerns us so much the more, to keep a sober watch over ourselves and souls, in the use of God's good creatures ; lest otherwise under the fair title and habit of Christian liberty, we yield ourselves over to a carnal licentiousness.

25. The fifth position. As sobriety, so charity also may and ought to restrain us in the outward exercise of our Christian liberty. Charity, I say, both to ourselves and others. First, to ourselves ; for regular charity begins there. If we are to cut off our "right hand," and to pluck out "the right eye," and to cast them both from us when they "offend us¹;" much more then ought we to deny ourselves the use of such outward lawful things as by experience we have found, or have otherwise cause to suspect to be hurtful either to our bodies or souls. So a man may and should refrain from meats which may endanger his bodily health ; but how much more then from every thing that may endanger the health of his soul ? If thou findest thyself enflamed with lust by dancing ; if enraged with choler by gaming ; if tempted to covetousness, pride, uncleanness, superstition, cruelty, any sin, by reason of any of the creatures ; it is better for thee to make a covenant with thine eyes, and ears, and hands, and senses (so far as thy condition and calling will warrant thee) not to have any thing to do with such things, than by gratifying them therein cast both thyself and them into hell. Better by our voluntary abstinence to depart with some of our liberty unto the creatures, than by our voluntary transgression forfeit all, and become the devil's captives.

26. But charity, though it begin at home, yet it will abroad ; and not resting at ourselves reaches to our brethren also ; of whom we are to have a due regard in our use of the creatures ; an argument wherein St. Paul often enlarges himself : as in Rom. xiv. and 1 Cor. viii. the whole chapters throughout, and in a great part of 1 Cor. x. The resolution everywhere is, that "all

¹ Matt. v. 29, 30.

things be done to edification¹;" that things lawful become "inexpedient," when they "offend," rather than "edify²;" that though "all things indeed are pure, yet it is evil for that man which uses them with offence³;" that albeit flesh and wine, and other things be lawful, yet "it is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor to do any thing whereby a man's brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak⁴." Hitherto appertains that great and difficult common-place of scandal, so much debated and disputed of by divines. The questions and cases are manifold, not now to be rehearsed, much less resolved, in particular; but the position is plain in the general, that in case of scandal, for our weak brother's sake, we may, and sometimes ought to abridge ourselves of some part of our lawful liberty.

27. Besides these two, sobriety and charity, there is yet one restraint more, which arises from the duty we owe to our superiors, and from the bond of civil obedience; which, if it had been by all men as freely admitted, as there is just cause it should, how happy had it been for the peace of this Church! Concerning it, let this be our sixth position; The determination of superiors may and ought to restrain us in the outward exercise of our Christian liberty. We must "submit ourselves to every ordinance of man," says St. Peter; and it is necessary we should do so, for "so is the will of God." Neither is it against Christian liberty if we do so; for we are still as free as before; rather, if we do not so, we "abuse our liberty for a cloak of maliciousness⁵," as it follows there. And St. Paul tells us we "must needs be subject, not only for fear⁶," because the magistrate "carrieth not the sword in vain, but also for conscience sake⁷," because "the powers that are, are ordained of God⁸." This duty, so fully pressed, and so uniformly by these two grand apostles, is most apparent in private societies. In a family the master, or *paterfamilias*, who is a kind of petty monarch there, has authority to prescribe to his children and servants in the use of those indifferent things, whereto yet they, as Christians, have as much liberty as he. "The servant," though he be "the Lord's free-man," yet is limited in his diet, lodging, livery, and many other things by his "master⁹;" and he is to submit himself to his master's appointment in these things, though perhaps in his

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 26.⁴ Rom. xiv. 21.⁷ Rom. xiii. 4.² 1 Cor. x. 23.⁵ 1 Pet. ii. 13. 15, 16.⁸ Rom. xiii. 1.³ Rom. xiv. 20.⁶ Rom. xiii. 5.⁹ 1 Cor. vii. 22.

private affection he had rather his master had appointed otherwise; and perhaps withal in his private judgment does verily think it fitter his master should appoint otherwise. "If any man," under colour of "Christian liberty," shall "teach otherwise¹," and exempt servants from the obedience of their masters in such things, St. Paul in a holy indignation inveighs against such a man, not without some bitterness, in the last chapter of this epistle, as one that "is proud, and knoweth nothing," as he should do, "but doateth about questions and strife of words," &c.

28. Now look what power the master has over his servants for the ordering of his family; no doubt the same at the least, if not much more, has the supreme magistrate over his subjects for the peaceable ordering of the commonwealth; the magistrate being *pater patriæ*, as the master is *pater familias*. Whosoever, then, shall interpret the determinations of magistrates in the use of the creatures to be contrary to the liberty of a Christian, or under that colour shall exempt inferiors from their obedience to such determinations, he must blame St. Paul; nay, he must blame the Holy Ghost, and not us, if he hear from us that he is "proud, and knoweth nothing, and doateth about unprofitable questions." Surely, but that experience shows us it has been so, and the Scriptures have foretold us that it should be so²; that there should be differences, and sidings, and part-takings in the Church; a man would wonder how it should ever sink into the hearts and heads of sober understanding men to deny either the power in superiors to ordain, or the necessity in inferiors to obey, laws and constitutions, so restraining us in the use of the creatures.

29. Neither let any man cherish his ignorance herein, by conceiting as if there were some difference to be made between civil and ecclesiastical things, and laws, and persons in this behalf. The truth is, our liberty is equal in both; the power of superiors for restraint equal in both; and the necessity of obedience in inferiors equal in both. No man has yet been able to show, nor I think ever shall be, a real and substantial difference indeed between them to make an inequality. But that still, as civil magistrates have sometimes, for just politic respects, prohibited some trades, and manufactures, and commodities, and enjoined other some, and done well in both; so Church governors may,

¹ Tim. vi. 3—5.

² 1 Cor. xi. 19.

upon good considerations^a, (say it be but for order and uniformity's sake,) prescribe the times, places, vestments, gestures, and other ceremonial circumstances to be used in ecclesiastical offices and assemblies. As the apostles, in the first council holden at Jerusalem, laid upon the Churches of the Gentiles, for a time, a restraint from "the eating of blood, and things sacrificed to idols, and strangled¹."

30. Thus we see our Christian liberty unto the creatures may, without prejudice, admit of some restraints in the outward exercise of it; and namely, from the three respects, of Christian sobriety, of Christian charity, and of Christian duty and obedience. But now in the comparing of these together, when there seems to be a repugnancy between one and another of them, there may be some difficulty; and the greatest difficulty, and which has bred most trouble is, in comparing the cases of scandal and disobedience together, when there seems to be a repugnancy between charity and duty. As for example: suppose in a thing which simply and in itself we may lawfully, according to the liberty we have in Christ, either use or forbear, charity seems to lay restraint upon us one way, our weak brother expecting we should forbear, and duty a quite contrary way, authority requiring the use;—in such a case what are we to do? It is against charity to offend a brother; and it is against duty to disobey a superior. And yet something must be done: either we must use, or not use; forbear, or not forbear. For the untying of this knot (which, if we

^a "It is good that we observe the league of Christians, as it is penned by our Saviour; which is in substance of *doctrine* this, 'He that is not with us is against us;' but in *things indifferent*, and but of *circumstance* this: 'He that is not against us is with us.' In *these* things so as the general rules be observed;—that Christ's flock be fed; that there be a succession in bishops and ministers, which are the prophets of the New Testament; that there be a due and reverent use of the power of the keys; that those that preach the gospel live of the gospel; that all things tend to edification; that all things be done in order and with decency; and the like;—the rest is left to the holy wisdom and spiritual discretion of the master-builders and inferior builders in Christ's Church; as it is excellently alluded by that Father that noted that Christ's garment was *without seam*, and yet the Church's garment was of *divers colours*: and thereupon sets down for a rule, '*In veste varietas sit, scissura non sit.*'" *Bacon's Advertisement on Church Controversies*. Works, vol. ii. 530.

¹ Acts xv. 28, 29.

will but lay things rightly together, has not in it so much hardness as it seems to have), let this be our seventh position. In the use of the creatures, and all indifferent things, we ought to bear a greater regard to our public governors than to our private brethren, and be more careful to obey them than to satisfy these, if the same course will not in some mediocrity satisfy both. Alas, that our brethren who are contrary minded would but with the spirit of sobriety admit common reason to be umpire in this case! Alas, that they would but consider what a world of contradictions would follow upon the contrary opinion, and what a world of confusions upon the contrary practice! Say what can be said in the behalf of a brother; all the same, and more, may be said for a governor; for a governor is a brother too, and something more; and duty is charity too, and something more. If, then, I may not offend my brother, then certainly not my governor, because he is my brother too, being a man, and a Christian, as well as the other is; and the same charity that binds me to satisfy another brother equally binds me to satisfy this: so that, if we go no farther, but even to the common bond of charity, and relation of brotherhood, that makes them equal at the least, and therefore no reason why I should satisfy one that is but a private brother rather than the public magistrate, who (that public respect set aside) is my brother also. When the scales hang thus even, shall not the accession of magistracy¹ to common brotherhood in him, and of duty to common charity in me, be enough to cast it clear for the magistrate? Shall a servant in a family, rather than offend his fellow-servant, disobey his master? And is not a double scandal against charity and duty both (for duty implies charity) greater than a single scandal against charity alone? If private men will be offended at our obedience to public governors, we can but be sorry for it: we may not redeem their offence by our disobedience². He that takes offence where none is given sustains a double person; and must answer for it, both as the giver and the taker. If offence be taken at us, there is no woe to us for it if it do not come by us: "Woe to the man by whom

¹ Si tantopere cavenda sunt scandala parvulorum, quanto amplius prælatorum? *Bern.* de præcept. et disp.

² Prudentè advertat qui hoc cogitat, scandalum scandalo non benè emendari. Qualis emendatio erit, si ut aliis scandalum tollas, alios scandalizas? *Bern.* de præcept. et disp.

the offence cometh¹ ;” and it does not come by us if we do but what is our duty to do. The rule is certain and equitable ; the respect of private scandal ceases where lawful authority determines our liberty, and that restraint which proceeds from special duty is of superior reason to that which proceeds but from common charity.

31. Three moderators, then, of our Christian liberty to the creatures we are to allow of ; sobriety, charity, and duty ; unto every of which a just regard ought to be had. Neither need we fear if we suffer sobriety on one side, and charity on another, and duty on a third, thus to abridge us in the use of our Christian liberty ; that by little and little it may be at length so pared away among them, that there may be little or nothing left of it. To remove this suspicion let this be our eighth and last position. No respect whatsoever can, or ought to diminish the inward freedom of the conscience to any of the creatures ; and this inward freedom is it, wherein especially consists our Christian liberty to the creature. This freedom we are all bound to maintain to the utmost of our powers ; and not to suffer ourselves to be made “ the servants of men²,” (otherwise than in “ serving one another by love³ :”) but to “ stand fast in the liberty wherein Christ hath set us free⁴.” Now this liberty consists in a certain resolution of judgment, and a certain persuasion of conscience arising thence, that all the creatures of God are in themselves lawful, and free for us either to use or refuse, as we shall see it expedient for us ; and that neither the use nor the forbearance of them does of itself either commend or discommend us unto God, or any way either please Him as a part of his worship, or offend Him as a transgression of his law. “ The kingdom of God is not meat and drink⁵,” says St. Paul : “ Neither if we eat, are we the better ; neither the worse, if we do not eat⁶ ;” nor on the contrary. Now here is the wickedness and the usurpation of the high-priest of Rome, that he challenges to himself a spiritual power over the consciences of men, which is the greatest tyranny that ever was, or can be exercised in the world ; laying impurity upon the things he forbids ! and annexing operative holiness, and power both satisfactory and meritorious, to the things he enjoins !—which usurpation, whosoever hates not in him with a

¹ Matt. xviii. 7.

² 1 Cor. vii. 2, 3.

³ Gal. v. 13.

⁴ Gal. v. 1.

⁵ Rom. xiv. 17.

⁶ 1 Cor. viii. 8.

perfect hatred, is justly unworthy of, and shamefully unthankful for, that liberty and freedom which the blessed Son of God has purchased for his Church.

32. But this inward freedom once established in our hearts, and our consciences fully persuaded thereof, let us thenceforth make no scruple to admit of such just restraints in the outward exercise of it, as Christian sobriety, charity, and duty shall require. For we must know that the liberty of a Christian is not in eating, and wearing, and doing, what and when, where and how he list, but in being assured that it is all one before God, (in the things themselves barely considered,) whether he eat or not eat, wear or not wear, do or not do, this or that; and that, therefore, as he may upon just cause eat, and wear, and do, so he may upon just cause also refuse to eat, or wear, or do this thing or that. Indeed otherwise, if we well consider it, it were but the empty name of liberty, without the thing; for how is it liberty if a man be determinately bound the one way, and tied, *ad alteram partem contradictionis*, precisely; and not left indifferent and equal to either? If, then, the regards of sobriety, charity, or duty do not require a forbearance, thou knowest “every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused:” thou hast thy liberty, therefore, and may according to that liberty freely use that creature. But if any of those former respects require thou shouldst forbear, thou knowest that the creature still is good, and, as not to be refused, so not to be imposed: thou hast thy liberty, therefore, here as before, and ought, according to that liberty, freely to abstain from that creature. Both in using and refusing the conscience is still free; and as well the use as the refusal, and as well the refusal as the use, do equally and alike belong to the true liberty of a Christian.

33. We have seen now what liberty God has allowed us; and therein we may see also his great goodness and bounty towards us, in making such a world of creatures, and all of them good; [“every creature of God is good;”] and not envying us the free use of any of those good creatures. [“Nothing to be refused.”] But where is our duty answerable to this bounty? Where is our thankfulness proportionable to such receipts? Let us not rejoice too much in the creature goodness, nor glory too much in our freedom thereunto; unless there be in us, withal, a due care and conscience to perform the condition, which God requires in lieu thereof; neither can their goodness do us good, nor our freedom

exempt us from evil. And that condition is, the duty of thanksgiving; expressed in the last clause of the verse, [“if it be received with thanksgiving.”] Forget this *proviso*, and we undo all again that we have hitherto done, and destroy all that we have already established concerning both the goodness of the creature, and our liberty in the use thereof;—for, without thanksgiving, neither can we partake their goodness, nor use our own liberty with comfort.

XX.

THE NATURE AND MEASURES OF EXPEDIENCY^a.

“ But all things are not expedient: But all things edify not.”—1 Cor. x. 23.

1. THE former clause of the verse, here twice repeated (“all things are lawful for me”), contains the extension, as these latter clauses do the limitation of that liberty that God has left us to things of indifferent nature. That extension I have already handled; and set our Christian liberty there, where (according to the constant doctrine of our apostle) I think it should stand. From what I then delivered (which I now repeat not), plain it was, that the apostle extends our liberty very far, without exception either of things or persons. All things lawful, and lawful for all men. All the fear was, lest by so asserting our liberty we might seem to set open a gap to carnal licentiousness. Although there be no great cause for it in respect of the thing itself, yet is not that fear altogether needless in regard of our corruption, who are apt to turn the very best things into abuse, and liberty as much as any thing; yet that fear need not much trouble us, if we will but take these latter clauses of the verse also along with us as we ought to do; where we shall find the gap (if any such were) sufficiently made up again to keep out all carnal licentiousness, and other abuse of Christian liberty whatsoever.

2. Of those clauses we are now to speak,—“ But all things are not expedient:” “ But all things edify not;” wherein the apostle having before extended our liberty in the power, now restrains it

^a From *Bishop Sanderson*: the twelfth Sermon, *ad Aulam*, preached at Hampton Court, July 26, 1640.

in the use and exercise of that power : concerning which, I shall comprehend all I have to say in *three* observations, grounded all upon the text. *First*, that the Apostle establishes the point of lawfulness, before he meddles with that of expediency. *Secondly*, that he requires we should have an eye to the expediency also of the things we do, not resting upon their lawfulness alone. And, *thirdly*, that he measures the expediency of lawful things by their usefulness unto edification. Of which in their order.

3. And first, *expediency* in St. Paul's method supposes lawfulness. He takes that for granted that the thing is lawful, before he enter into any inquiry whether it be expedient, yea or no ; for expediency is here brought in, as a thing that must restrain and limit us in the exercise of that liberty, which God has otherwise allowed us ; but God has not allowed us any liberty unto unlawful things. And this observation is of right good use ; for thence it will follow, that when the unlawfulness of any thing is once made sufficiently to appear, all further inquiry into the expediency or in expediency thereof must thenceforth utterly cease and determine. No conjuncture of circumstances whatsoever, can make that expedient to be done at any time, that is of itself and in the kind unlawful¹. For a man to blaspheme the holy name of God, to sacrifice to idols, to give wrong sentence in judgment, by his power to oppress those that are not able to withstand him, by subtilty to over-reach others in bargaining, to take up arms (offensive or defensive) against a lawful sovereign ; none of all these, and sundry other things of like nature, being all of them simply and *de toto genere* unlawful, may be done by any man, at any time, in any case, upon any colour or pretension whatsoever ; the express command of God Himself only excepted, as in the case of Abraham for sacrificing his son². Not for the avoiding of scandal ; not at the instance of any friend, or command of any power upon earth ; not for the maintenance of the lives or liberties either of ourselves or others ; not for the defence of religion ; not for the preservation of a Church or state ; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined possible, for the salvation of a soul ; no, not for the redemption³ of the whole world.

¹ οὐ γὰρ ὁ μὴ καλὸν οὐποτ' ἔφν καλόν. *Eurip.* Phœniss. Act. 3.

² Gen. xxii. 2.

³ a " One of their learned casuists delivers this as a positive truth ; ' that to disobey a lawful sovereign is such an act, as that no circumstances can make

4. I remember to have read long since a story of one of the Popes, (but who the man was, and what the particular occasion, I cannot now recall to mind,) that having, in a consultation with some of his Cardinals, proposed unto them the course himself had thought of, for the settling of some present affairs to his most advantage; when one of the Cardinals told him he might not go that way, because it was not according to justice;—he made answer again, that, though it might not be done *per viam justitiæ*, yet it was to be done *per viam expedientiæ*^a. A distinction which it seems the high-priest of Rome had learned of his predecessor at Jerusalem—the high-priest Caiaphas, in a solemn consultation held there¹. There the chief priests and Pharisees call a council, and the business was, what they should do with Jesus. If they should let Him alone, so, the people would all run after Him because of his miracles; and then would the Romans (who did but wait for such an opportunity) make that a pretence to invade their country, and to destroy both their religion and nation. If they should take away his life, that were, indeed, a sure course; but Nicodemus had stammered them all for that, a good while before, in a former council at Jerusalem², when he told them that they could not do it by law; being they had nothing to lay to his charge that could touch his life. Up stands Caiaphas then, and tells them they were but too scrupulous to stand so much upon the nice point-of legality at that time: they should let the matter of justice go for once, and consider what was now expedient to be done for the preserving of their nation, and to prevent the incursions of the Romans: “You know nothing at all,” says he, “nor consider that it is expedient for us that one man should die for the people, and that the whole nation perish not.”

5. Whatever infallibility either of those high-priests might challenge to themselves, or their flatterers ascribe to them, it is sure far safer for us to rest our judgments upon that never-failing rule of St. Paul, “We may not do evil that good may come thereof³,” than to follow them in their wild resolutions. But if we

it lawful, no, not the glory of God, nor the saving of many souls, nor preventing the ruin of a nation.’ This is high.” *Lawson’s Politica Sacra*, &c. (1640.) Edit. 1689, p. 174. See also *Locke’s* Letter from a Person of Quality. Works, vol. x. p. 245. edit. 1812.

^a Compare *Sanderson De Obligatione Conscientiæ*. Prælect. ii. § 22.

¹ John xi. 47. 50.

² John vii. 51.

³ Rom. iii. 8. Nunquam virtus vitio adjuvanda est. *Sen. i. de ira*, 9.

desire examples rather, we cannot have for the purpose in one man, a more proper example on the one side for our imitation, nor a more fearful example on the other side for our admonition, than are those two so unlike actions of David in the matter of Saul, and in the matter of Uriah.

6. As for Saul, two several times it was in the power of his hands to have slain him, if he would. In “the cave¹,” he might as easily have cut the thread of his life as the skirt of his garment; and in “the trench²,” as easily have taken his head from off his shoulders, as the spear from beside his bolster. And much might have been said for the expediency of it too. Saul was his professed, his implacable enemy; hunted him from place to place like “a partridge upon the mountains³,” set snares and traps for him in every corner to destroy him,—and all this without cause. Nor was David ignorant of what God had promised, and Samuel had foretold, concerning the rending of the kingdom from Saul, and settling it upon him: and now, if ever, might seem to be a fair opportunity to bring all that about, now he had him in his hands. By taking away his life, and setting the crown upon his own head, besides the accomplishment of God’s promises, he might so provide for his own safety, quiet the distractions in the state, turn all the forces against the common enemy, advance religion in adding honourable solemnities to the public worship, and settle the kingdom in a more just, moderate, and peaceable government than now it was. Plausible inducements all, and probable; and his captains and servants about him did not forget to urge them, and to press the expediency. But David rightly apprehended the thing itself, to offer violence to the Lord’s anointed⁴ to be utterly unlawful: and that was it that stayed his hand. That unlawfulness alone he opposes against all these, and whatsoever other seeming expediciencies could be pretended, as a sufficient answer to them all; “The Lord forbid that I should stretch forth my hand against the Lord’s anointed⁵,” and, “Who can stretch out his hand against the Lord’s anointed, and be guiltless⁶?” This is David in the matter of Saul;—a worthy example for our imitation.

7. See him now another while in the matter of Uriah, and how he behaved himself there. *Quantum mutatus!* Could you think

¹ 1 Sam. xxiv. 4.

² 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

³ 1 Sam. xxvi. 10.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxiv. 4. xxvi. 8.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxiv. 6.

⁶ 1 Sam. xxvi. 9.

it were the same man? He had lain with the wife, when the husband was abroad and in his service, and she proved with child¹. If this should be famed abroad, it could not but tend much to the king's dishonour; yea, and to the scandal of religion too. It seemed, therefore, very expedient the matter should be smothered: and David sets all his wits on work how to do that handsomely. Many fetches and devices he had in his head, and sundry of them be put to trial, this way and that way; but none of them would take. God meant him a shame for his sin; and, therefore, blasted all those his attempts, and made them unsuccessful. When he saw he could not bring his purpose to pass any other way, at last he entertains black thoughts, and falls upon a desperate resolution;—to blear the eyes of the world Uriah must die: so shall the widow be his, and the child born in lawful wedlock be thought to be legitimate, and all shall be well. A hard case to take away the life of an innocent person, a man of renown, valiant and religious,—whose name stood in the list, enrolled among his chiefest worthies; and that in a most base and treacherous fashion too, not without a great deal of daubing and hypocrisy withal². The circumstances aggravate much. No doubt David's heart³, that was so ready to smite him at other times upon very small occasions in comparison, would now buffet him with stronger checks; and not suffer him to be ignorant of the wickedness and unlawfulness of his foul intentions. But all is one for that; *jacta est alea*. He was in, and he must on; so it must be now, thinks he, or else we are shamed for ever. This is David in the matter of Uriah; a fearful example for our admonition.

8. Heaven and hell are not at more distance, nor light and darkness more unlike, than David's carriage in the one case, and in the other. Of which so great difference and unlikeness if we examine what was the true cause, we shall find it to have been none other but this; that in the former he looked chiefly at the unlawfulness of the thing, and in the latter, at the expediency only. In the matter of Saul, he saw the thing was utterly unlawful to be done, as being repugnant to the ordinance of God and the duty of a subject; and therefore, expedient or inexpedient, he resolves he will not do it for a world;—and that was certainly the right way. In the matter of Uriah, he saw the thing was

¹ 2 Sam. xi. 4, 5. ² 2 Sam. xxiii. 39. xi. 13. 25. ³ 1 Sam. xxiv. 5.

expedient to be done, as conducing to his ends, for the saving of his credit at that time ; and therefore, lawful or unlawful, he resolves he will do it, whatsoever come of it ; and that was certainly the wrong way.

9. Take we warning by his example (it is the cheapest learning to profit by another's harm) not to adventure the doing of any thing that we know to be unlawful¹ ; seem it never so expedient, and conducive to such ends as we intend. Alas ! why should any of us for the serving of our own bellies, cast the commandments of God behind our backs : or violate his holy laws, to satisfy our own impure lusts ? Can the compassing of any thing we can desire in this world,—profit, pleasure, preferment, glory, revenge, or any thing else, be to us of so great advantage, that for the attainment thereof, we should so far dishonour God, and quench the light that is in us ; as to lie, and forswear, and flatter, and slander, and supplant, and cheat, and oppress, or do any other unjust or unlawful act, against the light of our own reason, or contrary to the checks of our own consciences ?

10. Nor ought we to be careful hereof then only, when in our ends we look merely at ourselves and our own private conveniences, in any of the forementioned respects of profit, pleasure, and the rest, but even then also when our intentions are more noble and honourable ;—the honour of God, the edification of our brethren, the peace of the Church, and the common good. For neither pious intentions alone, nor reasons of expediency alone, nor yet both together, will either warrant us beforehand to the choice, nor excuse us afterwards for the use of unlawful means². Whatever Saul's intention was³ in sparing the fatter cattle, I make no question but that Uzzah's very intention^a was pious, in reaching forth his hands to stay the ark from falling, when it tottered in the cart. The things themselves, both the one and the other, seemed to be very expedient. But God's special command to Saul⁴ that all should be destroyed, and his law, given by Moses, concerning that sacred and mysterious utensil, having made both those things unlawful, did thereby also make

¹ — Facere aliquid, quod scias non licere. *Cic. pro Balbo. Rom. xvi. 18.*
Psalm l. 17.

² 1 Sam. xv. 15.

³ 2 Sam. vi. 6.

^a See *South's Sermon*, above, vol. iii. p. 423. in this collection : also, *Sanderson, De Obligat. Conscientiæ, Prælect. ii. § 13.*

⁴ 1 Sam. xv. 3.

⁵ Num. iv. 15.

both the facts inexcusable: and Almighty God, to win reverence and to honour his own ordinances, punished with great severity both the disobedience of the one, and the rash presumption of the other.

11. Be our ends and aims therefore what they will; unless we arm ourselves with strong resolutions beforehand, not to do any thing we know to be unlawful upon any terms, seem it otherwise never so expedient; and then afterwards use all our best prayers and endeavours by God's grace to hold our resolutions;—we are gone. Satan is cunning, and we but weak: and he will be too hard for us, if he do but find us any whit staggering in our resolutions, for doing nothing but what is lawful; or lending an ear to any persuasions, for the doing of any that is unlawful. By this very means he got within our grandmother Eve; and prevailed with her to taste of the forbidden fruit, though it were unlawful, by persuading her that it was expedient.—This once is a sure ground for us to build upon: to a good Christian, that desires to make conscience of his ways, nothing can be truly expedient² that is apparently unlawful.—And so much for the first observation.

12. The apostle first supposes the thing to be lawful; else it may not be done howsoever. But if it be lawful, then we hope we may use it at our pleasure, without either scruple in ourselves, or blame from others. Indeed, that is the common guise of the world. Have but the opinion of some divine of note, concerning any thing we have a mind to, that it is lawful; and then we think we need take no more care, nor trouble ourselves about circumstances. But there is a great deal more belongs to it than so. Lawfulness alone will not bear us out in the use of a thing, unless there be care had withal to use it lawfully; lest otherwise our liberty degenerate into a carnal licentiousness, as easily it may do. For preventing whereof, the apostle here requires, that we consider as well what is expedient to be done, as what is lawful.

¹ Gen. iii. 5.

² Quicquid non licet, certe non oportet. *Cic. pro Balbo.* Potest aliquid licere, et non expedire: expedire autem quod non licet, non potest. *August. de adult. conjug. cap. 15.* Constat in Christiana philosophia, non decere nisi quod licet; nec expedire, nisi quod et decet et licet. *Bern. de consid. lib. iii.* Sin ii sumus qui profecto esse debemus, ut nihil arbitremur expedire, nisi quod rectum honestumque sit. *Cic. iv. fam. Epist. iii.* Universa concio, quod æquum non videretur, ne expedire quidem proclamavit. *Valer. Max. vi. 5. chap. 11. 14.*

Which was our second observation. "All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient."

13. St. Bernard to Eugenius requires *trinam considerationem*, a threefold consideration or inquiry to precede the doing of any action of moment, and worthy our deliberation; *an liceat, an deceat, an expediat*:—Whether it be lawful or no; whether comely or no; whether expedient or no; lawful in itself, comely for us, expedient in respect of others. He makes there that of decency, and that of expediency, two different considerations the one from the other, yet both necessary. And as well the difference that is between them, as the necessity of both, arises from those two grand virtues, which must have a special influence into every action morally and spiritually good; to wit, discretion and charity: of which two, discretion is the proper judge of decency, and charity of expediency, though both do in some sort belong to both. But as for decency, it may be the apostle intended not to speak of it at all, as being not so very pertinent to his present argument; and having besides a purpose to mention it more seasonably afterwards. Or if he did, he then takes expediency in a larger sense; so as to comprehend under that name, all that which Bernard means by decency and expediency both. And so taken, (that we may understand what it is we speak of,) the difference that is between lawfulness and expediency consists in this; that lawfulness looks but at the nature and quality of the thing in itself considered in the kind, and abstractedly both from the end and circumstances; but expediency takes in the end also, and such other circumstances as attend particular actions.

14. That expediency ever relates to the end, we may gather from the very notion of the words. *Συμφέρειν* in the Greek, is as much as to confer or contribute something, to bring in some help or furtherance towards the attainment of the desired end. And *expedire* in the Latin, is properly to speed a business; as the contrary thereof (*impedire*) is to hinder it. The word expedition comes thence: and so does this also of expediency. That thing then may not unfitly be said to be expedient to any end, that does *expedire*, give any furtherance or avail towards the attaining of that end; and that on the contrary to be inexpedient, that does *impedire*, cast in any let, rub, or impediment to hinder the same. It must be man's first care to propose to himself in all his actions some right end; and then he is to judge of the expediency of the means by their serviceableness thereunto.

15. It is (no doubt) lawful for a Christian^a (being that God has tied him to live out his time in the world therefore) to propose to himself in sundry particular actions of this life worldly ends ; (gain, preferment, reputation, delight ;) so as he desire nothing but what is meet for him ; and that his desires thereof be also moderate. And he may consequently apply himself to such means as are expedient, and conducing to those ends. But those ends and means are but the bye of a Christian, not the main. He lives in the world ; and so must, and therefore also may use it ; but woe unto him if he have not far higher and nobler ends than these, to which all his actions must refer, and whereto all those worldly both means and ends must be subordinate. And those are, to seek the glory of God, and the salvation of his own soul, by discharging a good conscience, and advancing the common good. In the use therefore and choice of such things as are in themselves lawful (as all indifferent things are) we are to judge those means, that may any way further us towards the attainment of any of those ends, to be so far forth expedient : and those that any way hinder the same to be so far forth inexpedient ; and by how much more or less they so either further or hinder, to be by so much more or less either expedient or inexpedient.

16. Besides the end, the reason of expediency depends also very much upon such other particular circumstances, as do attend human actions ; as times, places, persons, measure, manners, and the rest. By reason of the infinite variety and uncertainty whereof, it is utterly impossible to give such general rules of expediency as shall serve to all particular cases ; so that there is no remedy but the weighing of particular circumstances in particular actions must be left to the discretion and charity¹ of particular men. Wherein every man that desires to walk conscionably, must endeavour at all times and in all his actions, to lay things together as well as he can : and taking one thing with another, according to that measure of wisdom and charity wherewith God has endowed him, to resolve ever to do that which seems to him most convenient to be done as things then stand². Only let him be sure that still his eye and aim be upon the right end in the

^a See the preceding Sermon, No. XIX. § 16. and note, p. 680. Also, above, vol. iii. 521. 548, and n.

¹ Ὡς δὲ ὁ φρόνιμος ὁρίσσει. *Arist.* 1 Ethic. 6.

² — Utra sit harum via utilior, cum materia deliberabimus. *Quin.* iii. instit. 7. Consilium in arena. *Adag.*

main, and that then all things be ordered with reference thereunto.

17. This discovery of the nature of expediency, what it is^a; and what dependence it has upon, and relation unto, the end and circumstances of men's actions; discovers unto us withal sundry material differences between lawfulness and expediency; and thence also the very true reason, why in the exercise of our Christian liberty it should be needful for us to have regard, as well to the expediency as to the lawfulness of those things we are to do. Some of those differences are; First, that as the natures of things are unchangeable, but their ends and circumstances various and variable, so their lawfulness, which is rooted in their nature, is also constant, and permanent, and ever the same; but their expediency, which hangs upon so many turning hinges¹, is ever and anon changing. What is expedient² to-day, may be inexpedient to-morrow; but once lawful, and ever lawful. Secondly, that a thing may be at the same time expedient in one respect, and inexpedient in another: but no respects can make the same thing to be at once both lawful and unlawful. Because respect cannot alter the natures of things, from which their lawfulness or unlawfulness arises. Thirdly, that the lawfulness and unlawfulness of things consists, *in puncto indivisibili*, (as they use to speak) even as the nature and essence of every thing does; and so are not capable either of them of the degrees of more or less: all lawful things being equally lawful, and all unlawful things equally unlawful. But there is a latitude of expediency and inexpediency; they do both *suscipere magis et minus*: so as one thing may be more or less expedient than another, and more or less inexpedient than another. And that therefore, fourthly, it is a harder thing to judge rightly of the expediency of things to be done³, than of their lawfulness. For to judge whether a thing be lawful or no, there need no more be done, but to consider the nature of it in general, and therein what conformity it has with the principles of reason, and the written word of God.

^a See *Gataker* on the use of *Lots*, chap. v. § 6, 7, p. 135—44.

¹ *Quorum usus coercetur certis circumstantiis, ea dicuntur non expedire, non dicuntur non licere. Chamier. iii. panstrat. 21. 75.*

² *Nῦν μὴν συμφέρει, αὔριον δὲ οὐ. Arist. 1 Mor. Min. 35. Τὰ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι, καὶ τὰ συμφέροντα οὐδὲ ἐστῆκός ἔχει. Arist. 2. Ethic. 2.*

³ *Quid rectum sit, apparet: quid expediat, obscurum est. Cyp. 5. Ep. 10.*

And *universalia certiora* ; a man of competent judgment, and not fore-stalled with prejudice, will not easily mistake in such generalities, because they are neither many, nor subject to much uncertainty. But *descendendo contingit errare*¹; the more we descend to particulars, in the more danger are we of being mistaken therein ; because we have both far more things to consider of, and those also far more uncertain than before. And it may fall out, and not seldom does, that when we have laid things together in the balance, weighing one circumstance with another as carefully as we could ; and thereupon have resolved to do this or that as in our judgment the most expedient for that time ; some circumstance or other may come into our minds afterwards, which we did not forethink, or some casual intervening accident may happen, which we could not foresee, that may turn the scales quite the other way, and render the thing, which seemed expedient but now, now altogether inexpedient.

18. From these and other like differences, we may gather the true reason why the apostle so much and so often presses the point of expediency, as meet to be taken into our consideration and practice, as well as that of lawfulness. Even because things lawful in themselves, and in the kind, may for want of a right end², or through neglect of due circumstances, become sinful in the doer. Not as if any act of ours could change the nature of the things from what they are ; for it is beyond the power of any creature in the world to do that. God only is *Dominus naturæ* : to Him it belongs only, as chief Lord, to change either the physical or moral nature of things at his pleasure. Things in their own nature indifferent, God by commanding, can make necessary, and by forbidding, unlawful : as He made circumcision necessary, and eating of pork unlawful to the Jews under the old law. But no scruple of conscience, no command of the higher powers, no opinions or consent of men, no scandal or abuse whatsoever, can make any indifferent thing to become either necessary or unlawful, universally, and perpetually, and in the nature of it : but it still remains indifferent as it was before, any act of ours notwithstanding. Yet may such an indifferent thing, remaining still in the nature of it indifferent as before, by some act of ours or other-

¹ οἱ τὸ κατ'ὸν θεωροῦντες, ἕνα τὸν καθ' ἕκαστον οὐκ ἴσασι δι' ἀνεπισκεψίαν. *Arist.* 1. Poster. anal. 13 15.

² —etsi officio videtur bonum, ipso non recto fine peccatum est. *August.* 4. contra Jul. 3.

wise, become in the use of it, and by accident, either necessary or unlawful, *pro hic et nunc*, to some men, and at some times, and with some circumstances: as the command of lawful authority may make an indifferent thing to us necessary for the time; and the just fear of scandal may make an indifferent thing to us unlawful for the time. Therefore it behoves us in all our deliberations *de rebus agendis*, to consider well not only of the nature of the thing we would do, whether it be *lawful* or no in the *kind*; but of the *end* also, and all present *circumstances*, especially the most material; lest, through some default there, it become so inexpedient, that it cannot be then done by us without sin. For as we may sin, by doing that which is unlawful; so may we also by doing even that, which is lawful, in an undue manner.

19. And it will much concern us to use all possible circumspection herein, the rather for two great reasons: for that by this means (I mean the supposed lawfulness of things) we are both very easily drawn on unto sin, and when we are in, very hardly fetched off again. First, we are easily drawn on. The very name and opinion of lawfulness many times carries us along, whilst we suspect no evil, and puts our foot into the snare, ere we be aware of it. The conscience of many a good man, that would keep a strait watch over himself against grosser offences, will sometimes set itself very loose, when he finds himself able to plead, that he does nothing but what is lawful. In things simply evil sin cannot lurk so close, but that a godly wise man that "has his eyes in his head¹," may spy it and avoid it: as a wild-beast or thief may easily be descried in the open champaign. But if it can once shroud itself under the covert of lawfulness, it is the more dangerous; like a wild-beast or thief in the woods, or behind the thickets, where he may lurk unseen, and assault us on a sudden, if we do not look the better about us. And the greater our danger is, the greater should be our circumspection also.

20. And as we are easily inveigled and drawn in, to sins of this kind; so when we are in, we get off again very hardly. If we chance through human frailty, or the strength of temptations, to fall into some gross offence, by doing something that is manifestly unlawful; (although such gross sins are of themselves apt to waste the conscience, to beat back the offers of grace, and to harden the heart wonderfully against repentance;) yet have we in

¹ Eccles. ii. 4.

sundry other respects more and better helps and advantages towards repentance for such sins, than when we transgress by abusing our liberty in lawful things.

1. It is no hard matter to convince our understandings of those grosser transgressions; their obliquity is so palpable.

2. They often lie cold and heavy at the heart: where the burden of them is so pressing and afflictive, that it will force us to seek abroad for ease.

3. We shall scarce read a chapter, or hear a sermon, but we shall meet with something or other that seems to rub upon that gall.

4. The world will cry shame on us.

5. And our enemies triumph that they have got something to lay in our dish.

6. Our friends will have a just occasion to give us a sharp rebuke.

7. And the guiltiness of the fact will so stop our mouths, that we shall have nothing to answer for ourselves. All which may be so many good preparations unto repentance.

21. But when we are able to plead a lawfulness in the substance of the thing done:

1. Seldom do we take notice of our failings in some circumstances.

2. Nor do our hearts smite us with much remorse thereat.

3. The edge of God's holy word slides over us, without cutting or piercing at all, or not deep.

4. We lie not so open to the upbraidings either of friends or foes, but that if any thing be objected by either, we can yet say something in our defence. All which are so many impediments unto repentance. Not but that whoever truly fears God, and repents unfeignedly, repents even of the smallest sins, as well as of the greatest: but that he does it not so feelingly, nor so particularly, for these smaller, as for those greater ones; because he is not so apprehensive of these, as he is of those. For the most part his repentance for such like sins is but in a general form; wrapt up in the lump of his unknown sins: like that in Psalm xix. "Who can tell how oft he offendeth? O cleanse Thou me from my secret faults¹!" Only our hope and comfort is, that our merciful Lord God will graciously accept this general repentance

¹ Psalm xix. 12.

for current ; without requiring of us a more particular sense of those sins, whereof he has not given us a more particular sight.

22. By what has been said you may perceive how unsafe a thing it is to rest upon the bare lawfulness of a thing alone, without regard to expediency. For this is indeed the ready way to turn our liberty into a licentiousness : sith even lawful things become unlawful when they grow inexpedient. Lawful in themselves, but unlawful to us : lawful in their nature, but unlawful in their use.—But then the question will be, how we shall know from time to time, and at all times, what is expedient to be done, and what not ? which leads us to the third and last observation from the text, viz. That the expediency of lawful things is to be measured by their usefulness unto edification. For if we shall ask, why are not all lawful things always expedient ? The apostle's answer is, because they do not always edify. When they do edify, they are not only lawful, but expedient too ; and we may do them : but when they edify not, but destroy ; though they be lawful still, yet they are not expedient ; and we may not do them. “ All things are lawful ; but all things edify not.”

23. To this edification it appears St. Paul had a great respect in all his actions and affairs : “ We do all things, brethren, for your edifying¹.” And he desires that all other men would do so too ; “ Let every man please his neighbour for his good unto edification²,” and that in all the actions of their lives, “ Let all things be done to edifying³.” It is the very end for which God ordained the ministry of the gospel ; “ The edifying of the body of Christ⁴,” and for which He endowed his servants with power and with gifts to enable them for the work : “ The power which God has given us for edification⁵.” Whatsoever our callings are, whatsoever our power or gifts ; if we direct them not to edification, when we use them, we abuse them.

24. But then what is edification ? for that we are yet to learn. The word is metaphorical, taken from material buildings : but is often used by our apostle in his epistles, with application ever to the Church of God, and the spiritual building thereof. The Church is “ the house of the living God⁶.” All Christians, members of this Church, are so many stones of the building, whereof the house is made up. The bringing in of unbelievers into the

¹ 2 Cor. xii. 19.

² Rom. xv. 2.

³ 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

⁴ Eph. iv. 12.

⁵ 2 Cor. x. 8. xiii. 10.

⁶ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

Church, by converting them to the Christian faith, is as the fetching of more stones from the quarries, to be laid in the building. The building itself (and that is edification) is the well and orderly joining together of Christian men, as living stones, in truth and love¹; that they may grow together (as it were) into one entire frame of building, to make up the house strong and comely for the master's use and honour.

25. I know not how it is come to pass in these later times, that in the popular and common notion of this word, in the mouths and apprehensions of most men generally, edification is in a manner confined wholly to the understanding. Which is an error, perhaps not of much consequence; yet an error though, and such as has done some hurt too. For thereon is grounded that objection, which some have stood much upon (though there be little cause why), against instrumental music in the service of God^a, and some other things used in the Church; that they tend not to edification, but rather hinder it, because there comes no instruction, nor other fruit to the understanding thereby: "And therefore ought such things," say they, "to be cast out of the Church, as things unlawful." A conclusion (by the way) which will by no means follow, though all the premises should be granted; for it is clear both from the words and drift of the text, that edification is put as a mere *κρίτηριον* indeed of expediency, but not so of lawfulness: and therefore from the unserviceableness of any thing to edification, we cannot reasonably infer the unlawfulness thereof, but the inexpediency only. But to let go the inconsequence, that which is supposed in the premises, and laid as the ground of the objection, (viz. that where the understanding is not benefited, there is no edification,) is not true. The objectors should consider, that whatsoever thing any way advances the service of God, or furthers the growth of his Church; or conduces to the increasing of any spiritual grace, or enlivening of any holy affection in us; or serves to the outward exercise, or but expression of any such grace or affection, as joy, fear, thankfulness, cheerfulness, reverence, or any other; doubtless every such thing so far forth serves more or less unto edification.

26. The building up of the people in the right knowledge of God, and of his most holy truth, is I confess a necessary part of

¹ 1 Pet. ii. 5.

Compare *Mason's Sermon*, § 34. and n. above, p. 505.

the work ; and no man that wishes well to the work, will either despise it in his heart, or speak contemptibly of it with his mouth : yet is it not the whole work though, no nor yet the chiefest part thereof. Our Apostle expressly gives charity the pre-eminence before it : “ Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth¹.” And for once he speaks of edification in his epistles with reference to knowledge ; I dare say he speaks of it thrice with reference to peace and brotherly charity or condescension. The truth is, *that* edification he so much urges, is the promoting and furthering of ourselves and others in truth, godliness, and peace, or any grace accompanying salvation, for the common good of the whole body. St. Jude speaks of “ building up ourselves² ;” and St. Paul of “ edifying one another.” And this should be our daily and mutual study, to build up ourselves and others in the knowledge of the truth, and in the practice of godliness : but especially to the utmost of our powers, within our several spheres, and in those stations wherein God has set us, to advance the common good, by preserving peace, and love, and unity in the Church.

27. The instructions, corrections, or admonitions we bestow upon our *private* brethren ; the good examples we set before them ; our bearing with their infirmities ; our yielding and condescending from our own power and liberty, to the desires even of private and particular men ; is as the chipping, and hewing, and squaring of the several stones, to make them fitter for the building. But when we do withal promote the *public* good of the Church, and do something towards the procuring and conserving the peace and unity thereof, according to our measure ; *that* is as the laying of the stones together, by making them couch close one to another, and binding them with filings and cement, to make them hold. Now whatsoever we shall find, according to the present state of the times, places, and persons with whom we have to do, to conduce to the good either of the whole Church, or of any greater or lesser portion thereof, or but of any single member belonging thereunto, (so as no prejudice, or wrong be thereby done to any other,) *that* we may be sure is expedient for that time.

28. To enter into particulars, when and how far forth we are bound to forbear the exercise of our lawful liberty in indifferent things for our brother's sake, would be endless. When all is

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 1.

² Jude 20. 1 Thess. v. 11.

said and written in this argument that can be thought of; yet still (as was said) much must be left to men's discretion and charity.—Discretion first will tell us in the general, that as the circumstances alter, so the expediency and in expediency of things may alter accordingly. “*Quædam quæ licent, tempore et loco mutato non licent*¹,” says Seneca. “There is a time for every thing,” says Solomon, “and a season for every purpose under heaven.” Hit that time right²; and whatever we do is beautiful³: but there is no beauty in any thing we do, if it be unseasonable. As Hushai said of Ahitophel's advice, “The counsel of Ahitophel is not good at this time⁴.” And as he said to his friend, that cited some verses out of Homer not altogether to his liking, and commended them, καλὰ μὲν καλὰ μὲν, says he again, ἀλλὰ οὐ πᾶσι καλὰ, οὐδ' αἰεί: wholesome counsel, but not for all men, not at all times. If any man should now in these times endeavour to bring back into the Church *postliminio*, and after so many years' cessation thereof, either the severity of the ancient canons for public penances, or the enjoining of private confessions before Easter, or some other things now long disused; he should attempt a thing of great in expediency. Not in regard of the things themselves, which (severed from those abuses which in tract of time had, through men's corruption, grown thereunto) are certainly lawful; and might be, as in some former times, so now also, profitable, if the times would bear them. But in regard of the condition of the times⁵, and the general averseness of men's minds therefrom, who having been so long accustomed to so much indulgence and liberty in that kind, could not now brook those severer impositions, but would cry out against them (as they do against some other things with very little reason,) as Antichristian and superstitious. Paul thought fit to circumcise Timothy at one time, when he saw it expedient so to do: but would by no means yield that Titus should be circumcised at another time, when he saw it in expedient.

¹ Senec. 9. Controv. 2. Eccles. iii. 1.

² Momentis quædam grata et ingrata sunt. Senec. 1. de Benef. 12.

³ Eccles. iii. 11. 2 Sam. xvii. 7.

⁴ Est utilitatis et in tempore quæstio. Expedit, sed non nunc. Quint. 3. Instit. Orat. 8.

⁵ Quædam justa naturâ, sed conditione temporum inutilia. Quint. xii. 1. Acts xvi. 3. Gal. ii. 2—5.

29. Sith then the difference of ¹ times may make such a difference in the expediency and in expediency of things, otherwise and in themselves lawful and indifferent; and so may the other circumstances also of places, persons ², and the rest; wise men therefore must be content δουλεύειν καιρῷ ³, if you will allow that reading. Yea, to be downright time-servers, you will say! no such matter: but to suffer themselves now and then to be over-ruled by circumstances; and to yield to the sway of the times ⁴, and other occasions in sundry things, though perhaps somewhat against their own liking and judgment otherwise; so long as they be not enforced thereby, either to do any dishonest or unlawful thing, or to omit any part of their necessary duty. As ⁵ a skilful pilot must of necessity hold that course, that the wind and weather will suffer him: winning upon them by little and little what he can by his skill, and making his advantage even of a side-wind, if he can but get it, to bring his bark with as much safety and speed as may be to the intended haven. For to ⁶ tug against wind and tide, besides the toil, he knows would be both bootless and dangerous. It is an easy matter for a workman upon his bed to frame to himself in his own fancy an exact idea of some goodly fabric that he is to raise; and he may please himself ⁷ not a little with an imagination that all shall be done just according to that platform. But when he comes *ad practicandum*, and to lay his hand to the work indeed, he shall be forced, do what he can, in many things to vary from his former speculations, if ⁸ the matter he has to work upon, will not serve there-

¹ Tempore commutatur officium, ut non semper sit idem. *Cicer.* 1. de Offic.

² Et in loco. Non hic et in personis: non nobis, &c. *Quint.* 3. Instit. Orat. 8. ἄλλα δ' ἄλλαχού καλά. *Adag.* ap. *Suid.*

³ *Rom.* xii. 11.

⁴ Tempori cedere, i. e. necessitati parere, semper sapientis habitum est. *Cicer.* 4. epist. fam. 9. Non est turpe, cum re, mutare consilium. *Sen.* 4. de Benef. 38.

⁵ Ut in navigando, tempestati obsequi, artis est. *Cic.* 1. ep. fam. 9.—sententiam, tanquam aliquod navigium ex Reip. tempestate moderari. *Cic.* 4. Balb. κυβερνήτου, ἔργον ἀγαθοῦ, εἰς τὰς πνευμάτων μεταβολὰς ἀρμόσασθαι. *Pythag.* apud *Stob.* Ser. 1.

⁶ Καιρῷ δουλεύειν, μὴ δ' ἀντιπνέειν ἀνέμοισι. *Phocyl.*

⁷ Τοῖς ματαίοις διαπλάσμοις ἐστιᾶν τὴν διάνοιαν. *Naz.* orat. 5.

⁸ Πολὺ τὸ οὐχ ὑπακοῦν, οὐδὲ δεχόμενον τὸ εὔ. *Theophrast.*

unto, as like enough a good part of it will not. *Velis quod possis*¹, is the old saying : it must be our wisdom, when we cannot hope to bring all things to our own votes and desires, (for that is more than yet ever any man could do since the world began,) to frame ourselves to the present occasions ; and taking things as they are, when they will be no better, to make the best of them we can for our own, and others, and the common good² ; nothing doubting, but that if so we do, we shall do that that is expedient ; although possibly we may see some inconveniences likely to ensue thereupon. For if we shall suspend our resolutions, till we can be-think ourselves of something that is free from all inconveniences, in most of our deliberations we shall never resolve upon any thing at all : as Solomon says, “ He that observes the wind shall not sow, and he that regards the clouds shall not reap³.” God has so tempered the things of this world, that every commodity has some incommodiousness, and every conveniency some inconvenience attending the same ; which many times all the wit and industry of man is not able to sever. If therefore out of the whole bunch we can cull out that, which may prevent the most and greatest inconveniences, and be itself subject to the least and fewest⁴, we shall not have much cause to repent us of our choice. And all this our discretion will teach us.

30. Charity also will tell us in the general, that we must bear with the weakness of our brethren, and forbear our own liberty in some cases ; where we may see hope that any good will come of it. For as the stones in a building, if they be well laid together, do give mutual strength and support one to another : so it is our duty to “ bear one another’s burthens⁵,” that so we may fulfil the law of Christ. Charity “ seeketh not her own⁶.” She stands not ever upon the tiptoe, with those high terms, “ This I may do, and this I will do, whosoever says nay. I may eat flesh, and I will eat flesh, take offence at it who list :” but where she may hope to do good, comes down so low, as to resolve “ never to eat

¹ Ἐπειδὴ μὴ γίνεται τὰ πράγματα, ὥς βουλόμεθα, δεῖ βούλεσθαι ὥς γίνεται. *Arist.* apud *Stob.* Ser. 1.

² Τὸ παρὸν ἐντιθέσθαι. Non licet hominem esse sæpè ita ut vult, si res non sinīt. *Terent.* *Heaut.* 4. 1.

³ Eccles. ii. 4. Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis. *Horat.* 1. *Epist.* 2. —dum omnia timent, nil conantur. *Quintil.* 2. *Instit.* 4.

⁴ Ὡς τὸ ἐλαττον ἀκολουθεῖ κακὸν, τοῦθ’ αἰρετώτερον. *Arist.* 3. *top.* 2. 1.

⁵ Gal. vi. 2.

⁶ 1 Cor. xiii. 5.

flesh while the world standeth ¹," rather than give offence thereby. Our Apostle professes in the last verse of this chapter, that he sought to please all men in all things, not seeking his own profit, but the profit of many." And it was no flourish neither: St. Paul was a real man, no bragger: what he said, he did. He became as a Jew to the Jews, as a Gentile to the Gentiles ²; not to humour either, but to win both. And at Corinth he maintained himself a long while together with his own hand-labour, when he might have challenged maintenance from them, "as the Apostle of Christ ³." But he would not; only to cut off occasion from those that slandered him, as if he went about to make a prey of them, and would have been glad to find any occasion against him, to give credit to that slander.

31. But what, is St. Paul now all on a sudden become a man-pleaser ⁴? Or how is there not yea and nay with him; that he should here profess it so largely; and yet elsewhere protest against it so deeply: "Do I seek to please men? No," says he, "I scorn it: such baseness will better become their own slaves. I am the servant of Christ ⁵."—Worthy resolutions both, both savouring of an apostolic spirit: and no contrariety at all between them! Rather that seeming contrariety yields excellent instruction to us, how to behave ourselves in this matter of pleasing. Not to please men, be they never so many or great, out of flatness of spirit; so as for the pleasing of them, either first to neglect any part of our duty towards God and Christ; or, secondly, to go against our own consciences, by doing any dishonest or unlawful thing; or, thirdly, to do them harm whom we would please, by confirming them in their errors, flattering them in their sins, humouring them in their peevishness, or but even cherishing their weakness: (for weakness, though it may be borne with, yet it must not be cherished.) Thus did not he, thus should not we, seek to please any man.—But then by "yielding to their infirmities ⁶" for a time, in hope to win them; by patiently expecting their conversion or strengthening; by "restoring them with the spirit of meekness ⁷," when they had fallen; by forbearing all scornful, jeering, provoking, or exasperating language and behaviour towards them; but rather with meekness instructing them that opposed them—

¹ 1 Cor. viii. 13.² 1 Cor. ix. 20—22.³ 2 Cor. xi. 11.⁴ 2 Cor. i. 18.⁵ Gal. i. 10.⁶ Rom. xv. 1.⁷ 1 Thess. v. 14. Gal. vi. 1. Gal. v. 26. 2 Tim. ii. 25. 1 Cor. x. 33. Rom. xv. 2.

selves:—so did he, so should we seek to please all men; for their profit, and for their good. For that is charity.

32. Alas, it is not the pleasing, or displeasing of men, that charity looks after, but their good; and therefore as it seeks to please them, if that be for their good; so it cares not to displease them, if that also be for their good. St. Paul was *ad utrumque paratus*; he could use both, as occasion required, either “the rod, or the spirit of meekness¹,” and he would make choice ever of that, which he saw to be for the present the more expedient. He was a “wise master-builder²,” and knew how to lay his work, to make the building rise both fair and strong. He took his model from the great Arch-architect³, the Builder and Maker of all things, which is God. *Suaviter et fortiter* (in the book of wisdom:) all God’s works go on so. He does whatsoever He does *fortiter*; effectually and without fail in respect of the end:—that is to build strong:—but yet *suaviter*; sweetly, and without violence in the use of the means:—that is to build fair.

33. Can any governor, any minister, any private man, that desires to do so much as falls to his share in this building, desire a better pattern to work by? A governor, that has advisedly resolved upon a just course (for that must still be supposed: if justice do not lie at the bottom, the frame cannot stand;) let him go thorough-stitch with it in God’s name; do it *fortiter*; as is said of David, “He ruled them prudently with all his power⁴,” so as his commands may be obeyed, his authority feared, his enemies quelled. But then he must do it *suaviter* too, (that must not be forgotten,) with such equity, lenity, and moderation; that they may be left without excuse in their undutifulness, that will not both acknowledge his justice and clemency.—A minister also of the Gospel, who has a great part in the work, both for the pulling down of error and sin, and for the setting up of truth and godliness⁵, he must do his part *fortiter*: instruct, exhort, reprove, correct, with full “demonstration of the Spirit and power⁶,” and with clear evidence of truth and reason; that he may build strong. Yet *suaviter* too, with all sweetness and meekness, with much beseeching and brotherly language, that he may build fair: approving himself both ways “a workman that needeth not be ashamed⁷.”

¹ 1 Cor. iv. 21.

² 1 Cor. iii. 10.

³ Heb. iii. 4. Wisd. viii. 1.

⁴ Psalm lxxviii. 72.

⁵ Jer. i. 10.

⁶ 1 Cor. ii. 4.

⁷ 2 Tim. ii. 15.

But if he either put in ill stuff, or lay it ill ; that is, if either he prove with bad argument, or reprove with bad words ; he may then be ashamed of his work ; he does but blunder and bungle, and not build. Yea, every private man, that has in his hand the managing of any good cause, wherein he meets with opposition, cannot give better proof both of his wisdom and charity, than by doing it *fortiter* and *suaviter* : to the uttermost of his power and skill, effectually ; but yet fairly withal.

34. I have now done with all my three observations : and should draw to a conclusion, but that for the preventing of a foul mistake in this affair, it is needful I should first put in one caution of some importance ; and it is this : that in weighing the decency, and expediency of things, we ought to make a difference between those lawful things, wherein superior authority has interposed, and determined our liberty either way ; and those things wherein we are left wholly to ourselves. What has been said concerning the yielding to the weaknesses of our brethren for the avoiding of their offence, and the forbearing of lawful things sometimes, when they grow inexpedient, is to be understood of such things only, as are wholly in our own power ; no superior authority, either divine or human, having limited us therein. But where lawful authority has determined our choice, we must hold to their determination ; any seeming inexpediency to the contrary notwithstanding.

35. Whilst things are in agitation^a, private men may, if any thing seem to them inexpedient, modestly tender their thoughts together with the reasons thereof, to the consideration of those that are in authority : to whose care and wisdom it belongs, in prescribing any thing concerning indifferent things, to proceed with all just advisedness and moderation ; that so the subject may be encouraged to perform that obedience¹ with cheerfulness, which of necessity he must perform howsoever. It concerns superiors therefore to look well to the expediency and inexpediency of what they enjoin in indifferent things. Wherein if there be a fault, it must lie upon their account : the necessity of obedience is to us a sufficient discharge in that behalf. Only it were good we did remember, that they are to give up that account to God only, and

^a Hooker's preface, chap. vi. § 3, and note, p. 414, above, in this volume. "Things were disputed, before they came to be determined. Men afterwards were not to dispute any longer, but to obey."

¹ Remissius imperanti, melius paretur. Sen. 1. de Clem. 24.

not to us. But after that things are once concluded and established by public authority, acts passed, and constitutions made concerning the same, and the will and pleasure of the higher powers sufficiently made known therein: then for private men to put in their vie, and with unseasonable diligence to call in question the decency or expediency of the thing so established, yea, with intolerable pride to refuse obedience thereunto merely upon this pretension, that they are indecent or inexpedient, is itself indeed the most indecent and inexpedient thing that can be imagined.

36. For that the fear of offending a private brother is a thing not considerable in comparison of the duty^a of obedience to a public governor, might be shown so apparently by sundry arguments, if we had time to enlarge and illustrate them, as must sufficiently convince the judgment of any man not wilfully obstinate in that point. I shall only crave leave briefly to touch at some of them. First, then, when governors shall have appointed what seemed to them expedient; and private men shall refuse to observe the same, pretending it to be inexpedient, who shall judge thereof? Either they themselves that take the exceptions must be judges, which is both unreasonable and preposterous; or else every man must be his own judge, which were to overthrow all government, and to bring in a confusion, every man to do what is "good in his own eyes¹;" or else the known governors must judge; and then you know what will follow,—even to submit and obey.

37. Secondly, to allow men, under the pretence of inexpediency, and because of some offence that may be taken thereat, to disobey laws and constitutions made by those that are in authority, were the next way to cut the sinews of all authority, and to bring both magistrates and laws into contempt. For what law ever was made, or can be made so just and reasonable, but some man or other either did, or might take offence thereat? And what man that is disposed to disobey, but may pretend some inexpediency or other, wherewith to countenance out such his disobedience.

38. Thirdly, it is agreed by consent of all that handle the matter of scandal, that we may not commit any sin whatsoever, be it never so small, for the avoiding of any scandal, be it never

^a Compare the preceding article, No. XIX. § 30.

¹ Judges xxi. 15.

so great. But to disobey lawful authority in lawful things is a sin against the fifth commandment. Therefore we may not redeem a scandal by such our disobedience; nor refuse to do the thing commanded by such authority, whosoever should take offence thereat.

39. Fourthly, though lawfulness and unlawfulness be not, yet expediency and in expediency are (as we heard) capable of the degrees of *more* and *less*; and then in all reason, of two inexpedient things we are to do that which is less inexpedient¹, for the avoiding of that which is more inexpedient. Say then there be an in expediency in doing the thing commanded by authority when a brother is thereby offended; is there not a greater in expediency in not doing it when the magistrate is thereby disobeyed? Is it not more expedient, and conducing to the common good, that a public magistrate should be obeyed in a just command than that a private person should be gratified in a causeless scruple?

40. Fifthly, when by refusing obedience to the lawful commands of our superiors we think to shun the offending of one or two weak brethren, we do in truth incur thereby a far more grievous scandal², by giving offence to hundreds of others, whose consciences by our disobedience will be emboldened to that whereto corrupt nature is but too, too prone,—to affront the magistrate, and despise authority.

41. Lastly, where we are not able to discharge both, debts of justice³ are to be paid before debts of charity. Now the duty of obedience is *debitum justitiæ*, and a matter of right: my superior may challenge it at my hands as his due; and I do him wrong if I withhold it from him. But the care of not giving offence is but *debitum charitatis*, and a matter but of courtesy. I am to perform it to my brother in love when I see cause; but he cannot challenge it from me as his right; nor can justly say I do him wrong if I neglect it. It is therefore no more lawful for me to disobey the lawful command of a superior, to prevent thereby the offence of one or a few brethren, than it is lawful for me to do

¹ — Δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ μῖον κακὸν ἀγαθὸν πως εἶναι. *Arist.* 5. *Ethic.* 2. "Ὡς περ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τὰ μείζω καὶ τελειώτερα, οὕτω τῶν κακῶν αἰρεῖσθαι τὰ ἐλάττω τε καὶ κοινότερα. *Naz. Orat.* 40.

² Advertat, scandalum scandalo non benè emendari. *Bern. de Præc. et Disp.*

³ Justitiæ officia sunt priora, et strictioris obligationis quam illa quæ sunt charitatis. *Ames.* 2. *Medul. Theol.* 16. 62.

one man wrong¹, to do another man a courtesy withal, or than it is lawful for me to rob the exchequer, to relieve an hospital.

42. I see not yet how any of these six reasons can be fairly avoided: and yet, (which would be considered,) if but any one of them hold good, it is enough to carry the cause: and therefore I hope there need be no more said in this matter.—To conclude then, for the point of practice, (which is the main thing I aimed at in the choice of this text, and my whole meditations thereon,) we may take our direction in these three rules, easy to be understood and remembered, and not hard to be observed in our practice, if we will but put our good wills thereunto. First, if God command, we must submit² without any more ado: and not trouble ourselves about the expediency, or so much as about the lawfulness of the thing commanded. His very command³ is warrant enough for both. Abraham never disputed whether it were expedient for him, nor yet whether it were lawful for him to sacrifice his son or no, when once it appeared to him that God would have it so.

43. Secondly, if our superiors, endued with lawful authority thereunto, command us any thing, we may, and (where we have just cause of doubt⁴) we ought, to inquire into the lawfulness thereof. Yet not with such anxious curiosity, as if we desired to find out some loop-hole whereby to evade; but with such modest ingenuity, as may witness to God and the world the unfeigned sincerity of our desires, both to fear God⁵, and to honour those that He has set over us⁵. And if having used ordinary moral diligence *bonâ fide* to inform ourselves the best we can, there appear no unlawfulness in it, we are then also to submit and

¹ Quis est qui dicat, ut habeamus quod demus pauperibus, faciamus furta divitibus? *August. cont. Mendac. cap. 7.*

² Audaciam existimo de bono præcepti divini disputare. *Tert. de Pœnit. cap. 4. Gen. xxii.*

³ Quid revolvīs? Deus præcepit. *Tert. ibid.*

⁴ Ubi suspicio, ibi discussio necessaria. *Bern. Epist. 7.*

⁵ “When God commands one thing, and the sovereign prince another, we cannot obey them both *actively*: therefore, we choose to obey God rather than man; and yet are willing, for the preservation of peace, to suffer from man rather than to *resist*. If he” (Hobbes) “understood this distinction well, it hath all those advantages which he fancieth to himself in his new platform of government, without any of those inconveniences which do attend it.” *Bramhall’s Works*, part i. p. 862.

⁵ 1 Pet. ii. 17.

obey¹ without any more ado, never troubling ourselves farther to inquire whether it be expedient yea or no. Let them that command us look to that: for it is they must answer for it, and not we.

44. But then thirdly, where authority has left us free, no command, either of God, or of those that are set over us under God, having prescribed any thing to us in that behalf; there it is at our own liberty and choice, to do as we shall think good. Yet are we not left so loose, as that we may do what we list, so as the thing be but lawful; (for that were licentiousness, and not liberty;) but we must ever do that, which according to the exigence of present circumstances, (so far as all the wisdom and charity we have will serve us to judge,) shall seem to us most expedient and profitable to mutual edification.—This is the way: God give us all grace to walk in it. So shall we bring glory to Him, and to ourselves comfort: so shall we further his work onward, and our own account at the last.

¹ Ille vice Dei tibi dicit, quid expedit, et quid decet. *Gers. de Relig. perf. part. 3.*

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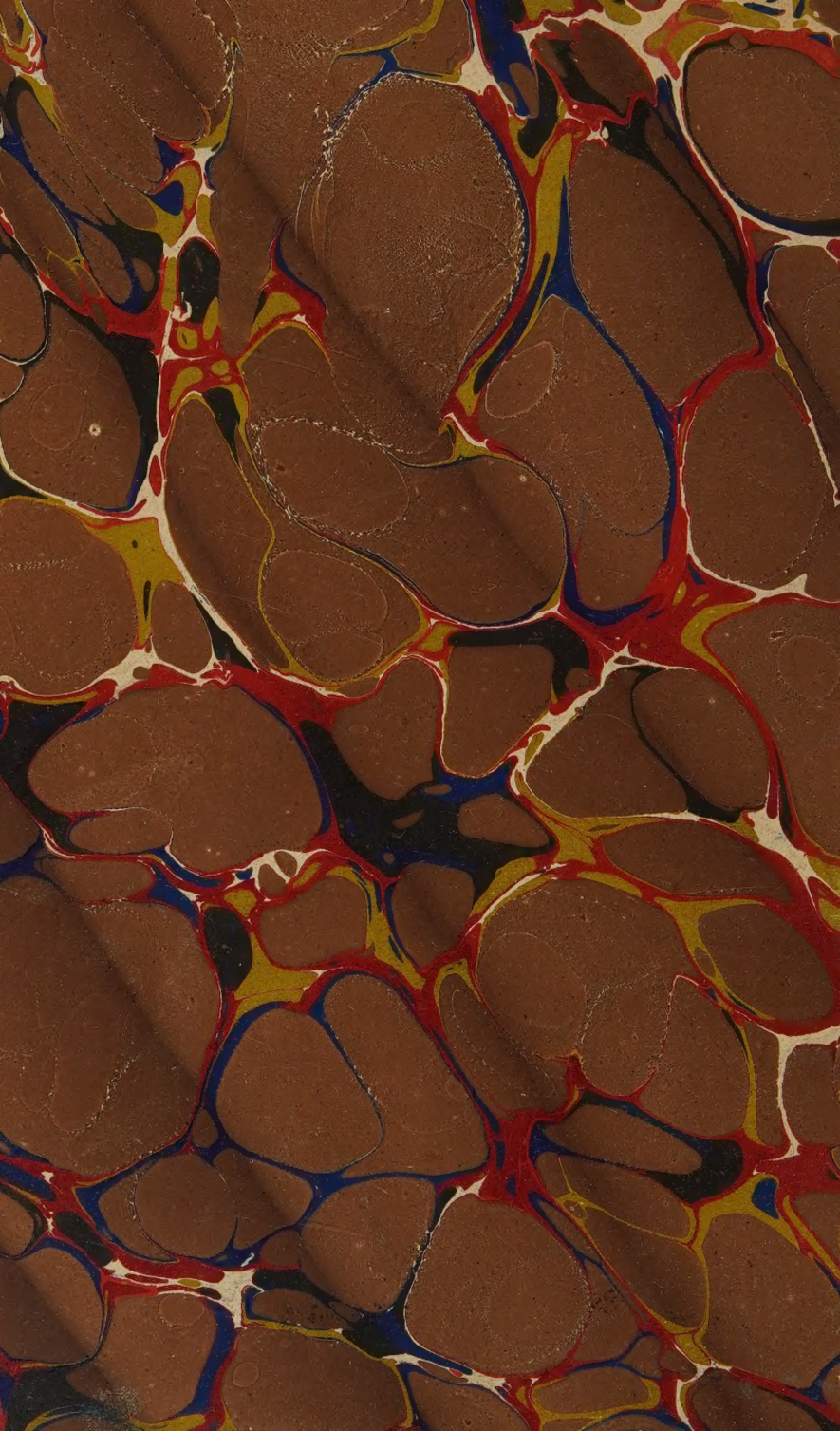
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